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C O L L E C T I O N

O F T H E

T R A C T S

O F A C E R T A I N

F R E E E N Q U I R E R ,

Peter Annet.

N O T E D B Y H I S

S U F F E R I N G S

F O R H I S

O P I N I O N S.

Legite et Judicate.

COLLEGE

2 T C A J T

FREE INFORMATION



JUDGING for OURSELVES ;

O R

FREE-THINKING,

The GREAT

DUTY of RELIGION.

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BOOKS FOR THE
JUDGING OF OURSELVES;

OF

FREE THINKING,



DUTY OF RELIGION.

BY THE REV. J. H. W. L. ...

(11) 7
JUDGING for OURSELVES;

O R

FREE-THINKING,

The GREAT

DUTY of RELIGION.

Display'd in

TWO LECTURES, delivered at *Plasterer's-Hall*.

Jan: 25 & Feb: 1. 1738/9

K By P. A. ^{met.} ~~Minister of the Gospel.~~

*address'd to the new Sect of Methodists
Faith Monkeys & Bigots with a Poem to the Rev.^d Mr. Whitefield*
While we take the Sense of the Scriptures upon Content, and see not
with our own Eyes, we insensibly relapse into the Principles of Po-
pery, and give up the only Ground on which we can justify our Sepa-
ration from the Church of Rome.—Let us lay aside that Malignant,
Arbitrary, Persecuting, Popish Spirit; let us put no Fetters on
Mens Understandings, nor any other Bounds to their Enquiries,
but what God and Truth have set, p. 32.

*Difficulties and Discouragements, &c. by a Presbyter of the Church
of England.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and sold by T. Cox, at the
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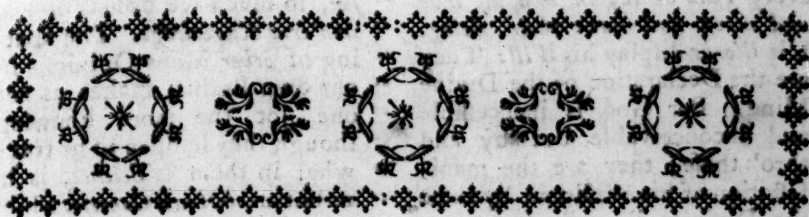
*NB. The Preface to this Pamphlet is
omitted. Also the Poem.*

JUDGING for OURSELVES;
OF
FREE-THINKING;
AND
DUTY & RELIGION.



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LECTURE I.

S I R S,

THE Intention of these Lectures is not to set up any *new* Religion, but to illustrate the *old* which was from the Beginning; containing such Laws as are most fit for God to give, and Man to receive, agreeable to the Nature of both, correspondent to the Moral fitness of Things, and tending to promote the Happiness of the human Species—Nor is the Design of these Lectures to dictate any new Forms of Faith, or prescribe new Modes of Worship, but to vindicate the *Right* which every Man has, to search out, and judge of *Truth* for himself, and declare it to others; as also to pursue what appears to be the best and most certain Method of attaining it. To do this, every one should endeavour to inform his own Judgment aright, and be directed by it; as every one should use his own Senses for the Management of his own Affairs. Therefore I have chosen for the Subject of this Discourse, those Words of *Jesus Christ*, mentioned in *Luke xii. 57.* an Expression becoming the Son of God.

Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right? This to excite and promote is designed by these Lectures; that *Truth* may be displayed, and all *false Ways* exploded; that Men's Opinions and their Deeds, being brought to the Light of human Understanding, it may be manifest what Works are wrought of God: For every one that does Evil hates the Light; therefore comes not to it, lest his Deeds should be re-proved; but he that loves Truth, comes to the Light, that his Deeds may be manifest, they are wrought in God, (*John iii. 20, 21.*)

Let us all, that would have firm Building, look well to the Foundation we purpose to erect it on, that our Labour may stand. If we build never so well on a sandy Foundation or false Bottom, the Structure will not stand the Trial. No Foundation less than the unchangeable Being of all Perfection, on whom the universal Fabric is erected, is the sure Basis of Eternal Truth. All that we can see, and all that we cannot see, depend on him; *We are all his Offspring*, the World, and every

every Part of it; in him all live and move and have their Being. His Works display his Will: They are the Declaration of the Divine Mind. For God is inaccessible and inconceivable but by and thro' these; they are the manifestation of his Wisdom; by these the Divinity is made known to Man, as every tree is known by its Fruits. The Wisdom of God is revealed by the Works and Laws of Nature. The wise Philosophers of old built their Doctrine on this Platform. This Foundation God himself has laid, and better can no Man lay; a Foundation which does not depend on the fallible Credit of human Testimony.

The ingenious Mr. Lock says, what I wish every one could say, "Truth has been my only Aim, and wherever that has appear'd to lead, my Thoughts have impartially followed, without minding whether the Footsteps of any other lay that Way or no. Not that I want a due respect to other Men's Opinions, but after all, the greatest Reverence is due to Truth; and I hope it will not be thought Arrogance to say, that perhaps we should make a greater Progress in the Discovery of rational and contemplative Knowledge, if we sought it in the Fountain, in the Consideration of Things themselves, and rather made use of our own Thoughts than other Mens, to find it: For I think we may as rationally hope to see with other Mens Eyes, as to know by other Mens Understandings. So much as we ourselves comprehend of Truth and Rea-

son, so much we possess of real and true Knowledge. The floating of other Mens Opinions in our own Brains, makes us not one jot the more knowing though they happen to be true; what in them is Science, is in us but an obstinate Conceit, whilst we give up our Assent only to Reverend Names, and do not as they did, imploy our own Reason to understand those Truths which gave them Reputation."

Thus far Mr. Lock, whose fine way of Reasoning, carries its own Authority with it.

In prosecuting this Subject I shall

First, Shew the Benefits that accrue by judging Truth for ourselves as Protestants, and that the contrary Doctrine is Popery.

Secondly, Display the Necessity of free Examination, by a notable Example from Scripture.

Thirdly, Answer some Objections against it. And

Lastly, Vindicate the Glory of human Reason, by observing the wretched Consequences that follow the not adhering to it.

First, The Benefit of judging for ourselves is evident from the reasonableness of so doing: If that Doctrine, which is mostly contended for, carried rational Demonstration with it, how lovely would it appear! But since the foolishness of Preaching has been advanced in the room of Wisdom, and Authority in the room of Reason, Truth has been blasphem'd, and her Admirers stigmatized with opprobrious Appellations.

That Men should be discountenanc'd from exerting their natural

tural Right of judging for themselves, *Free-thinkers*, I mean, *sober Enquirers* are called *Deists*, and rank'd in one Class with *Atheists*. —Preachers in this Age being press'd with *Reason* contrary to their *Interests*, for fear of exposing the *Craft*, by which they have their *Gain*, to the *Honest* and *Sincere*, give up the Cause to *Popery*, by advancing *Faith* upon *Authority* not to be examined. Ought not Men to give a *Reason* for their *Faith*? by judging for themselves they will be able to do it.

Nor can then so much *unreasonable Faith* pass current among us as it does; *Faith* which pleads *Authority* for its *Basis*, in opposition to *Reason* and *common Sense*, is the *shame of Religion*. To take up Religion upon *Trust*, is not to have any of ones own. If a *Protestant* takes up Principles upon *Credit* without daring to examine them, What does he more than others? Do not even the *Papists* so? What *Reason* has he to protest against *Popery*, or dissent from it, since both build upon the same Bottom? The same Arguments that support the one, maintain the other; both walk Blindfold, and both must fall into the Ditch of Shame and Confusion.

It would be Matter of surprize, if we knew not the Cause, to hear Teachers declare their Fears, that Men will be perverted by making *Reason* their *Rule*; but when *Reason* is abolished, it can be no surprize at all, that such Teachers should impose on their Believers the greatest *Absurdities* for *pious Creeds*. Whoever affirms or maintains for Doctrine that *Reason* and *Faith* are at *Variance*, or that Articles of *Faith* are not to be examin-

ed at the Bar of human Judgment, affirms and maintains that Doctrine which is the Root of all the Lyes and lying Wonders of *Impositors*; of all the false Doctrines of *Papists*, and *Pagans*; of all their *Superstition* and *Trumpery*; and of the *Persecutions* thence arising, and has trampled under Foot the Blood of those Sons of God, if I may so call them, who to defend their Right of judging for themselves against *Authority*, suffered the fiery Trial in Queen Mary's Reign, and purchased Redemption for us with their Blood, from the intolerable cruelty of the Papal Yoke, from the *Imposition*, *Tyranny* and *Barbarity* of that Church, than which there never was or can be a worse. Ought not the Principles that produced such inhuman Practices to stand forever condemn'd, and such Liberty as those glorious Martyrs died to defend, deserve to be everlastingly espoused? Can their Death ever cease to adorn with resplendent Glory the Protestant Cause, or display in horrid and detestable Colours the most barbarous sacerdotal Tyranny of Rome, that Church of Anti-Christ, of which the Worship of Moloch was but a dull Type and faint Resemblance?—To the Virtues and Blood of those martyr'd Heroes, the Protestant Cause in all likelihood owes its very Existence in this Island, and Continuance among us at this Day. May the glorious Cause of Liberty which they espoused, be eternized among us, and the religious Freedom which this Nation now enjoys, be ever preserved and shine with augmented Lustre to all succeeding Generations; for surely, as a fine Author expresses it, a Day, an Hour's glorious Liberty,

is worth a whole Eternity in Bondage.'

If it be all Men's natural Right to think, and judge freely for themselves, and freely to declare their Judgment. What Reason can be given for the violent Outcries we meet with against the use of this Liberty, and all Attempts in its Defence? 'Tis this, the Enjoyment of this Right is so destructive to Priestcraft, that it is impossible these two can stand together; they are irreconcilable as Light and Darkness, as God and Mammon; 'tis the Axe that is laid to the Root of that accursed Tree; I mean the Craft of such as are for governing Mankind without permitting them to make use of their Sense and Reason, for I have no Intention to condemn any whole Set of Men, but such only as are blind Leaders of the Blind, easily known by their Doctrines, in opposition to Reason, and Wolves in Sheep's clothing, alike known by their Works, Pride, Tyranny, Faction, Persecution, and all Uncharitableness.

Throughout the whole World, all Contenders for Religious Systems rejoice when they have Reason on their Side, and chuse it for their Defence rather than any Thing else; They will use and stand by Reason when it will be of use to and stand by them. Nor do they ever condemn its Authority, but when it condemns theirs: But as in some Cases all Religions allow of reasonable Defence, or none would stand; so in many others, all Systems of Religion founded on Tradition, shut out Reason from Enquiry, and will not admit it to enter.

The Mystery-Mongers all over the World have barred the Door

against private Judgment; those Moral Truths of theirs, that will bear Enquiry, they will bring to the Light, and show them in the best Colours. Turn them over and over; you may view them through and through. They like honest Dealers will warrant their Goods to be sound, such as will endure good wearing; and perhaps if but tolerable, they will boast that there is not the like.—But they know as well that their artful or mysterious Principles will not bear to be so exposed.

All clandestine Dealers conceal their Impositions, Extortions, and bad Wares, under some Craft or Mystery. That is a tender Point and must not be touched. And no Wonder; for if a Trader should suffer his bad Goods to be exposed, and the Art by which he glosses them over, to be made known to all Comers and inquisitive Persons, that the Faults of the Wares, and the Impositions of the Seller might be easily seen: Who would be Customers? If the Mysteries of the spiritual Craftsmen were exposed, by Reason no Man would buy their Merchandize any more. Depend upon it, when you are hoodwinked with Mysteries supernatural, there is Fraud in the Case; 'tis but another Word for it; the Meaning is the same. Whatever is imposed on Men to believe, which will not bear the Light of honest Enquiry, is all Craft and Guile. Truth is open and free, it has no skulking Holes nor dark Corners. As he that doth Truth bringeth his Deeds to the Light, so he that speaks Truth brings his Words and Doctrines to the Light, that it may be manifest they are wrought in God.

As

As the Right and Usefulness of *private Judgment* is in *part* allowed by *all*, so it has its *Times* too, when it is more or less inculcated or suppressed; was the Dispute against the *Papists*, it would be asserted; was the Contention against *Free-thinkers*, it would be denied: When Men are *persecuted*, they *maintain* it; when Men would suppress or *persecute others*, they *deny* or *limit* it. When it suits Mens *Interests* it is *right*; when it does *not* it is *wrong*. So once the *slavish Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance* was generally advanced by Ecclesiastics thirsting for Power to enslave Mankind, but since they were disappointed it has slept in Silence. If they had succeeded, we had all been *damned* into it. If that Doctrine was *right then*, it would have been *right for ever*. But as it was *wrong then*, so it *never will be right*. Examine therefore all *Time-serving Doctrines*, and depend upon it, that which is *right once* is *right for ever*. Truth is *Eternal*, and like God admits of no Variation; nor can it *change* with the capricious Humour and Interests of Men.

I shall now in the *second Place* illustrate the Necessity there is of judging for ourselves by a remarkable Example recorded in the Old Testament, *1 Kings xiii*. I shall first give you so much of the Relation as is necessary, and then apply it.

In the Time of *Jeroboam King of Israel* came a Prophet from *Judab* to *Bethel* and prophesied against the *Altar* there while the King was sacrificing, but tho' the King invited him home to his House, he refused, saying, that

he had been charged by the Word of the Lord not to eat Bread nor drink Water in that Place; and obedient to the professed Charge, without eating or drinking, he went homewards another way than he came. But an old Prophet at *Bethel* that had heard of it, enquired which Way he went, saddled his Ass, went after him, overtook him, and prevailed upon him by urging *the Word of the Lord* for his Authority, to come back, that he might eat and drink with him; he returned, fearing no Danger from a *Brother Prophet*. Now when they had eat and drank together, the Word of the Lord came to the old Prophet while they were sitting at the Table, and told the Prophet of *Judab*, that for his coming back, and eating and drinking with him, contrary to his own private command of the Lord, his Body should never be laid in the Grave of his Fathers; and so it was, that as he was going home on an Ass, a Lyon met him, and killed him, and stood by the Carcase, but neither devoured it, nor hurt the Ass. This several Men *passed by*, and *saw*, and some of them told it to the old Prophet of *Bethel*, who saddled his Ass, went and found it as reported; and without fearing at all the Lyon that stood by, tho' he had by *Lying* been the Cause of his *Transgression* and *Death*, took the Carcase from before the Face of the Lyon, laid it on the Ass that stood just by, brought it to *Bethel*, and buried it there.

This is the Narration in Brief, now for the Application,

Hence the Necessity of judging for ourselves is apparent, for it was
not

not the *lying Prophet* that suffer'd, but he that was *deceiv'd* by his Lies. And as it was then, so it is now. It is not the *deceiving Priests* that suffer, but the *deceived Laity*. Hence we may learn, that every one ought to regard the evident Inspiration of God in his own Breast; I mean the Convictions of *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, more than all the *pretended Word of the Lord* in Opposition to it, from any Person whatsoever.

We should certainly believe none that come in the Name of the Lord, when we have good Evidence or plain Reason to the Contrary. If a *true Prophet* can prophesy Lies, and *true Prophets* may be *deceived* by those Lies; how careful should we be to try the Spirits, and not believe any of them without *incontestible Evidence*? And with what Care should we judge for ourselves what is right from the *Reason and Nature of Things*? that we may not be misled by *pretended Authority*, by Lies in the Name of God, and *Enthusiastic Delusions*. If it be so dangerous for one Prophet to believe another, and so hard to know whether a Prophet speaks *true* or *false*, how careful should we be in believing! How dangerous is it to take *Truth* upon Trust or Authority! How many are deceived with the *pretended Word of the Lord*, and believe what is imposed upon them under that Sanction, (tho' ever so absurd) rather than common Sense! to which should any object, he may expect for Answer, *Who art thou, O Man, that repliest against God?* Altho' the Reply be not against God, but against him only, that profanely sanctifies his Lies with that sacred

Name.—If any one should think that the Prophet of *Bethel* and the Royal Beast were in the Interest of the King, let him learn from hence, that whensoever the Craft of State and Religion are join'd together, People should be very much upon their Guard, and arm themselves against the solemn Conspiracy, and grave Deceit.

Thirdly, I now proceed to answer some *Objections* against this Right of every Man's judging for himself.

Obj. 1. *If every Man takes this Liberty, perhaps Men may doubt of the sacred Scriptures, and call in Question the Truths contained in them.* Well, and what if they do? Truth can bear being called in Question. Things really sacred must ever remain so, no Interrogations can render them otherwise; by this Means their Sanctity will appear. The more Truth is enquired into, the less will Men doubt of it; because they will know it the better. Truth discovers itself to the diligent Inquirer: *Seek and you shall find.* If the Scriptures are Truth, they will bear Examination; if they are not, let 'em go: But as they contain Truth, 'tis our Business to find it out, to search of what Nature it is, for what End it was given, and to what Benefit it tends.

Object. 2. *If Men take the Liberty of judging as they please for themselves, they will learn to dictate to their Superiors, and condemn Authority.* To this I answer, that Men can never be the further from doing their Duty because they know it. Men will not hereby become Rebels to their Governours, spiritual or temporal, except their Governours become Tyrants. If the Con-

Consequence be, the rousing Men to the *Sense of Liberty*, and the Love of it, is the Argument ever the worse? If it should tend to the Downfall of *Tyrants and Imposers*, it can never be the Cause of *Rebellion against good and wise Governours*. Men, because they are well-instructed, and rendered more knowing, can never condemn those to whom they owe their *Liberty, Civil, and Religious*; but promote rather the Freedom and Happiness of Mankind. By this alone will the Calling of the Jews, and the Fulness of the Gentiles be brought in. By this alone can the *Knowledge of the Lord cover the Earth*. By this alone eternal Peace will be established in the Religious World, Men shall beat their *Swords into Plow-shares, and their Spears into pruning Hooks*; Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation, neither shall they learn War any more for the Cause of Religion.

Again, Though Men take the Liberty of judging what is *Truth* for themselves, and though the advancing this Doctrine be the crying down the *Markets of the Spiritual Traders*; though this be indeed as with a *Scourge of small Cords*, to whip those *Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple*, to overturn the *Tables of the Money Changers*, and the proud and secure *Seats of them that sell the Holy Ghost*; yet there is not that Danger I could wish arising from it: The *Buyers and Sellers, the Bigots and Priests* will unite again; the *Trade* is likely to continue to the End of the World; for Men being born ignorant, perverted by Education, prepossessed with Notions before they have *Sense or Reason* to judge of them, which some never have Capacities to do, and others thro'

Cowardice or Idleness never make use of the Capacities they have; there is no Fear but the *Mystery-mongers* will always find Fools enough to buy their *sophisticated Wares*: The *honest* indeed may, and ought to be advised how to judge of them, and carefully to inspect the *Artifices* of those that put 'em off.

Object. 3. *What must those do that have not Capacities to judge for themselves? or how can Men judge in abstruse and difficult Cases?* To this it may be answered, That what is required of Man, is the Exercise of the *Talents* they have; not, what they have not. To be able to distinguish right from wrong in common Things, is enough for common Capacities; *abstruse and difficult Cases* are generally such as the generality of Men have nothing to do with. Things above our Reach it is best to let alone. What we cannot come at 'tis in vain to strive for. *Secret Things* beyond human Capacity belong to God; but *Things that are revealed*, that is, such as we can understand, pertain to us, and our Children. There can be no Reason to suppose that God delights to puzzle the weak Capacities of his Creatures; that which is above Reason is not calculated for human intellects. *Incomprehensible Mysteries*, though Truth, may confound, but cannot convince us; may make us wretched, but can never make us happy.

I now come to the 4th and last Objection. *If every Man should set up to be his own judge in Matters of Religion, this will occasion a democracy of Opinions; the whole Nation will be a Babel of Notions, as in the Times of the Heathen Philosophers.*

phers. Well, and what if it should prove so? Will *bare* Opinions hurt any Body? They may occasion a *combat of Words*, and break out into a *Paper War*, very much to the Advantage of all concerned in the Consumption of that Manufacture, and very much to the Advantage of Trade, and Learning: But it must be very ridiculous to proceed to the knocking together of *Logger-heads*, pardon the Expression, unless the *thickness* of a Skull can prove the *Solidity* of an Argument. Besides, by the *literary Combat* a *beautiful Conversion* is brought about, whereby *contemptible Rags* become the *choicest Treasure* of Noblemen and Philosophers.

Finally, the *Glory* of human Reason will evidently appear, from the *wretched* Consequences that attend the *not* adhering to it. This one Thing is enough to prove *all* that has been said. If we are not to judge for ourselves what is right from the *Reason* and *Nature* of Things, we may easily be tossed about with *every Wind of Doctrine*, and have our Brains turned with every Whirlpool of Enthusiasm; we may easily truckle to any domineering Church or Priest, and kneel down to any God.

He that may be damn'd out of his Reason, may be damn'd into any Opinion. Nothing can be too monstrous to his *pliable Timidity*, or too shocking to his *easy Credulity*, if it be well pointed with *Damnation*. If human Judgment be thrown down, human Authority must be set up in its room; and that Authority must not be examined by Reason, for if it be, Reason will pull it down.

Pretended Inspiration, superior to all rational Examination, has been the *greatest Adversary* that ever Reason had in the World. All Authority against human Understanding, is founded upon *this*, even upon *this Affirmation*; That there are, or *have been*, some Men so divinely taught *immediately* from God, that to question their *Fidelity*, to doubt of their *Veracity*, or not *indubitably* to receive their *Sayings*, is to call to Account GOD HIMSELF. Their Sentiments or Writings are stamp'd with his sacred Name, to give the better *Sanction* to all they say. Hence the *Power* of the Church, and of every usurping Priest, to explain what bears the Name of *Sacred* and *Holy*, so called, to awe Men into a Belief of 'em without Enquiry. Take away the Grave and Priestly *Damnation*, for not believing them; and the *honest* World would naturally think they had as much Right to judge of *them* as of any Thing else: For the *Scriptures*, however deify'd, without our *own Reason*, cannot lead us to *Truth*; however strange it may sound in the Ears of some, and though we receive them in the *Lump*, they are not *all alike* worthy of our Reception: For by the Test of human Enquiry, we shall clearly see many Things in another Light, when stripped of all the Mask and Disguise in which they are commonly represented; for the common Sense of Mankind can easily determine, at least as to *Matters of Fact*, by their *Agreement*, what may have the probability of *Truth*; and by their *Disagreement*, what cannot possibly deserve that sacred Name. It is no wonder that *Protestants*, taking

ing the *bare Scripture*, without the Assistance of *superior Reason* for their Guide, run into so many *Enthusiastic Notions*, and even into *Popery itself*: For believing the *Letter of the Scripture* infallibly true, and not to be explain'd by Reason, and reading those Words of *Jesus Christ*, which he said of the Bread, *This is my Body*; and of the Wine, *This is my Blood*; and that *except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*; with such like Expressions, and abjuring all Reason's Comments or Explications, as the *Wisdom of the carnal Mind*; he naturally concludes from the Premises, that the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* is right; Consequently the *Church of Rome* which maintains it: This Difficulty being got over, he never scruples the rest of her Doctrines; for he that can swallow that *Bolus of a Wafer for a God*, no *Ecclesiastic Dose* can choke him; and so goes over to that Church; which *compasses Sea and Earth to make one Profelyte*, who when so made, is render'd *twofold more the Child of Hell than themselves*. This Convert being now well loaded with *Zeal and Ignorance*, *Ecclesiastic Powder and Ball*, there is one *Blunderbuss* more charged against the *Protestant Cause*, whenever that Church has Power or Opportunity to make use of him.

Thus by a bigotted Zeal for the *Scripture* itself, without the Use of Reason, Men are carried off to *Popery*, which it is impossible any Man, Woman, or Child

could be, if they were taught to *Judge in their own selves what is right*; for though they could not infallibly judge of *every Truth*, they would infallibly discover what is so *very wrong*, and be preserved from falling into that Whirlpool of Confusion.

Now to conclude; If the Arguments that have been offered may be effectual, to rouse the latent Faculties of the Soul, born down by the Gravity of Education, Tradition, and Authority, defended by chimerical Fears and tremendous Horrors of imaginary Dangers, and render'd weak and languid thro' misuse; if they have *Weight and Force* enough to exert your Minds to *Cogitation and Reflection*, and excite you to *work out your own Redemption* with Care and Diligence from *grave Impositions*, and *solemn Slavery*, I have not labour'd in vain, I have obtain'd the End I sought for: That each *judging for himself what is right*, may be brought into the *glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*; which may be reasonably expected to be the Reward of all that seek the *Truth* with *Sincerity*; which to do, that the most *dastardly and timorous* Souls may be encouraged, to whomsoever *Truth* is their *real Aim*, the *Reward of Truth* will be their *certain End*: For *Peace of Conscience* is the Consequence of *Sincerity of Mind*, and *honourable Endeavours*; and says our Lord, *whosoever asketh, receiveth; he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.*



LECTURE II.

GENTLEMEN,

PURSUANT to our setting out, we shall further proceed, to vindicate the Right of private Judgment, from the Words of *Jesus Christ*, mention'd in *Luke xii. 57.* *Yea, and why even of your own selves, judge ye not that which is right?*

If we observe the *Context* with the *Text*, and the *Office* of *Jesus Christ* with his *Words* and *Actions*, we may imagine him thus addressing himself to the People. You can judge of the *Weather*, make just *Observations*, and draw right *Inferences* from thence; Why don't you do the same of *other Things* which as nearly concern you? Don't you see in me the *Signs* of a *Messenger of Truth*, and why don't you make right *Conclusions* from what I deliver? Why don't you evidently perceive that I am the *Messiah*, by whom you are to be *freed*, not from the *Roman Power*, but from the *Power of Priests*, who rule over your *Consciences*, from the *Yoke of Tradition* that blinds your *Understanding*, and from that of *Superstition* which makes you *Fools* and *Bigots*? If you did but exercise the

same *common Sense* in *Things of Religion*, as you do in the *change of Seasons*, and common *Affairs*, it would be no difficult Task for you to *Judge in yourselves what is right.*

The *Power* or *Faculty* which is peculiar to *Man*, to judge of speculative *Points*, is call'd his *Reason*. All *Creatures* seem to have a kind of *Reason*, sufficient to supply their *Wants*; *Mans Wants* being greater than all other *Creatures*, his *Reason* is magnified in *Proportion* thereto. *Birds*, *Brutes*, and *Insects* seem not to want *Reason* necessary for their well *Being*; but as *Man* has *Desires* and *Views* beyond these, so is the *Extension* of his *Reason* beyond them all. As *Man* is by *Speech* and *Instruction* render'd a *social Creature*, he perceives his *Happiness* to consist in *Society*; therefore extends his *Views* to larger *Prospects*, than the narrow confines of his own little *Being*; *Souls* thus delighted, exert all their *Powers* to enlarge their *social Bliss*; the more they increase in *Love* to mankind, the more they endeavour to improve their *Knowledge*.

As

As nothing can be more *desirable* to honest Minds than the *Knowledge of sacred Truth*, it being productive of the greatest Satisfaction, so the Means to obtain it, has always been esteem'd the *first grand necessary Point*. TRUTH has been by the better Part of Mankind laboriously sought after, and esteemed of inestimable Value: But those who seek *Riches* and *Honour* as their most desirable good, have made it their Business in all Ages, as much as possible, to bar up an easy access to it; declaring that alone to be the *right Way*, which is most conducive to their own *private Ends*. This formidable Army is the *Power* we are to attack, if no *Power* but that of *Reason* only interfere to decide the *Battle*, to determine the Issue of the *Controversy*, to which all righteous Powers ought to submit; we may set at Defiance all manner of *Priestcraft* throughout the World, nor fear obtaining the Honour of a *Victorious Triumph*. This the *Enemy* is sensible of, and therefore have recourse to other unreasonable Methods, whenever they can, which are *mean* and *barbarous*; but such Methods, God be thanked, are at this Time not to be feared.

The better to understand, Whether all Men may or can Judge for themselves what is Right, let us enquire.

First, Whether all Men have Reason to Judge for themselves?

Secondly, In what Sense Reason may be said to be always Right.

Thirdly, In what Sense, and by what Means, the Reason of the common People is generally de-

prav'd, and their Judgments warp from Rectitude.

Then, draw some *Inferences* from the Premises, and so conclude.

First then, let us examine, Whether all Men have Reason to judge for themselves?

That all Men generally have some *Power to Reason*, or *reasonable Faculties*, is commonly allowed, though there may be an Exception to this General Rule; *Fools* and *Madmen* must be excluded; the Organs of Cogitation, the Sensorium or Nerves in the Brain, in natural *Idiots*, seem marr'd in their make, and those in *Maniacks* distracted by some accidental Violence, and so render'd untuneable; therefore neither of these belong to the general Class we are now to consider of. Those that are incapable of receiving Instruction have not Reason.

But there is a kind of Stupidity in some, that proceeds not always from an *Incapacity*, but often from a wrong Education, and *perverse* or *slothful* Disposition. Some are not *made* Fools by Nature, but are *render'd* so by the ill bent of their Affections, or by a vicious Education. They are not *indocible*, but *incorrigible*; they will not be improv'd by Art; Nature has given them Endowments, but they will not make use of them: Therefore they seem not to *possess* what they do not *Exercise*. The Reasons of this brutality of Mankind, shall be consider'd in their Place.

If there is not generally in Mankind, a *Capacity* of judging what is Right, Why did *Jesus*, and
Why

Why do we, appeal to that Capacity or Power in them so to do?

If the *Light of common Sense* was not come into the World, how could the Deeds of Darkneſs be condemn'd? Deeds which ſhun the Light, and tremble at Diſcovery. God has given to every Species of Creatures, Abilities fit for their well being; and can we ſuppoſe he has been leſs bountiful to Men; that they only ſhould be ſo weak and neglected, and left ſo wretched, as to need ſupernatural Leading Strings, which themſelves cannot procure or put on; but their Spiritual Taylors, who dreſs up their Believers Imaginations in what Mode they pleaſe, and tell them their Wedding Garments muſt be cut out each according to his own Faſhion, or they'll not be permitted to enter the Bridegroom's Chamber. To put on their Modes of Faith and Worſhip, they call putting on Chriſt; but ſome of their Habits are ſuch meer Maſquerade, that they who put them on, ſeem rather to have put on the old Man with his Deeds. That there is in every Man, who has a common Capacity, a Power to Judge what is Right for himſelf muſt be granted; if Man be allowed to be a *reaſonable Creature*, and the right Exercise of it is, when Intereſt and Prejudice are ſet aſide, and the Mind left free to determine what is the Truth, without any Weight or Biſs, but that of the Nature and Reaſon of Things; and this Judgment of every ſuch individual will be very much improv'd, if there be join'd with it the Aids of other Minds, or the Aſſiſtance of other Mens Thoughts in the ſame free way of thinking.

Let us ſecondly, Enquire in

what Senſe Reaſon may be ſaid to be always Right?

By calling Man a *reaſonable Creature*, we allow that Mankind have Reaſon, or a Power to Reaſon; a Power perfect in itſelf in the ſmalleſt Degree, and if rightly exercis'd, capable of directing to neceſſary Truth: But Mens not acting perfectly conformable to it, does not deſtroy the Perfection of its Nature. I ſay, *Reaſon is perfect in its Nature, in the ſmalleſt Degree*, as the ſmalleſt Spark is perfect Fire; ſo the Power of Reaſoning, though ever ſo weak, is true Power ſo far as it is a Power. The one Talent given to be Traded with, was of the ſame Nature with the ten, and though he who had no more could not have made the Improvements the others did, he might have made ſome: No more was required of him than the right Exercise of what he receiv'd. Jeſus Chriſt ſaid to the common and ſuperſtitious People, *Why judge ye not in yourſelves that which is right*, upbraiding them with not uſing their Reaſon to make a right Judgment of Things, for the Non-exerciſe of Reaſon does not deſtroy its Power, though it renders that Power of no Service. If Reaſon be a Light in its own Nature, it cannot be Darkneſs, though it may be Eclipſ'd. If it be not uſed as a Light to any Mind, that Mind is dark, being void of Reaſon; but then we ſhould not condemn Reaſon as the Cause of that Darkneſs. He that makes a *false Guide* his Rule inſtead of his Reaſon, is in a miſerable State. If the Light that is in Man be Darkneſs, how great is that Darkneſs.

To ſay that God has not given Man ſufficient Power to do his Will,

Will, yet requires it to be done, is to make God a *severe* and *unjust* Being, *reaping where he has not sowed, and gathering where he strawed not.* To say God has given Man a sufficient *Power* to do his Will, and not sufficient *Capacity* in himself to know what his Will is, is as absurd and no less reflecting on the justice of God; for how can a Man do the Will of God, if he knows it not? and how can it be *just* in God to require what he does not give? This Capacity to know the Law of our Maker, is our *Reason*; which must therefore be *always true* in its Nature. Yet as it is human, it may be *misused*, not through its own Fault, but by accidents that direct it; for if there be a *Mistake, Uncertainty*, or any *want of Perspicuity* in Matter of Fact, Reason is not *Eyes*, nor *Ears*, these may be deceived, *false Attestations*, or Accounts *credulously* or *rashly received*, without an impartial Enquiry by such Methods as are necessary to confirm the *Truth*, may mislead the Judgment: When this happens, and Reason is exercised on *false* Representations, not Reason, but those *Eyes, Ears, or Relaters* are faulty. Hence if we would Reason aright, we should beware of all false and precarious dreaming Stories, and pretended Visions to palm a Belief upon us, which contradicts the common Sense of Mankind. No Man can tell what *Form* or *Colour* Things are of, beyond the Ken of human Sight; and in like Manner, who so goes about to determine by Reason, what there is no Foundation for in *Sense*, may deceive himself: But Reason is still the same in it-

self, however exercised; for it always discovers the moral fitness of Facts, which are certainly and clearly transmitted to the Mind, as the *Eye* does *Colours*, or the *Ear* *Sounds*.

Indeed it must be granted, that though Reason be perfect, abstractedly considered, yet seeing it may be *misused*, Man is a *fallible* Creature, and needs Instruction.

And that, though all Men may be said to be enlightened with a *true Light*, yet 'tis certain it shines but *dim* in some, so that all Men cannot be Philosophers; some must be *hewers of Wood, and drawers of Water* to the Congregation: Nature has wisely formed some for that Service. But when the Tribe of *Levi* are of this sort, they are made holy Butchers for the Service of the Sanctuary, and make the Altar sacred with the Blood of Lambs: *Ignorance* is made use of to slaughter *Innocent*. As the *Light of Reason* but faintly emits its Rays in some of the human Form, so that their Capacities seem not to exceed the Brutes, as to any Thought or Judgment beyond the common Affairs of the Life, they are exercised about, so Labour in that State of Life is all they are *fit* for, which if they perform *well* in their Stations, are certainly *good* People, proper in their Place, and ought to be valued as *useful* to the Common Wealth. But an incapacity of Judgment in Things morally fit, does not always arise from the *natural Make* of the Man, but oft-times because Men do not make use of the *Endowments*, which God by Nature has given them.

This leads us to the *third* Thing, which is to enquire, Why
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Mens Reasons are generally depraved, and their Judgments warp from Rectitude? I have considered of three grand Causes, tho' perhaps more may be given.

1st, If a *false* Foundation be laid for a *true*, the Conclusions proceeding from thence as directed by Reason, may be rightly drawn, yet very false in themselves; because founded on a false Hypothesis.

If a House be ever so well built on a sandy Foundation by the Sea-side, the rising Surges, the tempestuous Waves, and stormy Winds will lay it waste. All we know by Reason is true, according to the Evidences on which it is founded; if those Evidences are *clear*, the Reasons naturally resulting from thence will be *clear* also: But if the *ground Work* of thinking Creatures is *wrong* laid by Education, or Authority, and they never call those *Fundamentals* in Question, nor judge for themselves different from those Rules, it is no wonder if they are *wrong* all their Life-time after.

Men cannot know the Truth, that do not impartially examine what is Right or Wrong from the Foundation. Mens Reasons should look *backward* as well as *forward*; for Men are too often trained up in Error, and blinded by Tradition.

If a Man Trade on a borrowed Stock of *Faith*, which upon Examination proves a *Counterfeit*, it can be no wonder if upon making up the Balance, the *believing Trader* finds himself a *spiritual Bankrupt*.

2^{dly}, If *right* Premises or Propositions are laid down, but not *clearly understood*, Men may by their Reasons draw *false* Conclusions;

thus Reason *wrong*, as to the *right Sense* of the Propositions, though *right* as to their Apprehensions of them: Thus Men may be *deceived*, at the same Time they think themselves in the Right.

Here we are allowed to say, that Men may teach *false Doctrines* out of the Scripture by *mistaking its Sense*; for in it are *many Things hard to be understood* aright. 'Tis easy then for Men of no deep Penetration to err; and making that Error their Foundation to Reason from, it is called the mistake of their Reason, though it be not so, but their mistake of the Sense of Scripture Words and Phrases, which they extract their Doctrines from. The *Original* of the Scripture cannot be wrong, for where is it to be found in the World? Yet the *Translation* is often found fault with, though it has been the *honest Labour* of very *Learned Men*.

It is no Virtue to receive any Thing implicitly or by Authority; because though it may be *true*, What Assurance has the Believer that it is so? What Reward can be due to those who receive all Things upon *Trust*? for he that believes in the *true God* by the *Faith of Education* only, had he been educated an *Idolater*, would have believed in *Idols*: What then is he better who believes in *Christ* by Education *merely*, than he that believes in *Moses* or *Mahomet*? For if he had been taught to believe in one of these, he would have been a *Jew* or *Mahometan*: Or *Joss* of *India* would have been quite as *sacred* a Name to him, as *Jesus* of *Nazareth*: Nor is an implicit Believer of

of even *Truth* itself able to defend it; since he is ignorant of the Reasons which alone can do it. Much of our Wisdom consists in *unlearning* what we have wrong *learned*; for Notions that are industriously taught for filthy Lucre's sake up and down in the World, will not bear the Test of *sober and rational Enquiry*, and ought therefore to be rejected.

3dly, Another Kind of Error in Judgment proceeds from Mens *Stubbornness* in Opinion, Zeal for their own Way, which they like not to hear spoken against, or condemned by the *clearest* Reasons, and this Class I shall distinguish into five Sorts.

1st, Those that knowing their own *Inability* to reason about such Principles which their Pastors puzzle them with, take all they say for granted, give themselves up in *blind Obedience* to all their Doctrines and Directions, and thinking them *mighty Scholars* because of their *all-confounding Nonsense*, give into their *System* and believe all they say. These go wherever their *Shepherd* leads them, and though not quite so *harmless*, are as *silly* as *Sheep*.

2dly, Some are willing to think themselves in the Right because they think it scandalous to *change* their Sentiments. This is commonly the Vice of the Antient. Shall I, says a *grave Senior*, grown grey with the Weight of revolving Years, *change my Sentiments*, and as it were my *Religion*, which I have been *wedded* to so long; and own to the World that I have lived all my Life in *Error*? Ah no! this ill becomes my *Gravity*. Old Men are commonly *inflexible*; as there is no chang-

ing grey Hairs to *youthful Colour*, so whoever has been *accustomed* to a Road of thinking for three or four score Years, and *pleased* only with that Road, cannot easily by the most powerful Arguments be led out of it. He is like an *Engine of Clock-work* that is set a-going by Art, and must go by the Force of its Spring or Weight, in the same Manner it ever did, till the Spring or Weight be down. The way of Thinking of such sort of Men becomes an *Habit*, and powerful as *Nature* itself. Who would encounter such a *potent Adversary*? or who that does, can hope for *Success*? which if it be possible to obtain, is not to be done by all the Reason in the World at the Times when these Men are fancying themselves *most Devout*; for *Superstition* and *Enthusiasm*, the *Pride of Religion*, joined with the *invincible Force of long Custom*, bears down all before it. But at the Times, if ever there are such that can be happily struck in with, when the *Religious Uproar* of their Minds is *silent*, when they dare to *doubt* of the *Absurdities* and *Incredibilities* of their own Opinions, (which are not *properly their own*, but such as have been put into them), only then, they are capable of receiving Information, and seeing themselves in an Error, or at least of being brought to believe, that other Men possibly who differ from them, may be in the right in some Things, at least so far as may entitle them to the Favour of God; and that no Man has a proper Claim to it for merely adhering to Principles taught when a Child; nor any Man expelled his Favour, for abdicating those

Principles who perceives them erroneous; and that every Man may be permitted to judge in himself what is right.

3dly, Some are *careless* and *indifferent* whether they are right or wrong, they think it safest to be protected by *Authority*, that it is most pleasing to follow the prevailing *Fashion* of Religion as well as *Habit*, and cautiously resolve not to swim against the Stream. These if Religion does them no good, they do no hurt with it; they are religiously *harmless*, and so indifferent that there is no fear of their being *Señaries*. This Class of Men if they deserve no *Applause*, ought not to be condemned; because they are to be esteemed some of the best Members of every established Church. These are never *Righteous over-much*, which is as *Mischievous* as to be *over-much Wicked*. The same *Extreams* are equally distant from the *Mean* of the *Purity*, *Social Love*, and *Wisdom* of true Religion. They that are *over-much Righteous* are always hurtful Creatures, to their Neighbours, Relations, or Themselves. For when a Man with an *empty Head* has it filled with a *Priest*, he neglects the taking care of his Family, and runs up and down from one Church or Place to another, praying God to do it.

Many of those that seem indolent in Matters of Religion, who are *indifferent* as to *Forms of Worship*, and *careless* in their *Credenda*, have the Powers of the Mind running in another Channel, and biased by the Influence of other Views in their different Stations of Life; which if it be *laudable*, may be their Way to *Happiness*;

for though every Way to it be *straight* and *difficult*, therefore requires *Industry*; many are the Ways that lead to it. If the Motive be *Just* and *Honourable*, the Pursuit must be *good* and *virtuous*. He that rightly exercises the Dispositions Nature has given him, serves God and Mankind acceptably, as well one way as another.

4thly, There belong to the Class of those that obstinately err in Judgment, some who from a *Fondness* of being thought religious, and *glorying* in a Shew of Profession, suck in the Notions of their *right holy Nurses*, like Mother's Milk. The *Professor* says, Oh what a *heavenly Man* is our Preacher! how *feelingly* he talks of the Work of the Spirit! and if he often mentions the Name of CHRIST, though perhaps to little Purpose, only to sanctify a *pitiful Performance*, The *Professor* cries out, Oh this is a *rare Christ Preacher*! A *worthy Man of God*! this being carried to the Ears of the pious Divine, and the *Testimony* being sealed with the *Paro* of the *Golden Calf*, he avers his Disciple is a right good Christian.

Thus the Characters of each are fixed, and it is no less than Sacrilege to observe any *Flaw* in their Judgment or Behaviour. I say not this to encourage Censoriousness, or Slander: But after all, his *effectual Preaching* so called, amounts to no more than this, the making some *tender Matrons* sigh and groan, and *timorous Youths* to cry and run into *Despair*; because they are taught to believe that God is a *very hard Master*; though the Preacher himself don't tell them how *easy* he finds God's

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Service to him, and what *feeling Joy*, what *effectual Reward*, the Work of Grace brings, when it prospers in his *Hands*. He powerfully inculcates the Doctrines of *Free Grace* and the *New Birth* to his Hearers, and well he knows the Believer has the *true Marks*, when he *feels* them in his *Fingers*.

Hence is the Fifth and last Reason I have at present to give, why Men obstinately err in Judgment.

Of this Sort are all they, who from their *Fidelity* and *Honesty* to the *Interest* of *Mammon*, have no other left. That which suits *this*, is *Truth* to them; and what does not is *schismatical*, *heretical*, or whatever they please to call it. Some there be of this kind that to monopolize the whole Market to themselves, oblige Men to pay for what they do not want, nor use, and would despise if they had the *Wares* for nothing. What can any Man think but that these *Impsters* have no *Conscience* at all, and therefore ought never to talk of it: Yet what all *Tradesmen* and *Merchants* would laugh at; none make greater *Pretensions* to it; their whole *Trade* being nothing else but to talk about it, and therefore deserve not the Honour of being rank'd among *fair Dealers*.

But from such whose Gain is their *Godliness*, let us turn away; The wise Man's Eyes are in his Head, says Solomon; his Reason is rightly grounded and directed, not built on false Bottoms, not drawn from false Premises. The wise Man's Rule is that divine Law of moral *Fitness*, which teaches what is just and good, which is generally more or less evident, as it is more or less observ'd and obey'd. The Good of Society, and

the Felicity of Mankind, depend on their Adherence to it. This, if rightly regarded, is a sufficient Director to make Men as happy as they can be; for by Reason rightly exercis'd and improv'd, Men know all moral and speculative Truths they can know; and it has always been an effectual Means to make rational Creatures wise and virtuous, if they have been so made at all.

No more Perfection can be in any Creature than its Nature is capable of; Man's Nature is only capable of moral Perfection, which Reason teaches, for all Morality is directed by right Reason, 'tis the utmost Perfection of human Nature: Nor can there be any greater Holiness found in Man or requir'd of him. If he fancy himself possess'd of any other, it must be on the Credit of his *Spiritual Merchant*, whose *Wares* being *Chimerical*, are never vendible, but when uninquisitive Chapmen go to Market. Reason is said to be corrupted when it is exercis'd on wrong Subjects, or to a wrong End, or bad Purposes; therefore a wise Man examines well if the Corner-Stone of his Building be elect and precious, and is careful that his Aims are such, as are conducive to the highest Happiness, and productive of the greatest Good his Station is capable of to himself and Mankind. He considers well the Cause, and weighs well the Effects. If he errs, as who is wise at all Times, and in all Respects, he is acquitted of Guilt if his Intentions are just. As no Man is all-knowing, so no Man is all-wise; and as Man is a mutable, so every Man is a fallible Creature: Yet by his doing his Endeavour, and employ-

ing his *Talents* in the *best* Manner he can, if he should not *improve* them, (which is hardly possible) he has *deserv'd Success*, and thereby acquitted himself of Guilt. He that trades in the World with *Honesty* and *Industry*, but *fails*, Men will *pity*, and give him *Credit* again: Is God less just or merciful than Men? Tho' Merit be not always rewarded with *apparent Success*, yet it is not for that the less Merit. *God who sees not as Man sees, but regards the Heart*, doubtless rewards Man's *honest Endeavour* with *internal Peace* and *Tranquility*.

From what has been said we may infer,

1st, If the wrong Biass of our prevailing Passions or Prejudices mislead the Judgment, and cause us to swerve from moral Rectitude, how careful should we be, who make Truth our Aim, to guard against those Adversaries of our Bliss which frustrate all our Endeavours.

If we have mental Faculties which rightly improv'd will lead us to Truth, let us make a proper Use of them, by thinking and reasoning freely; let us regard this intellectual Light, and be careful to preserve it by supplying our *Lamps* with *Oil*; by improving our reasonable Faculties, with what Learning and Doctrines may preserve their luminous Splendor, to order our Conduct aright, that we may not be found in the same Case with the *foolish Virgins*, whose *Lamps* of Reason went out through Carelessness, and being involv'd in the *Darkness* of *Mysteries*, were shut out of the *Kingdom of Truth*.

2^{dly}, Since the inadvertent Part of Mankind are the incurious Searchers after *Truth*, it is evident the Populace know it not; it is out-voted by Numbers. He that would find it must not herd with the Multitude, yet *Truth* affects no Singularity, but is *plain, free, and unaffected*.

Tho' the Throng have excluded Truth, and tho' it is the Business of many, to stand like *Mercuries* at the Turnings of the Highways, directing honest Enquirers to go that Road which most conduces to their *Gain*, not the Way that is most right; yet by those that seek Truth in the right Way of Reason, directed by Nature, or by wise Observations of Nature's Rules, and biass'd by no other Passion than the *sincere Love* of it, it may be found *plain Understanding*, and *irrefragably convincing* to the Judgment.

3^{dly}, Let them that would find Truth, beware of the Ministers of *Mammon*; who ever comes to Truth must be careful of *their* Road, must cautiously doubt and examine what is impos'd on them by *their* Authority.

4^{thly}, If there are so many Ways of Deception into which the Vulgar run, how wary should we be to avoid all these dangerous Rocks and unheeded Quick-sands, and *strive to enter in at the strait Gate* of Wisdom, or Truth, for *few there be that find it*.

For what Men generally call Truths, are *their own* Sentiments of Things. These are as different as their *Educations*, and depend thereon; but *Truth must be founded on the Reason and Nature of the Things themselves, or there is no*

Foundation in Nature for Truth. He that knows the Voice of Truth will not follow the Voice of a Stranger. The Stranger utters incomprehensible Mysteries, pretended secret Decrees, his Oracles hold forth unintelligible Enigma's, roaring with anathematizing Bulls, and terrible Thunders in Fire and Smoke, an excellent Emblem of dark Zeal.

But the Voice of Truth by Nature is plain and easy, soft and entrancing, sweet and alluring, wise and informing the Head, virtuous and reforming the Heart, Glory is in her right Hand, and Peace is in her left: It is that *Wisdom* which is better than Rubies or fine Gold, and all the Things Men can desire are not to be compared with it.

Did Men really know, that the only Thing necessary to be known with regard to God and Religion is principally that of *their Duty to*

each other, in their different Stations of Life, they would not be so easily deceiv'd, and terrified from exercising their reasonable Faculties by damnation Doctrines about Faith; they would be more wise and honest, and enjoy Life with more Pleasure and Freedom; but then the Pride, the Power, and the Profit of mysterious assuming and dictating Priests and Preachers would be laid low; their Pageantry and Superstitions would be brought down; Men would have the highest Veneration for Wisdom and Truth, Honesty and plain Dealing; they would not swallow down the mischievous Principles they do, and with such fiery Zeal contend for them; but social Virtue, and harmonious Love, the very Soul of Religion, would shine thro' all our Actions, and translate this World into Paradise.

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THE
HISTORY
AND
CHARACTER
OF
St. PAUL, Examined:

IN A

Letter to THEOPHILUS, a Christian Friend.

Occasioned by Observations on the Conversion
and Apostleship of St. PAUL: In a Letter to
GILBERT WEST, Esq;

With a PREFACE by Way of
POSTSCRIPT.

It is not good to have Respect of Persons in Judgment.

Prov. xxiv. 33.

*Antehac non soleo multum tribuere fabulis, quæ vulgò feruntur; sed
posthac multò minus tribuam: suspicor enim ab hominibus credulis
multa pro veris prodita literis,*

ERASMUS.

L O N D O N:

Printed for and Sold by F. PAGE, near St. Paul's.

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It is not good to have respect to Persons in Judgment.
Prov. xxiv. 33.
Katharine and John, authors of the present, have been
persecuted and banished from their native country
for their religious opinions.

L O N D O N:
Printed for and Sold by J. P. A. and G. T. 1795.



*The Historians Account
of PAUL.*

Acts ix.

1. **A**ND Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord,

went unto the high priest.

2. And desired of him letters to *Damascus* to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto *Jerusalem*.

3. And as he journeyed he came near *Damascus*, and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven.

PAUL's Account before the Roman chief Captain and the People at Jerusalem.

Acts xxii.

3. **I** Am verily a man which am a Jew, born in *Tarsus*, in *Cilicia*, yet brought up in this City, at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, and taught according to the perfect Manner of the Law of the Fathers, and was zealous towards God, as ye all are at this day.

4. And I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women.

5. As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to *Damascus*, to bring them which were there bound unto *Jerusalem*, for to be punished.

6. And it came to pass, that as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto *Damascus*, about noon suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me.

PAUL's Account before Agrippa Festus, and principal Men at Cesarea.

Acts xxvi.

9. **I** Verily thought with my self, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*.

10. Which thing I also did in *Jerusalem*: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priest; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them.

11. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme, and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities.

12. Whereupon as I went to *Damascus* with authority and commission from the chief priests.

13. At mid-day, O king, I saw in the way alight from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me, and them that journeyed with me.

4. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest thou me?

7. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest thou me?

14. And when *we were all fallen to the earth*, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

5. And he said, who art thou, Lord? and the Lord said, I am *Jesus* whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

8. And I answered, who art thou, Lord? and he said unto me, I am *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom thou persecutest.

15. And I said, who art thou, Lord? and he said, I am *Jesus* whom thou persecutest

6. And he trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? and the Lord said unto him, arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.

10. And I said what shall I do, Lord? and the Lord said unto me, arise and go into *Damascus*, and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do.

16. But rise, and stand upon thy feet, for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister, and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee.

17. Delivering thee from the people, and from the *Gentiles*, unto whom now I send thee.

18. To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified, by faith that is in me.

19. Whereupon, O king *Agrippa*, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.

7. And *the men* that journeyed with him stood speechless, *hearing a voice*, but seeing no man.

9. And they that were with me, saw indeed the light, and were afraid, but *they heard not the voice* of him that spake to me.

8. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened *he saw no man*: but they *led him by the hand*, and brought him into *Damascus*.

11. And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being *led by the hand* of them that were with me, I came into *Damascus*.

9. And he was three days without sight, and did neither eat nor drink.

10. And there was a certain disciple at *Damascus*, named *Ananias*, and to him said the Lord in a vision, *Ananias*, and he said, behold I am here Lord.

11. And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street, which is called *Strait*, and enquire in the house of *Judas*, for one called *Saul* of *Tarsus*: for behold he prayeth.

12. And hath seen in a vision a man named *Ananias*, coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his sight.

13. Then *Ananias* answered, Lord, I have heard of many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at *Jerusalem*.

14. And here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name.

15. But the Lord said unto him go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my Name before the *Gentiles*, and Kings and the children of *Israel*.

16. For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name sake.

17. And *Ananias* went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him, said, Brother *Saul*, the Lord, (even *Jesus* that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest) hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the holy ghost.

18 And immediately there fell from his eyes, as it had been scales; and he received sight forthwith, and he arose and was baptized.

12. And one *Ananias* a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the *Jews*, that dwelt there.

13. Came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, brother *Saul* receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked upon him.

14. And he said the God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that just one, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth.

19. And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. Then was *Saul* certain days with the disciples which were at *Damascus*.

15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men, of what thou hast seen and heard.

16. And now why tarriest thou? arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.

20. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God.

21. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, is not this he which destroyed them that called on this name in *Jerusalem*, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests?

22. But *Saul* increased the more in strength, and confounded the *Jews* which dwelt at *Damascus*, proving that this is very Christ.

23. And after that many days were fulfilled, the *Jews* took counsel to kill him.

24. But their laying in wait was known of *Saul*, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him.

25. Then the disciples took him by night and let him down by the wall in a basket.

26. And when *Saul* was come to *Jerusalem*, he assayed to join himself to the disci-

17. And it came to pass, that when I was come again to *Jerusalem*, even while I

20. But shewed first unto them at *Damascus*, and at *Jerusalem*, and thro' out all the coasts of *Judea*, and then to the *Gentiles*, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.

ples, but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple.

27. But *Barnabas* took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at *Damascus*, in the name of *Jesus*.

28. And he was with them coming in and going out at *Jerusalem*.

29. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord *Jesus*, and disputed against the *Grecians*; but they went about to slay him.

30. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to *Cesarea*, and sent him forth to *Tarsus*.

31. Then had the churches rest, &c.

prayed in the temple, I was in a trance.

18. And saw him saying unto me, make haste, and get thee quickly out of *Jerusalem*, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.

19. And I said Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee.

20. And when the blood of thy martyr *Stephen* was shed, I also was standing by and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.

21. And he said unto me, depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the *Gentiles*.

21. For these causes the *Jews* caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.

22. Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets, and *Moses* did say should come.

23. That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people and to the *Gentiles*.

BOOKS written by the same Author.

1. *The Resurrection of JESUS considered, in answer to The Trial of the Witnesses.*
2. *The Resurrection reconsidered, in answer principally to The Resurrection cleared.*
3. *The Resurrection-Defenders stripped of all Defence, in answer to Mr. Jackson, Mr. Sylvester, Mr. Chandler, and the Clearer.*
4. *Supernaturals Examined; containing, 1. An Answer to the Observations of the Evidence of the Resurrection of JESUS by Gilbert West, Esq. 2. An Answer to Mr. Jackson on Miracles and Prophecies, shewing the Impossibility of the one, and the Falshood of the other. 3. An Answer to A Defence of the peculiar Institutions and Doctrines of Christianity against Deism, fairly stated and fully vindicated.*



A N

EXAMINATION, &c.

I. To Theophilus, of Friendship and Examination.

Know very well that
 I Difference in Opinion
 makes no Difference
 with you, *Theophilus*,
 in Friendship; and
 therefore the Disagreement of our
Sentiments in any respect, that has
 no Relation to our moral Conduct,
 will never break through those sacred
 Bounds; we having resolved
 it shall be an invincible Maxim
 with us, that nothing shall destroy
 our Amity but Knavery; concluding,
 that true Friendship is founded
 in natural Affection and moral
 Virtue.

The mighty Performance, *Theophilus*, you recommended to my
 Perusal, and desired my Opinion
 concerning, which hath indeed
 that Subtilty and Art that are
 needful to the Subject, I have
 considered; and now communi-
 cate my Thoughts on it to you,
 and to those that are disposed
 to examine carefully into Things.
 Superficial Views often deceive
 the Judgment. Truth seldom runs
 like Water after a Shower upon
 the Surface, or in the open Chan-
 nels, but is like a Spring at the
 Bottom of a deep Well, and he

must labour that will draw it up.
 The Passions of Men hurry them
 on with Impatience, that they
 neither take Time nor Pains suf-
 ficient to inspect and attend to the
 intrinsic Truth of Things; their
 Minds being eagerly employed in
 shifting Scenes, they take up with
 a transient View, and seldom make
 those wise Observations that are
 necessary to come at Wisdom and
 Truth.

II. On the introductory Part of the Observations on St. Paul.

In * my Contemplations on this
 Subject, O! *Theophilus*, I am sur-
 prised that any reasoning Christian
 can pretend to draw Proofs for his
 Religion from *Prophecies of the
 Old Testament*; since very few, if
 any, can be literally applied; and
 I am no less surprised, that it should
 be presumed to have any necessary
*Connection with the Jewish System
 of Religion*, which St. Paul sets up
 Christianity to pull down; and
 abrogates the *Jewish*, as well as
 the *Pagan*. 'Tis also strange it
 should be conceived that *Proofs*
 can be drawn from the *Miracles of
 Christ* †, seeing the Evangelists
 themselves

* Obs. p. 1.

† Mat. xii. 38. xvi. 1.

themselves bewray this Information to us, * that the Jews were not convinced of any Miracles done by him; and that the Evidence of his Resurrection has upon the strictest Examination appeared by invincible Proof insufficient to convince any impartial Enquirer. † These Things induce me to search, whether the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul alone, duly considered, is a Demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a Divine Revelation; because if so, this Proof is independent of that.

III. The Acts and Paul's Epistles antiently rejected.

The honourable Vindicator of this Apostle says, ‡ *The Authenticity of St. Paul's Writings cannot be doubted, without overturning all Rules, by which the Authority and Genuineness of any Writings can be proved, and confirmed.* But how does the Truth of this Assertion appear? Have they not been a Matter of Doubt to many? Have not the Genuineness of several of what are now called St. Paul's Epistles been doubted of by whole Churches of Christians themselves? And if any should do the same now, what Rules do they overturn by which the Authority and Genuineness of any other Writings can be proved or confirmed? The Manicheans, once no inconsiderable Sect of Christians, rejected as spurious our whole New Testament, and shewed other Scriptures. The Acts of the Apostles was denied by the Corinthians and Marcionites. Not only the Acts were rejected by the Encra-

tites and Severians, but all Paul's Epistles. St. Chrysostom, in a Homily he made on the Title of the Acts, says, "That in his Time" (which was the End of the "fourth Century) not only the "Author and Collector, but the "Book it self, was unknown to "many." The Valentinians and many ancient Sects of Christians accused our Scriptures of Error and Imperfection, of Contradiction and Insufficiency without Tradition, as we are informed by Irenæus. The Ebionites or Nazarenes, who were the first Christians, rejected all Paul's Epistles, as those of an Enemy and an Impostor, as say Origen and Eusebius.

IV. Of the Credibility of the Heretics and Orthodox.

If it be objected, that the Authority of Heretics is of no Validity. I answer, with me 'tis equal to that of the Orthodox; for every Sect were ever Heretics to one another. What Credit can be given to the Orthodox, when they report Falshoods one after another, as if it were for Company's Sake, and then their different Writings are produced for Proof to one another of what they say. So this notorious Falsity is asserted by the Orthodox, that Celsus allowed of the Miracles of Christ, because they have been taught to say so, they proceed (either without or against Conviction) to assert after one another what the first falsely said. In other Cases this would argue the greatest

* John ii. 18.

† See the Resurrection of Jesus considered, the Resurrection re-considered, and the Resurrection Defenders stripped of all Defence.

‡ Obf. p. 7.

greatest *Partiality* in the World, and overturn *all those Rules*, by which the want of the *Genuineness of Writings* can be examined and detected. It follows then, that because either Side has attested or rejected any Thing, 'tis no Argument with me that it is true or false, on their Authority or the want of it. Where is Opposition to be sought for but among those of a different Party? And till it can be proved that one are given to lying more than another, their Evidence will be esteemed alike credible. If the Authority of *Heretics* is of no Account, it is because they want Power. And 'tis the having Power gives Authority to the *Orthodox*. What then can be depended on for Truth from any Party among them? Certainly an impartial Man cannot expect it more on one Side than another: Therefore the Evidence of one Party is equal to the Evidence of another with him that is of neither; which sufficiently destroys all Authority of Christian Tradition, and leaves us to the Guidance of Reason only; especially if we farther consider, that those Writings now esteemed Apocryphal have been received as true by some Christian Sects; and those that we esteem true, have been deemed Apocryphal. And in ancient Churches the true and spurious have been read together; so that originally they may have been alike authentic, for aught any one now living can determine to the contrary; For

the same Authority has been attributed to the Spurious as to the Genuine, by one Church or another *.

With what Justice then can it be affirmed, that the *Authenticity of St. Paul's Writings* cannot be doubted without overturning all Rules, by which the Authority and Genuineness of any Writings can be proved and confirmed, when their own Inconsistencies, Contradictions, and Absurdities, to those that carefully search, will be found to be their own Refutation. Nothing is more necessary than positive Assertion where plain Proof is wanting; but nothing looks worse in a Disputant. The greatest Adversary to Truth is usurped Authority; and this is to all my Adversaries their best Defence: Without these Pretensions they can do nothing; and with it they can do nothing that is right.

V. The Testimony of ancient Christian's concerning Paul and the Scriptures.

The Acts of the Apostles which the Ebionites or Nazarenes had recorded among other Things, that 'Paul was originally a Hea-
' then, that he came to Jerusa-
' lem, staid there for some Time,
' and had a Mind to marry the
' High Priest's Daughter, on the
' Account of which he became a
' Profelyte, and was circumcised;
' but that afterwards, not ob-
' taining the young Woman he
' was angry, and wrote against
' Circumcision, against the Sab-

* The Roman Church allow that all the Greek Copies that now are, are basely corrupted, and therefore pretend that their vulgar Latin is the only True. See the Preface to the Rhemish Testament.

‘ bath, and against keeping the
 ‘ Law.’ You have been already
 ‘ informed, *Theophilus*, that
 ‘ the *Nazarenes* were the first com-
 ‘ mon Name for Christians; *Paul*
 ‘ you know is called the Ring-
 ‘ leader of the Sect of the *Naza-*
 ‘ *renes*; and *Epiphanius*, who in-
 ‘ forms us with what I last quoted,
 ‘ says, that the Christians took
 ‘ this Name to themselves from
 ‘ *Jesus of Nazareth*. The Name of
 ‘ *Ebionites*, or *Beggars*, was given
 ‘ them by their Enemies, by way
 ‘ of Contempt. And we are told,
 ‘ that the *Disciples* were first called
 ‘ *Christians* at Antioch. If Autho-
 ‘ rity is to be fetched from Anti-
 ‘ quity, this I suppose of *Epiphanius*
 ‘ has as good a Claim to it as any
 ‘ Christian Tradition.

* One *Fauftus*, a *Manichean*,
 ‘ writes concerning the Gospels,
 ‘ that they were wrote a long
 ‘ Time after the Apostles by cer-
 ‘ tain obscure Persons, who, left
 ‘ no Credit should be given to
 ‘ the Stories they told, of what
 ‘ they could not know, prefixed
 ‘ to their Writings the Names of
 ‘ the Apostles, which are so full
 ‘ of mistakes, of contradictory Re-
 ‘ lations and Opinions, that they
 ‘ are neither coherent with them-
 ‘ selves, nor consistent with one
 ‘ another*.’ And a little after
 ‘ he accuses his Adversaries whom
 ‘ *Power* had made *Orthodox* thus,
 ‘ Many Things were foisted by
 ‘ your Ancestors into the Scrip-
 ‘ tures of our Lord, which, tho’
 ‘ marked with his Name, agree
 ‘ not with his Faith. And no
 ‘ Wonder since we have frequently
 ‘ proved these Things were neither
 ‘ written by Himself, nor his

‘ Apostles; but several Matters
 ‘ after their Decease were picked
 ‘ up from Stories and flying Re-
 ‘ ports, by I know not what Set
 ‘ of half Jews, and these not a-
 ‘ greeing among themselves, who
 ‘ nevertheless publishing them
 ‘ under the Names of the Apo-
 ‘ stles of our Lord, or of those
 ‘ that succeeded them, have
 ‘ feigned their own Lies and Er-
 ‘ rors to be written according to
 ‘ them.’ † *Celsus* exclaims against
 ‘ the too great Liberty which the
 ‘ Christians took, as if they were
 ‘ drunk, of altering their original
 ‘ Gospel several times, that so
 ‘ they might retract and deny those
 ‘ Matters which had been urged a-
 ‘ gainst them.

VI. Of the Fathers of the Church.

All the Authority we can have
 ‘ of the Authenticity of the Chri-
 ‘ stian Traditions is from the Fa-
 ‘ thers; and of their understanding
 ‘ it is certain, they judged of what
 ‘ was right or wrong, as it suited
 ‘ with, or was opposite to their
 ‘ Party; each espousing those
 ‘ Scriptures as canonical, in
 ‘ which their peculiar Tenets
 ‘ were to be found; the rest they
 ‘ termed Apocryphal, or Deutro-
 ‘ canonical.’ As for the Testi-
 ‘ mony of the Fathers, ‘ all know,
 ‘ who are ever so little acquaint-
 ‘ ed with their Writings, that
 ‘ they are not to be credited in
 ‘ the Relation, scarce of any one
 ‘ single Matter of Fact, for the
 ‘ many Negligences, Imperti-
 ‘ nences and Falshoods that are
 ‘ found in them; eat up as they
 ‘ were with the grossest Supersti-
 ‘ tions.’—*Papias*, the Tutor of
Irenæus,

* *Augustin contra Faust.* l. 32, 33.

† *Origen contra Celsus*, l. 2.

Irenæus, was (as *Eusebius* says) a Man of weak Judgment and a fabulous Author, and one who led many into Error, and particularly his Pupil *Irenæus* a simple and credulous Man, who is the first Ecclesiastical Writer of Note. No wonder the Followers of an erroneous Guide are led into Errors.

To be particular about the Fathers, their Ambition, Insolence, Avarice, Ignorance, Faction, Sedition, Persecution of each other, Cruelty, Murders, Lies and Forgeries, and other flagrant Vices would be endless; yet these are the Men whose Honesty we are to depend upon for conveying to us the Oracles of Truth*. Are we to learn our Religion from those who wanted Charity? Or our Charity and Meekness? From Men who were perpetually quarrelling with and cursing each other? No People upon Earth ever differed more, nor proceeded with greater Fury and Bitterness in their Differences. They were constantly quarrelling about the smallest as well as the greatest Points; and for the smallest as well as the greatest they damned one another.—Does their fainting Villains and Assassins, as sometimes they did, entitle them to the Character and Reverence of Saints? Does their eternal Contention and Contradiction qualify them for the Center of Unity? Is their turbulent Spirit and their wild want of common Sense their ravenous Avarice and flaming Ambition, their Fury and Fighting, their frequent

change of Opinion, their Apostacy and Murders; are all these, or any of them proper Guides of God's People? And that these Marks belong to many of the Fathers, and all of them to some, is too manifest. Another Author † observes, that the Fathers too, in almost all Traditions, follow one another, like so many Geese in a Train, having neither the Honesty nor Abilities to look carefully into Things, or to consider the Nature of that Evidence by which only they ought to have been governed in relation to sacred Things.——In a Word, a Man might fill Volumes with the bare Recital only, and that from the very best Authorities, of the Impieties and senseless Vanities of the Fathers; but indeed Ecclesiastical History has done it already to our Hands, being itself but a Compendium of their Vices.——Elsewhere the same Author reasons thus, Though 'tis fit we should give our Assent sometimes to Truths, upon the bare Testimony of others, yet this Assent will be stronger or weaker as the Testimony is more or less reasonable.—Testimony, before it can become the Object of a reasonable Assent, must be attended with these two Circumstances, Credibility of Persons, and Credibility of Things; for by these we are to judge of all History. For Instance, if what is related as fact, be agreeable to Reason and Experience, and we know the Relators to be Men of good Sense and grea

* Gordon.

† Evans.

' Fidelity, then we have the
 ' highest external Evidence of the
 ' Truth. But if we have the
 ' Relation of a Fact supposed to
 ' have been done hundreds of
 ' Years before our Time, and
 ' cannot come at the Characters
 ' of the first Relators, the Evi-
 ' dence is very much decreased ;
 ' but if the Characters of the in-
 ' termediate Relators are well
 ' known, and we have Reason to
 ' believe from their Composi-
 ' tions, or otherwise, that they
 ' were both *weak and Enthusia-*
 ' *tical, self-interested and designing*
 ' *Knaves, easily imposed on them-*
 ' *selves, and disposed to deceive o-*
 ' *thers*, then the Relation de-
 ' serves no Credit. And such a
 ' set of Men I take the Fathers,
 ' or Heads of Parties to have
 ' been, almost to a Man, during
 ' the four first Centuries, and
 ' some Time after, injudicious
 ' in all they relate, taken up
 ' with every idle Report, un-
 ' faithful, ignorant of true Re-
 ' ligion, Bigots, knavish in all
 ' favourite Points of Divinity,
 ' silly Reasoners, Betrayers of
 ' true Christianity, Platonists.
 ' This all Men see, or may see,
 ' if they will acquaint themselves
 ' with their Writings ; and that
 ' instead of establishing holy
 ' Scripture with their Testimo-
 ' nies, they have rendered it

' the most precarious Thing in
 ' the World.' Therefore the
 Truth of sacred Writings must be
 sought for by their own *internal*
Evidence.

VII. *Of the Authenticity of the
Christian Tradition, and of
Robinson Crusoe.*

They that can take for granted
 that the Books of the New Testa-
 ment must needs have been ge-
 nuine, and could not possibly be
 corrupted, may as well take for
 granted, that *Transubstantiation* and
Forgiveness of Sins by a Priest, must
 have been a Doctrine originally
 from Heaven, and could not pos-
 sibly otherwise be received in the
 Church ; because we cannot fix
 the precise Time, and Manner,
 when, where, and how the Im-
 positions begun, and were carried
 on. The Church who has a pierc-
 ing Eye to her own Advantage,
 taking what Care she could to
 conceal those Things.

Before *Printing* was found out
 and practised, it was much more
 easy to impose on the World than
 now ; notwithstanding which, ma-
 ny new Fallhoods are invented,
 and pass for Truth, at least with
 a *Party* ; for there is a Willing-
 ness in partial Men to believe
 whatever tends to promote their
 Sect or Faction *.

'Tis

* The holy *Roman* Church knew, that when her holy Secrets came to be
 public, they would be despised as not able to stand a rational Scrutiny. And
 therefore though she could not prevent what has happened, she ever has, and
 yet does take all possible Care, how, where, when, and to whom the Privilege
 of reading the Scriptures is allowed, for nothing vexes the old Lady more,
 than that her secret Debaucheries be publicly talked of by those that have ex-
 amined her Facts ; for by her Lies and Impositions she has debauched the
 common Sense of Mankind. She never permitted the Scriptures to be read in
 the common Tongue, by Persons of common Understanding, but only by
 such

'Tis confessed by Mr. Dodwell, that the Books of the New Testament did not publicly exist 'till at least *one hundred Years* after Christ. And if they had no public Existence 'till then, how can it be proved they had any *private* one before. And afterwards they were to be found only in the Hands of Ecclesiastics, 'till the *third or fourth Century*. Men who were more subtil than simple; more romantic Inventors than righteous Enquirers; and they that were simple, were more credulous than wise. Here was Time enough for the Work of Fraud and Imposture. And when Christians came to be invested with Power by *Constantine*, they established what they thought fit.

What Authority have we, *Theophilus*, for the Truth of the Scriptures, but the Scriptures themselves? Can any History prove itself? Were not the Christian Writers in the early Ages of Christianity notorious for Lies and Forgeries? For fathering spurious Pieces on *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*, and Successors? Have not latter Christians thrown out a Multitude of Books for Apocryphal, which the earliest Christians believed and read in

their Churches? There is a fine Catalogue of them in *Toland's Amyntor*. Among the Books anciently received by Christians, some are as foolish as others are romantic, *viz.* *The Pastor of Hermas*, *the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus*, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, to which may be added, the unintelligible *Revelations* of some Saints, particularly that fathered on St. *J* — the *D* — may be compared for Truth, but not for Wit, with *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, or *Don Quevedo's Visions of Hell*. If Believers in the Infancy of Christianity believed such Romance, what Reason have we to believe *them*, if Reason should guide us? If Reason is *not* to be our Guide, how came we to be wiser than they? Or how can we know in what Respects they were right, when they were wrong in so many?

If such Authority is wanting to the *Gospels* themselves, as ought to be given to establish *their* Veracity unquestionable, as certainly it is; I cannot see how St. *Paul's Epistles* can be more authentic than *those*, unless *the Servant is above his Lord*: Therefore the Christian Tradition is the least of all Histories to be

such faithful Sons as she can confide in, such as are fit to carry on her Cheat, or by some devout religious Persons, with Reverence, Secrecy and Silence, such as, if I may be allowed to speak in the *Mahometan* Phrase, have had their Senses ravished away by the Holy Ghost; or in St. *Paul's*, by such as know not whether they are in the Body-natural, or out of it, but know themselves to be in the Body-spiritual; that is, in the Body of the Church, such as have express Licence to read the Scriptures by their Priests and Confessors, that are humble enough to be stupid, devout Dunghill Souls that presume not to be wiser above what is permitted; never presuming to contend, controul, or talk of their own Sense of Scripture, or have any, having laid it all down at the Threshold of the holy Church. The Scripture being, as St. *Ambrose* calls it, *Liber sacerdotalis*, the Book of Priests. It is the Church's Tree of Knowledge, that is by a *Romish* Interdiction not to be touched in common, on Pain of Death and Damnation.

regarded for genuine and uncorrupted Truth.

It is no wonder if this *honourable Author*, who is an elegant Writer and subtil Reasoner, but a *superficial Enquirer*, could gloss over St. Paul in so shining a Manner, who was so famed an Apostle, that therest are confessed to be all Blockheads and Fools to him. The Men I contend with are Men of Parts and learning, I scorn to attack a Fool; but it is not my Learning or Parts that gives me the Victory, but the *Truth* appears so evidently on *my Side*, that it requires little of either in me to display and vindicate it. 'Tis no wonder if these Gentlemen can defend what *Custom* has established, when even I taught by them, and therefore a Novice to these Masters of Art, can give such Reasons to prove *Robinson Crusoe* a *true History*, as they themselves, by their own Arguments, might not be able to disprove, if they did not know it to be otherwise.

The Reasons that may be given to render *Robinson Crusoe* a true History are these, the *Writer* appears to be neither an *Impostor* nor an *Enthusiast* from any Part of the Story; and to have had no Design to pervert the Reason of Mankind, or impose on Men's Understandings; or to *propagate a new Religion* in the World, in order to make himself *Head of a Sect*. It contains no *Contradictions* or *Aburdities*; nothing *impossible*, *improbable* or *romantic*; when, where, by whom, or in what Language it was first written, is better known than the Books of the New Testament. The Genuineness and Authority of it was never question-

ed, nor denied. No Book was ever wrote to *disprove* it, tho' this History came forth at a Time when every Thing that has but the least Appearance of Falshood is opposed. It did not first appear *scarce* and hard to be found, nor keep an Age or two in *bugger-mugger*; nor come forth by Degrees in a few written Copies, but several hundred of printed Copies were brought forth at once from the Original. It contains nothing but what tends to the Benefit of Virtue and Religion; and the Reality of the History is believed by many. Lastly, if any Party of Men could find their Account in espousing it as Truth and Fact, it may grow into Authority *two or three hundred Years* hence. Thus by a superficial Knowledge of Things, and taking them upon Trust, what may not be plausible and credible to those that are more inclined to believe than examine?

VIII. *That the intrinsic Nature of Christian Writings best shew their Original.*

If there be no Rule in the Nature of the Thing, for judging what Writings ought to be received or rejected, then an *implicit Faith in the Authority of Tradition*, is the Rule and Foundation of the Christian Religion. And since there is scarce a darker in the World, how does the Genuineness and Authenticity of those Writings appear? Therefore proving Facts by the Book, which must be taken for granted to be true, do not prove the Truth of those Facts, no more than they prove the Truth of the Doctrines therein contained, if there are Circumstances of Suspicion in one, or Reason

Reason is against the other, however the one may be set forth, or the other defended.

I have shewn, *Theophilus*, that there have been those who certainly were more capable of knowing the Original of these Books, than any Man now can be who have accused the whole of *Falsification*; tho' we have been robbed of their Proofs, they have left us just Suspicions for doubting. And if the whole be suspected, how can it prove the Truth of its Parts? or if some Parts are proved erroneous, what Dependence can be on the rest? No doubt but if the whole be true, every Part is; but that being the Point in Question cannot be its own Proof. I make no doubt of proving Part to be wrong, if *Inconsistencies*, *Contradictions* and *Absurdities* can prove it; which will be sufficient to demonstrate that it is not to be all taken for granted; and that therefore all Reasoning from such false Foundation, must be false of consequence. I think it is our Duty to search after, discover and receive the Truth; unless it be our Duty not to see *Inconsistencies*, *Contradictions*, and *Absurdities*, when they appear before us. We cannot give equal Credit to Writings abounding with these, when we know them; as to what is void of such Confusion—We may be deceived for want of Knowledge; but when the Nature of Things are known, we no longer hesitate about them. *The Understanding of Man is the Candle of the Lord* in him, and we are commanded not to *hide* or *smother* it, but to let it appear, *that all who approach thereto may see the Light*, that it may shine before Men to the

Glory of God *. We have hitherto been examining into the Opinions of others, and the Foundation of *their* Opinions, but if we look carefully into the Nature of the Foundation itself, we shall be able to form a true Judgment by infallible Rules, not depending on uncertain Tradition from others, but on certain Knowledge of our own.

A Man tells me a Story, of the Truth of which I am wholly ignorant, one Part of it is found by Examination not true; it may then be a Question if any Part is true, especially that which cannot be examined, nor produce any Proof; at least it may be impossible to distinguish the Truth of Facts from Falshood, if artfully told, and mixed. Enquiry is commendable among wise Men: For 'tis a Mark of Folly to suffer oneself to be deceived, and a Mark of Wisdom to find out Deceit. Those that had the telling their own Stories as they pleased to their own Advantage, are not to be implicitly believed by Lovers of Truth; especially when the Story-tellers, by their Pretensions to Truth, require an implicit Faith. These generally mix some true History with their *mendacia sacra*; the one is told with seeming Simplicity, and the other is tinged with *Holiness* to make the whole go down together, without separating the Mixture and examining the Compound. The Accounts in which Errors appear, are not to be credited as human Testimony, much less as Divine.

Therefore I pass on from examining the whole in the Gross, or one Authority by another, to look

* Matth. v. 14, 15, 16.

look into its own intrinsic Truth and Harmony, maugre all Authority but that of Reason and the Nature of Things, which are eternal and invincible; and I doubt not but undeniably to prove, as the wise Celsus did, that the Christian Traditions destroy their own Authority.

Before I descend to Particulars, I shall lay before you, *Theophilus*, the whole Scope and Drift of the Author's Design; which after Quotations from the *Acts of the Apostles* concerning the Manner of St. Paul's Conversion, and others from the *Epistles*, he lays down in one Paragraph the following Plan of his Argument.

IX. The Observer's Plan and Argument shewn.

St. Paul's Advocate says, 'Now it must of Necessity be, that the Person attesting these Things of himself, and of whom they are related in so authentic a manner, either was an *Impostor*, who said what he knew to be false, with an Intent to deceive, or he was an *Enthusiast*, who by the Force of an overheated Imagination imposed on himself, or he was deceived by the *Fraud of others*; and all that he said must be imputed to the Power of that Deceit; or what he declared to be the Cause of his Conversion, and to have happened in Consequence of it, did all really happen; and therefore the Christian Religion is a Divine Revelation.'

It should have been added, or we are deceived by some unknown Writer concerning St. Paul, and by *Epistles ascribed to him which he never wrote*: This Objection was

suffocated in its Birth, which should have been principally answered; but the Impossibility of doing it, made it necessary to be taken for granted; that the *Authenticity of St. Paul's Writings cannot be doubted without overturning all Rules, by which the Authority and Genuineness of other Writings can be proved and confirmed*. But I have made the contrary evidently appear; and this might pass alone for a sufficient Answer to the Book. However, to do it *invincibly*, I shall shew, that supposing all these Writings genuine, they do not carry in them sufficient Evidence of Truth to confirm this honorable Author's Reasoning, but themselves bewray that Cause he has so well defended, and by impartial Scrutiny, the Defence will disappear, like imaginary Castles in the Air.

He attempts to prove, that 'St. Paul could not be an *Impostor*, because, as he argues, he was disinterested respecting Wealth, Reputation and Power, that he resigned for the Sake of Christianity his Fortune, Credit and Religion; that he had acquired the Contempt and Vengeance of the more wealthy, powerful and reputable Party, by deserting them; that the Morals he taught all tended to Peace and Obedience; that what he did was not to gratify any irregular Passion; that the Consequence of embracing Christianity was the suffering Persecution; that the Glory he sought could not be that of being the *Author of the Christian Religion*; that he had no Confederacy with the Apostles, none with the Men that journeyed with him, none with

with *Ananias*. That he encountered the Policy and Power of the Magistrate, the Interest, Credit, and Craft of Priests, the Prejudice and Passions of the People, the Wisdom and Pride of the Philosophers; that he was no Enthusiast, because not inclined to *Melancholy*, nor *Credulity*, nor Vanity or *Self-conceit*, nor was he ignorant or imposed on, and *Miracles* attended his Conversion and Mission. Therefore the Author concludes thus,

'I shall then take it for granted, that he was not deceived by the *Fraud* of others, and that what he said of himself cannot be imputed to the Power of that Deceit no more than to wilful Imposture, or Enthusiasm: And then it follows, that what he related to be the Cause of his Conversion, and to have happened in Consequence of it, did all really happen; and therefore the Christian Religion is a Divine Revelation.'

Though the *Gentleman* takes the whole for granted, and so argues from every Particular as true; yet I persuade myself he must have found it very difficult to have worked up every Thing in *St. Paul's Favour* as he has done; for he must needs know that *Paul* was not always punctual to Truth. When I have delivered my Thoughts on this Subject, I will make no Conclusion, that our great Apostle of the *Gentiles* was either an *Enthusiast* or an *Impostor*; but shall leave you, *Theophilus*, to make what Conclusions you please, who have often drawn more just Consequences from what

I have said, than I cared to mention. Refulgent Truth carries its own Conviction with it. For my Part, I should not have scrutinized his Character, if it had not been represented with a false Glare; nor have Thought him an Impostor, if the contrary had not been endeavoured to be proved: For it is seldom Things are questioned 'till examined.

X. *Some flighty Considerations, and of St. Paul's Flight into Heaven.*

You know, Sir, my natural Temper, which I must be indulged in. You have often compared me to a Man who being about to leap, frisks it a little beforehand, to try the Pliableness of his Joints, and the Elasticity of his Nerves, which, however displeasing it was to you at first, is now a Matter of Diversion, and something of this seems to me as necessary in dry Reasoning, as the Entertainments at a Play between the Acts.

This *Gentleman* little thinks he is perverting the Words of Christ, and overturning the Foundation of the Church, while he endeavours to defend both; for Christ said unto *St. Peter*, * *upon thee will I build my Church*; but this Author builds it on *St. Paul*; Now since the old Foundation is forsaken, we are to examine the Strength and Security of the new. For now good Christians being reduced by the Persecutions of Reason, are willing to lay hold on any Thing to save their rich Church and their poor Souls, in equal danger; for if they fall upon

* Matth. xvi. 18.

upon the Rock of Reason, their hold is *broken*, and if this Rock fall on the Church, *it will grind it to Powder*. But now their Hold being broken, and the old Foundations shaken; (for if they were not, what need they seek a *new*;) they flick to the Skirts of St. Paul, and in his Sanctuary they seek Refuge from threatening Death, and their expected Dissolution.

Since then the Church is brought to hang on this *single Thread*, it is no hard Matter to cut it in two, were it lawful to be done: But this Thread of Fate by the Law of Custom will preserve it; for the same Arguments that would prove a Man *now living* to be an Impostor or an Enthusiast, cannot prove a Man that lived 1700 Years ago and upwards to be one; and the Arguments that would be formidable when applied to *Whitefield*, *Wesley*, or any other Person among us, lose all their Force when applied to the Apostle Paul; otherwise it would not be impossible to prove the latter Person belonged to one of the former Orders.

I do not doubt but Mr. *Whitefield's* moral Character is as good as St. Paul's, who never persecuted the Church, or withstood the Bishop of it to his Face; yet I do not think his, or any other Man's moral Character, in this Age, would save him from being nominated in the list of *Impostors*, or *Enthusiasts*, if he should write, or say, that * *he knew a Man in Christ that some Time ago was caught up into the third Heaven, and heard unutterable Words, such as are not lawful for any Man to utter.*—If they could not be ut-

tered, what need has he to plead the Unlawfulness of doing it? There is no Fear of his breaking the Law by doing what he could not do. But why did they in Heaven, in St. Paul's hearing, speak that which was not lawful for him to utter on Earth? And what could they talk there which is unlawful to utter here? 'Tis strange, and certainly needless, that any law should be made on Earth to cut off News from Heaven; or an Intercourse from thence! I fancy it to be something like the Voice that spoke to Paul going to *Damascus*, which, tho' 'tis said the Men that journeyed with him *heard*, they were by them unspeakable Words; because 'tis said they *heard them not*. Do Angels never blush at talking before Men what is *not lawful for a Man to utter*? If they never blush at what they say, I think this Saint should at what he said. Should a modern Saint make the foregoing Declaration, and at the same Time confess this same Person to be *himself*; and own that where he then was he could not tell; whether a *great way off from himself*, or *beside himself*, what should we think of him? and that † *lest he should be exalted above Measure, through the Abundance of Revelations, there was given unto him a Thorn in the Flesh, the Messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above Measure.* Which brought him down from his elevated State with his Legs prone to the Ground. For this Thing ‡ *he besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from him.* Wonderful Things are spoken of the heavenly Powers! What more wonderful

* 2 Cor. xii. 4.

† Ibid. ver. 7.

‡ Ibid. ver. 8.

derful than that Heaven made him haughty, but it was the Devil that humbled him. If such a Man was among us, should we not say he was an *Enthusiast*, if he said as he meant, or an *Impostor*, if he did not. For a Man to pretend to lose himself in Heaven, and find himself with the Devil, to be lost in Revelations and found in the Mystery of Darkness; this we should say was an evident Mark of Enthusiasm, or there are no Marks of it in the World. But if he pretended this to exalt his spiritual Authority, we should think him an Impostor. His being accounted a *Saint* would not be able to save him from this Sentence. I say thus it would be, if such a Man was among us *now*; but if this be applied to any holy Person that once belonged to the Holy Land, the Censure would certainly be condemned. Therefore if this be referred to any primitive Saint there, it quite alters the Case. So one Man raises himself to Dignity by the same Way others are raised to Disgrace pendent on the triple Tree. 'Tis well therefore our Arguments in *this* Age and Country cannot reach St. Paul; he is *three Stories higher* than Man's Reason can ascend, and mounted so far out of Sight of it, that only Satan himself, or his Messenger, could find him out. The Messenger's Master found out Paul's Master in the Wilderness, and now Satan's Servant found out Christ's Servant, and brought him out of a Wilderness, in which he had lost himself. If the same battering Rams of Reason could shake the Fortrefs of

St. Paul, as would bring to the Earth and shatter in Pieces the Castles in the Air erected and elevated by a *modern Saint*, I need not proceed on any other Particulars to answer my honourable Friend; but according to my promise, *Theophilus*, I make no Application, being unwilling to shoot the Game, when all the Pleasure lies in hunting.

XI. Of the blessed Zeal of St. Paul's cursing Spirit.

What is Gospel-zeal in St. Paul, would be an enthusiastic Flash in a *modern Saint*, if that holy Apostle had not happily led and sanctified the Way, as he has done, which the Church has paved. What he has said, and through Vehemence repeated, shews us beyond all Contradiction of any dissenting Teacher, that this Man, who * was not a whit behind the chiefest Apostle, and yet the chief of Sinners †, (the chiefest Signal of Humility in himself, and greatest of all Compliments to his Brethren) who was so greatly dignified with such distinguishing Virtues, who was highly in the Favour of Heaven to be so exalted and mighty in the Power of Christ; I say, it shews by his flaming Zeal, that this high and mighty Saint was a *High-churchman*, or a *Dutchman*; for high and mighty he was in the Spirit, however low and mean he was in Person, or poor and distressed in State.

To the Galatians he writes thus, † I marvel that you are so soon removed from him that called you into the Grace of Christ, unto another

* 2 Cor. xi. 5.

† 1 Tim. 15.

† Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9.

another Gospel! which is not another! But there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But tho' we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any Man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed (a). To be sure this Expression was inspired by Heaven, for Heaven is in the Expression. He was warm, true; but then it was true Warmth, that is, he was hot; but then he was no Laodicean, a Generation of Men that were neither cold nor hot, mild, moderate Men, fit to be spued out of the Mouth of Christ, which is his Church. He breathed Fire, true; but then it was the Nature of the Gospel so to do. It came * to send Fire on the Earth, and it was already kindled; and the Zeal of the Lord's House, the Lord Jesus's House eat him up. He cursed the Angel that should dare to preach a Gospel Doctrine different from what he had preached; but then it was on Christ's and the Gospel's Account. † If a Man come unto Christ and hate not Father and Mother, Wife, Brethren, Sisters, Friends, and his own Life, for Christ's Sake and the Gospel's, he cannot be his Disciple. And surely there is not an Angel in Heaven so nearly related to us as these are, or as ourselves are related to our own Lives. Now this having been proved to be a

true Gospel-Spirit, cannot be the Spirit of Enthusiasm. To think otherwise, is not to have an Evangelic Taste. And it is a shrewd Sign of an Infidel Age, of a wicked and adulterous Generation, to believe an Angel from Heaven, rather than a Minister of the Gospel! and indeed, if such an one has the Power of ‡ remitting and retaining to Men their Sins, who of the Congregation dare disbelieve his Parson for his Soul? For he that has courage enough to curse an Angel from Heaven for contradicting him, would thunder upon a poor Soul that was under his spiritual Authority the terrible Wrath of an angry God, and the eternal Torments of relentless Vengeance.

Indeed I cannot help thinking, however this Sentence may be condemned by Infidels, or may be lampooned by the Unrighteous, it was an evident Demonstration that bishop Paul was a very good High-Churchman; this being an excellent Subject for an Argument against Toleration: For this great Apostle would not tolerate an Angel from Heaven that preached another Gospel than he preached, or give another Sense to his Gospel than himself gave, for he owns, it was not another Gospel that he was so much concerned about, but a different Explanation that perverted his Meaning or Preaching, which obliged him to unsheath the apostolical Sword of the Spirit. Therefore no Toleration ought to be

(a) St. Jerome from this Place endeavours to prove, that the Zeal of Churchmen ought to be so great towards all Heretics and their Doctrines, that they should anathematize them, let them be ever so dear to them. In which Case, says our holy Doctor, I would not spare my own Parents.

* Luke xii. 4, 9.

† Ibid. xiv. 26.

‡ John xx. 23.

be allowed *Dissenters*, if we follow the blessed Example of this great Apostle, though their Ministers should be *Angels from Heaven*. Ah! *Theophilus*, how many good Churchmen and others that have a Zeal for the Gospel mourn inwardly these wicked, Free-thinking Days, and pant after such Gospel Times, when the Devils scoured off wherever its Ministers came; and all that were Enemies to their blessed Power, were cursed Devils, and when *Angels* themselves should dare to be disobedient to them, were threatened with Church Anathema's.

We have been shewn already that Paul was no Enthusiast by this Expression, but an orthodox, Gospel-saint; and in like Manner it can be no Proof of Imposture; for the *Diction* or Malediction of the Speech shewed the Fervour and Sincerity of his Heart. And why should not a Bishop's Malediction be as much dreaded as his Benediction is desired? St. Paul was determined never to alter his Opinion, right or wrong, nor to suffer any others to alter the Principles he had taught them, as much as lay in his Power; and that they should be cursed if they did: Which is a true High Church Spirit. And as I think it will be granted, that no Man would be Fool enough to utter such an Expression without the utmost Sincerity; it argues undeniably, that it was not the Speech of an Impostor (unless it was an Enthusiastical one.) Indeed if a modern Saint, or Methodist, should bid his Hearers, or Readers, curse the Angel that contradicts his Preachments, we should think the cool Air was

best for him, opening a Vein, an Emetic of Hellebore, shaving his Head, Spring-water and a cooling Regimen might be of Service; but 'tis my Opinion, that he ought by no Means to be forbid Preaching *ex tempore*, but rather be excited to that Exercise 'till he is faint with Sweat, for it prodigiously helps those fiery Spirits to evaporate.

What he writes to the *Romans* is ushered in with a very solemn Affirmation, and not without Reason, for it needs it. As when I was young, the Stories of Spirits and Witches, which I heard, were generally introduced with Attestations of the Truth, lest they should be disbelieved; for no Man would be such a Fool alone as to believe what no Body else does, nor willing to assert what no Body is willing to believe. *I say the Truth in Christ*, (says this Apostle)

* *I lie not, my Conscience bearing me Witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great Heaviness and continual Sorrow of Heart; for I could wish myself accursed from Christ, for my Brethren my Kinsmen according to the Flesh.* We seldom hear a Man say, he does not Lie, unless he is very apt to Lie; and then generally he lies most: And he that will lie seriously and strenuously, will swear to it, when he thinks he cannot be believed without. And because the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of Truth, he has been called upon to witness the greatest Lies in the World. To be accursed from Christ is to be one of those to whom Christ shall say, † *Go ye Cursed into everlasting Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* Could Paul wish to be damned that his Brethren might be

* Rom. ix. 1, 2, 3.

† Matth. xxv. 41.

be saved? If he was sincere, it could be only to be damned for a little while, that is, to go to a gentle Purgatory; otherwise such an Expression seems to suit the Pen of one, who thinks to be *accursed from Christ* is a very light Matter. Whether this be the Sign of Imposture in a professed Believer, do you, *Theophilus*, judge. But if I am able to understand it in any other Sense at all, I think, for the Salvation of the *Jews*, he wishes the same Sentence on himself which he pronounces as Penance against the Fornicator *; *to deliver such an one to Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus.* This is a kind of *spiritual Amputation*, to damn the Flesh to save the Spirit; or to save half, and damn half; when the whole cannot be saved, to save a Remnant. And to be sure 'tis better to go *into Heaven halt, or maimed; limping, or squinting, than to have the whole Body cast into Hell Fire.* No doubt but it must be a Mortification to such a Person in Heaven to see other People have Flesh upon their Bones there, but Satan has devoured his, and left him a walking Skeleton! such a one I fancy must make but an odd Figure in Heaven. If *St. Paul* may be believed, that he had great *Heaviness and continual Sorrow of Heart*, then it has no Meaning, any more than that it is the Effect or Proof of a very melancholy Disposition; and this is one of those Soils, as my honourable Author says, Enthusiasm sprouts from. But the principal Source of Enthusiasm I attribute to the

irregular Circulation of the animal Fluids, now rapid, now languid; the Ebbs and Floods of Joy and Sorrow; and an unequal Tide of the Passions, which sometimes roll with a rapid Torrent, and sometimes seem to stagnate. When such a Mind has Religion for its chief Object, it produces Enthusiasm.

XII. The Character of *St. Paul* by his Writings.

That my Adversaries may have nothing to reply, I agree to reason with them on their own Foundation. Indulge me therefore with the same Freedom in doing it, *Theophilus*, as yourself would take, if your Soul was in my Soul's stead, and was conducted by the same Reason. You, Sir, to whom I have oft exposed the naked Sentiments of my Heart, will pardon the Weakness that may attend the best intended and well meant Performance of a Friend, that has no design to deceive, nor to be deceived.

Let *St. Paul's* Character be wrought up with ever so much sacred Art, it is unluckily the only Cause of exposing it the more; not that his Character would signify any Thing, but as the Illustration of Truth itself is made to stand or fall with it.

Certainly *St. Paul*, if we are to believe the Writings which are received for his, and the History of him, was as strange a heterogeneous Mixture of Stuff, as odd a Compound of Flesh and Spirit, as e'er was jumbled together in human Chaos. There were two Men, in this one Man *Paul*,

* 1 Cor. v. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Paul, the old Man, and the new Man; the Man of Righteousness, and the Man of Sin; he had *two Bodies*, a natural Body, and a spiritual Body, the Body of Sin and Death, and the Body of Life and Righteousness; he had in himself *two Laws* that governed him; the Law of Sin, and the Law of Righteousness; the Law of the Mind, and the Law of the Flesh. These two Persons, the carnal Person and the spiritual Person compounded, made a third Person, the Human, or the human Person was something else distinct from both; like the Alchemists Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury, of which they say, all Bodies are compounded and reducible to; the spiritual Person danced him up into the *third Heaven*, the carnal and sensual Person brought him down to the Devil, who buffeted him, and pricked him with a Thorn. Never was poor Wretch so tossed in a Blanket as this poor Saint was between these two; and each of these three Persons could talk by himself. The carnal Person says, (a) *In me, that is, in my Flesh dwelleth no good Thing.* And (b) *I am carnal sold under Sin.* The human Person says, (c) *If I do the Things I would not, it is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me.* And (d) *now I speak not the Lord again,* (e) *Say I these Things as a Man, and saith not the Law the same also?* The spiritual Person says, (f) *I live, yet not I,*

but it is Christ that liveth in me, and the Life that I now live in the Flesh, I live by the Faith of the Son of God: And again, (g) *For me to live is Christ, and to die is Gain.* (h) *The Spirit of Christ hath made me free from the Body of Sin and Death.* Now, (i) Sin predominates, and he groans under Bondage, anon Grace is more abounding than Sin, and he triumphs in Freedom. (k) *At this Time he keeps his Body in Subjection lest he be cast away.* At another Time (l) *he is persuaded that no Power can separate him from the Love of God which is in Christ Jesus.* Now (m) *he withstands Peter and the other Apostles to the Face, for temporizing;* at other Times, (n) *he is all Things to all Men, that by all Means he might gain some.* He declares to the Galatians, (o) *that if they are circumcised Christ shall profit them nothing;* he tells the Romans (p), *Circumcision verily profiteth if thou keep the Law.* He informs the Corinthians, (q) *that Circumcision is nothing, and Uncircumcision is nothing.* Just now (r) *he wishes himself accursed from Christ for his Brethren the Israelites;* that they might believe and be saved; Faith being made the Condition of Man's Salvation; and says, (s) *Because of Unbelief they were broken off.* By and by he tells us (t), *all Israel shall be saved:* And that (u) *God has concluded them all in Unbelief* at he might have Mercy

(a) Rom. vii. 18. (b) Ibid. ver. 14. (c) Ibid. ver. 20. (d) 1 Cor. vii. 12. (e) 1 Cor. ix. 8. (f) Gal. ii. 20. (g) Phil. i. 21. (h) Rom. viii. 2. (i) Rom. vii. 24. (k) 1 Cor. ix. 27. (l) Rom. viii. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39. (m) Gal. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. (n) 1 Cor. ix. 19, to 22. (o) Gal. v. 2. (p) Rom. ii. 25. (q) 1 Cor. vii. 19. (r) Rom. ix. 3. (s) Ibid. xi. 20. (t) Ibid. xi. 26. (u) Ibid. 32.

upon all: And that (x) Christ is the Saviour of all Men, especially those that believe; therefore also of them that believe not. One while (y) the elected Remnant only shall be saved, and the rest are blinded. At another Time, (z) the Grace of God that brings Salvation, has appeared to all Men; and (a) God will have all Men to be saved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth. Here he declares, (b) God will render to every Man according to his Works; (c) there he assures us, that Salvation is not acquired by Works, lest any Man should boast. He bids, (d) work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling; and for a Reason why this should be done, he weakens the Force of his Precept, by saying, for it is God that worketh in you to will and to do of his own good Pleasure. Now he maintains, (e) that the Doers of the Law shall be justified; and by and by declares, (f) by the Deeds of the Law shall no Flesh be justified; and therefore concludes a Man is justified by Faith, without the Deeds of the Law: And then asks the Question, as if he knew not what he had said, (g) Do we then through Faith make void the Law? Yes sure. And yet he says, God forbid, yea we establish the Law. How can that be? Certainly the Law is made void, with respect to Justification, and not established. But such is his Reasoning, which is contrary to Reason. I believe this may be found to be a general Rule, and a true Test

of Enthusiasm. *An Enthusiast cannot reason well; and he that reasons well cannot be an Enthusiast.* I do not add, upon right Principles, because that depends upon Knowledge. It would be too tedious here to recount the Variety of Temper and of Art that abounds in all his Epistles, equal to the Variety of Matters contained therein; of complaining and boasting, threatening and soothing, insulting and coaxing, triumphing and begging, jeering and irony, his Exaltations and Dejections; always contented and ever craving; now the highest Saint, and anon the greatest Sinner. His Doctrine and Practice was like his Temper; he was all Things to all Men, that scarce any Man knew what to make of him; and so diversified are the Modes of his Expression, that sometimes no Man can be certain what he means, or drives at. Certainly, Theophilus, he was the oddest Apostle of them all; being born out of due Time, and so made in a very odd Manner.

XIII. *Whether falling from Grace or Predestination was St. Paul's Doctrine?*

(b) The Gentleman's citing, 1 Cor. ix. 27. *I keep under my Body and bring it into Subjection, lest by any Means when I have preached to others, I myself should be cast away;* and his arguing rationally thereon against all other

(x) 1 Tim. iv. 10. (y) Rom. xi. 7. (z) Titus ii. 11. (a) 1 Tim. ii. 4. (b) Rom. ii. 6. (c) Ephes. i. 9. (d) Phil. ii. 12, 13. (e) Rom. ii. 11. (f) Rom. iii. 20, 28. (g) Rom. iii. 31. (h) This which the Gentleman has thrown into a Note, I have made Observations on in the Text.

ther Doctrines that contradict it, as not being taught by St. Paul, is no Argument that St. Paul reasoned in the same Manner; or could reason so well. Unless this Reasoning can blot out every Sentence of Paul's Writing that militates therewith, it is of no Force. This Saint had too much Heat to reason coolly, and too great a Croud of tumultuous Ideas to range them in good Discipline, as the Incoherence of his Writings, sudden Change of Subjects, and Darkeness of Expression shew. He was too full of Allusions, Types and Figures to consider rightly of Realities. *Elimas's* Reasoning set him a raving (i); Objections to his Doctrines sets him upon Exclamation, and calling Names (k). Ask him, why God is represented as finding Fault, if nothing resisted his Will, and there was no Fault but what was of his own making? And he answers foreign to the Matter, *who art thou, O Man! that repliest against God?* When he treats of the Resurrection, (l) ask with what Bodies Men arise? And he cries, *thou Fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.* But this is answering like a Fool, for if the Seeds that are sown die; they are never quickened or bring forth. To exalt Folly above Wisdom, (m) he brings in the Foolishness of God; and argues most foolishly (n), that because the World by Wisdom knew not God, therefore God had chosen the foolish Things of the World to confound and destroy the Wisdom of the Wise, and bring to

nothing the Understanding of the Prudent. If Man's Wisdom is too short to know God, can Folly reach him! If Wisdom is an Attribute of Deity, can he despise his own attributed? Or does he love Wisdom in himself, and Folly in Man? Idle and preposterous! Whatever St. Paul meant, one would think he wanted Wisdom by this Expression, or despised it to please Fools.

That St. Paul's keeping under his Body, and bringing it into Subjection, lest when he had preached the Gospel of Salvation to others, himself should be cast away; does militate against the Doctrine of absolute Predestination; there is no Question, if taken in the common and obvious Sense: Yet whether this may not be explained in Favour of that Doctrine, is a Question; and whether it is capable of blotting out all other Expressions which insinuate that Doctrine is another Question; but whether he never contradicted himself is no Question at all.

First, As before St. Paul drops this Expression he shews, that he was made all Things to all Men, for the Gospel's Sake; therefore (o) he became weak to those that are weak, to gain the weak, that the weak Brother might not perish, through his acting according to Knowledge (as in the Case of eating Meats offered to Idols) so this may be understood to be spoken to those weak Believers, that were to be fed with Milk and not with strong Meat; as Children are deceived to make them take

(i) Acts xiii. 10.

(k) Rom. ix. 19, 20.

(l) 1 Cor. xv. 35, 36

(m) 1 Cor. i. 25.

(n) Ibid. ver. 19, 21, 27.

(o) 1 Cor. i. 22.

their necessary Physic. If this be expedient, sometimes for the Bodies Health, why not for sick Souls. He told them there was the Prize of Salvation to be run for, and he gives this Start, to set them all a running, and this Spur to excite them to continue the Race. But did *keeping under his Body* prevent him from being a *cast-away*? Certainly not at all, unless it was *the Body of Sin*. Will starving the Body, or mortifying it, nourish and sanctify the Soul, preposterous Superstition! He intimates that he was not at an *Uncertainty* about the Matter; for the foregoing Words, to these under Examination are, *I therefore so run not as uncertainly, so fight I not as one that beats the Air; but I keep under my Body and bring it into Subjection, lest that by any Means when I have preached the Gospel to others, I myself should (seem to you to) be a cast-away.* If such *ekings* out of Sense, and sometimes *takings away*, and *Alterations*, are not allowed, neither the *Precepts* nor *Principles* in the Scriptures will suit any one Sect of Believers in the World that ever were, or will be, without evident Inconsistencies and Absurdities, and sometimes downright *Contradictions*; but with these Helps, it will suit them all, and serve any Christian Sect whatever.

2dly, Whether this Text is capable of blotting out all the ninth Chapter to the *Romans*, and all other Expressions which manifest-

ly favour St. Paul's Doctrine of Predestination, is another Question. For 'tis impossible that those whom God purposes to save by his Grace can fall away or fail of Salvation, if (p) *Men are not justified by the Law of Works, but by the Law of Faith*; if (q) *God imputes Righteousness without Works*; if (r) *the Purpose of God according to Election stands, not of Works, but of him that calleth*; if (s) *a Remnant shall be saved according to the Election of Grace*; if (t) *by Grace Men are saved through Faith, and that not of themselves but of the Gift of God, not of Works lest any Man should boast*; if (u) *the Saints are saved and called with a holy Calling, not according to their Works, but according to his own Purpose and Grace which was given in Christ Jesus before the World began*; if (x) *the Kindness and Love of God towards Man appeared, not by Works of Righteousness that they have done; but according to his Mercy he saves them, by the washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, who are justified by Grace*; if it be (y) *God that worketh in the Saints to will and to do of his own good Pleasure*; if it be (z) *not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but of God that sheweth Mercy*; if (a) *he hath delivered the Saints while on Earth from the Power of Darkness, and translated them into the Kingdom of his dear Son*; if (b) *all Things work together for good to them that love God who are called according to his Purpose*; if whom he fore-

(p) Rom. iii. 27.

(q) Ibid. iv. 6, 23, 44.

(r) Ibid. ix. 11.

(s) Ibid. xi. 5, 6.

(t) Ephes. ii. 8, 9.

(u) 2 Tim. i. 9.

(x) Titus

iii. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(y) Phil. ii. 13.

(z) Rom. ix. 16.

(a) Col. i. 13.

(b) Rom. viii. 28, 29.

know he predestinated to call, justify, and glorify; if (c) none can lay any Thing to the Charge of God's Elect; if (d) God will have Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth; if (e) God hath chosen the Saints in Christ before the Foundation of the World to be holy, and predestinated them to the Adoption of Children; if they have Redemption and Forgiveness of Sins through the Blood of Christ according to the Riches of his Grace; if God predestinates, and works all Things according to the Purpose of his own Will, and (f) justifies freely by his Grace through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ, and such like. What need a Believer then to fear being a cast-away, any more than that God's Purpose and Power can be defeated? And if these Sentences do not shew the Meaning of St. Paul in the Sense they are here delivered, it is so very like it, if he be to be understood by his Words, that nothing can be more so. If it be an Error, 'tis evidently St. Paul leads those that follow him into it, and is as evidently the Consequence of following Principles for Truth, upon Trust, or Authority in the Room of Reason.

XIV. Of Saul's Disinterestedness and secret Call to Christianity.

Our honourable Author seems to believe that Saul in turning Christian was disinterested, and had no worldly Views. But he and I don't see Things in the same Light. He considers him as a Gentleman and a Scholar as himself is, and that he demeaned himself

to keep Company with Fishermen. A Scholar he might be to the other Disciples indeed, but I consider him as he was, a Person brought up to Labour. He was by Occupation a Tent-maker, a proper Person to be employed by poor Fishermen: For who so fit to live in Tents, as those that cannot afford to build or hire Houses? It does not appear that Saul was a Man of Wealth, or that he had any Fortune to trust to, but that of his Head and Hands. His Instructor in Jewish Learning was Gamaliel; but Saul was not Gamaliel. His Master brought Honour to him; I don't read he brought any Honour to his Master. He was brought up to Labour, but Labour was not what he cared for; he had a working Head, not a working Hand. Therefore 'tis likely, in order to live an easier Life than that of Tent-making, he hired himself to the High Priest to be an Informer against the Christians. At length, considering what a Hazard he run in prosecuting them; for they were not Quakers, as Malchus's Ear was a Proof, and the Revenge taken against Judas (by God knows who) might be a Warning to him, that one Time or another he might be paid for his Pains; so that probably he might not run greater Hazards if he became of the Party he prosecuted; and in being one, what Advantages he might expect among them, his Learning, Art and Endeavour employed in their Favour, might make him the Head of their Party, their High Priest; the meanest

(c) Rom. viii. 33.

(d) Ibid. ix. 18.

(e) Ephes. i. 4, 5, 7, 11.

(f) Rom. iii. 24, 25.

est of whom got something out of the public Stock for labouring in the Word and Doctrine, and the Apostles made a Living of it, for they could not after their making a Bank, *leave the Word of God to serve Tables*, consequently not to serve *Fish* for Tables as formerly. *The Believers brought all their Money, and laid it down at the Apostles Feet*, and received out of the common Stock according to the Discretion of them and the Church; whereby they were now become a Society that took Care of their Poor and their Priests, and Peter could procure an *Angel* to free himself from Prison upon Occasion, consequently *Paul* might get a good Living among them, with Respect and Authority; for he was not void of Ambition, whatever his Advocates may think, as will plainly appear; and 'tis better to an ambitious Mind, to be a King among Beggars, than a Beggar among Kings.

Whether some of those that had the discerning of Spirits among the Disciples did not see *through* him? Whether the Call to his Conversion was from *without*, or *within*? Whether the Apostles that had Power to work Miracles, did nothing towards his Conversion? Are Secrets unrevealed in the Mysteries of Providence, where we must leave them, and judge of *Paul*, by the Information we have of the *Paulites*. If the Call was wholly from *within*, the great Difficulty to him was to be a free and accepted Mason in the Society at first. To say it might have been done better any other Way, if it had been in the Choice of Men, is pretending to judge better of Things at a Distance than near.

All the Circumstances and Motives are not made known to us, and is therefore judging in the Dark. Could *Man* chuse a better Way for himself than he ascribes to the *Lord*? Therefore I judge in that Case, the Method which was practised was the best.

There is no Doubt at all but the Conversion of one Adversary to the Faith by virtue of a Miracle, whether it was real or pretended, if it was so neatly performed, as not to be seen through by the Vulgar, was a powerful Argument to them, and the best that could be to support their Faith in Miracles, and the Faith of Doctrines founded thereon, and bring them over to it. And I am apt to think the Christian Priests then, as well as now, would be very glad to buy a Miracle at almost any Price out of the public Stock, to triumph over Unbelievers. We see in our Days Bribes will work Miracles in the *State*, and why not in the *Church*?

He who was so full of himself could see no Reason to doubt of the Acceptance of his Labours in their Service, after they had accepted him, if he determined to be a Preacher, and to continue among them. His having been their Persecutor, when once he was received, would redound to their Credit, and among them to his Advantage; besides, by having been of the persecuting Side he could fathom the Power of the Jew Rulers, and the Disposition of the *Roman* Governors.

Saul knew the Disciples made great Pretensions to Miracles, Visions, and Revelations; therefore that was the best Door to get in at, which Way would add to the

the Credit of those Things, best please the Disciples, and best silence his Adversaries; therefore he was by this Means the more eagerly received and regarded, and he could not afterwards recede therefrom without being notorious for Imposture, and abhorred by all Parties; this he must needs foresee, and therefore knew the miraculous Conversion being declared, and himself baptized, the Christians might assure themselves of the Reality of his Intentions.

XV. *Of the Morality of St. Paul, and other believing Saints.*

The Morality or Immorality of a Man's Conduct proves nothing with Regard to the Truth or Falshood of his Doctrines. Those that have been the Authors and Promoters of the most false Religions, have taught and practised Morality as much as others. Whatever Religion does not maintain that, cannot be maintained. No Body would chuse Christianity for the *Morals* of the Christians. Moral Virtue merely, seldom or ever produced Persecutions: For *who will harm you if you be followers of that which is good?* said Paul himself. It is Notions and Factions different from the Establishment, that those in Authority will not bear, which raises Persecutions or Opposition; not mere personal private Morality. The *Saints* called all their Sufferings Afflictions if by the Course of Nature; Persecutions, if from Men; tho' the one was the common Casualties of Life, and the other what their own indiscreet Zeal brought on themselves. Suffer-

ings are common to Man, but if a *Saint* suffers, though perhaps justly or foolishly, he disturbs all Heaven and Earth as much as he can with his Prayers, Cries, and Clamours: he calls down Vengeance from above. *How long, Lord, how long wilt thou not avenge the Blood of thy Saints!* He construes all Accidents that befall his Adversaries to be the *just Judgments of God*: And thinks it a *righteous Thing with God to render Tribulation to those that trouble them*. They think it righteous to return double Punishment in Vengeance for what they have received. *In the Cup she bath filled to you, fill to her double*, is the Precept pleaded. No Revenge is too great for a *Saint*; therefore to satisfy their implacable Temper, eternal Burnings, and everlasting Torments have been invented. If the Jews were persuaded to turn *Christians* for the Sake of the moral Doctrines of Christianity, they were much in the wrong of it, for the *moral Precepts of the Law are better than the Precepts of the Gospel*: Therefore the Gospel was not advanced merely for the Sake of its moral Doctrines. Whatever Jew professes the Gospel with an intire Conviction of its being a Divine Revelation as taught by Paul, must give up the Law of Moses as such, unless he can believe that God can contradict himself, by altering and annulling his Laws, like Man. For how can one Divine Revelation set aside another, when the first was declared to be an *everlasting Law and an everlasting Priesthood*? But the Gospel according to the Author to the *Hebrews*, changes both. If Paul by his Doctrine

and Conduct shewed such a Zeal as made his Followers of *all Men the most miserable*, if he was without an entire Conviction that this latter Revelation was Divine, * *must have been mad, and worse than mad, the most hardened Villain that ever breathed*: And if the Consequence to be drawn from this is, that therefore he acted with Judgment and Honesty, and that therefore the Christian Religion is pure, and founded on right Principles, I leave you, *Theophilus*, or the Author himself to judge, whether this is not building the Truth of the Christian Religion on the Honesty or Truth of a Man that no Man knows any Thing of?

XVI. *Of Saul's Love to the Priesthood, and Disagreement with Priests.*

Saul seems to have had in him the natural Spirit of a Priest; for because he was not qualified to sacrifice Beasts to maintain the Priesthood, he had a priestly Zeal to sacrifice Men and Women for its Support. He could not be a Priest among the Jews, as not being of the Tribe of *Levi*; and yet the Desire of Priesthood seems strongly to have run in his Mind, though the Incapacity of becoming one run in his Blood, not being capable of exercising that Function which was by *Moses's* Law an hereditary Qualification. If he would have married the High Priest's Daughter, he certainly would have been as near related to the Priesthood as he could. It looks as though he en-

deavoured to curry Favour with the High Priest, that he procured Warrants from him to persecute the Priest's Adversaries. A Man of his extraordinary Passions must have loved very fiercely, if he loved really; and if disappointed with any manner of Contempt by the Damsel's Father, as disdaining to marry her to a Tent-maker, must have been stung with very keen Repentment; and the more so, since he endeavoured to make himself worthy of her by his Service to oblige the High Priest, and exalt the Honour of Priesthood, by humbling and harassing its Enemies; or rather those they were Enemies to, than those that were Enemies to them. Besides, there is a strong Probability that he was disappointed in Love, in that he never married afterwards; or else he was no Man, because he taught for Doctrine, that *it was good for a Man not to touch a Woman*.

His turbulent Temper appears always to have carried him to Extremes, therefore it was, that he set all Places in an Uproar wherever he came; and acted with as much Madness against the Priests as he had acted for them. With what Contempt does he treat the High Priest when he was to plead his Cause before him? (tho' indeed he deserved it), yet scarce any Man but himself would have said, *God shall smite thee, thou whited Wall*. When he was reproved for reviling God's High Priest, as he is called, he endeavoured to excuse himself by saying, what I believe was false, *I wist not Brethren, that he was the High Priest*.

If

* Obf. p. 32.

If upon Disgust to the Priests, he had a Mind to oppose them, what Way could he more effectually take to do them a Displeasure than espousing the Cause of Christianity? Not that Christianity is destructive to Priesthood, but that sort of Priesthood was destructive to the other. Or how is it improbable at least that he might not be treated in such manner by the High Priest, as he thought his Merit deserved; (for Priests are a lofty sort of Gentry) which his high Spirit not deigning to bear, and stifling his Resentment then, might, by his ruminating on, kindle it the hotter. And when his Spirit took a different Turn from one Thing to another, he valued himself as much afterwards for suffering the Persecution he could not avoid, (for he endeavoured to avoid all he could) as he had done before for being a Persecutor: For we see in many Places he makes a Merit of it, and never fails to mention it to the Christians, because in both Cases, or on each Side, he expected the Applause that fanned his Ambition.

XVII. Of St. Paul's Love of Power and Authority.

Superiority and Love of Power was no small Ingredient in the Composition of Paul's Temper, he affects Humility to raise himself, and boasts of his Sufferings to exalt himself. When he would have the *Corinthians* honour him as their spiritual Father, he sets forth their reverential Duty, and his Merits to that Dignity. * *Let a Man so account of us, as of the*

Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God. This Dignity was enhanced by Sufferings; *I think, says he, that God hath set forth us the Apostles last, as it were appointed to Death; for we are made a Spectacle to the World, to Angels, and to Men.* We bear the Burden and Heat of the Day. And tauntingly upbraids those that thought well of themselves, and had too mean an Opinion of their Teachers, who merited Honour by their Sufferings and Labours. † *We are Fools for Christ's Sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are strong; ye are honourable, but we are despised. Even to this present Hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and buffeted, and have no certain Dwelling-place.* How should they, when they lived by Rambling, and fared as Travellers do? ‡ *And labour, working with our Hands, (when they could not avoid it, or thought it proper to do so.) Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we intreat. (Wonderfully pious!) We are made as the Filth of the World, and the Off-scouring of all Things, unto this Day.* None complain more of being meanly used, than those that are most proud. And when Religion is in the Case, Pride lurks under great Pretensions to Humility. Profession is the Mask of Religion. Great Profession of Piety and Humility oft shew a Want of it. I call to Mind I have somewhere read of *Diogenes* when he went to visit *Plato*, treading on his Carpet, said, *I trample on the Pride of Plato. With greater Pride, Diogenes, answered Plato. St. Paul proceeds, I write*

not

* 1 Cor. iv. 1.

† Ver. 9.

‡ Ver. 12, 13.

not these Things to shame you, but as my beloved Sons I warn you. For though you have ten thousand Instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many Fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel. Yet we are commanded to call no Man Father upon Earth but God* in spiritual Matters. I suppose, however, he sets up himself as a leading Father. Wherefore (to apply) I beseech you be ye Followers of me. This is a Stride to Reverence. Look on me as your spiritual Father, and do as I teach you. For this Cause I sent unto you, Timotheus, who is my well-beloved Son and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into Remembrance of my Ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every Church. Timotheus, an easy pliable Creature, who would do any Thing that his father Paul desired, even to the suffering himself to be circumcised to please him. My ways, and as I teach, and † my Gospel, seem plainly to denote he taught somewhat peculiar to himself. Observe next the Display of his Humility. Now some are puffed up as though I would not come to you; but I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the Speech of them that are puffed up, but the Power. For the Kingdom of God is not in Word, but in Power. What will you? Shall I come to you with a Rod, or in Love, and in the Spirit of Meekness? If the Word of Reason and the Power of arbitrary Authority are intended by these Words to be set in Competition, the softest Explanation of mine would be thought too severe.

Therefore, Theophilus, I leave you to explain it for your self.

At another Time, when he would exalt himself to the *lastiest* apostolical Seat, he does it by shewing how he merited it by sitting in the lowest. The Pride of his Humility is glaring. When he says, I ‡ suppose, I was not a whit behind the very chiefest of the Apostles. For though I be rude in Speech, yet not in Knowledge. Consequently, the Conceit of his own Knowledge had rendered him a little unpolite. After bouncing, and stoasting, and pleading his Will and Pleasure to boast, he sums up his Sufferings as what gave him that Right. The Reason of doing this appears soon after; it was because he wanted Praise. § For I ought (says he) to have been commended of you: For in nothing am I behind the very chiefest of the Apostles, though I be nothing. A very pretty Compliment on them, that he himself was as good as the best; and the best was good for nothing. So if we may join Parts that are distinct, he humbly supposes to the Corinthians, he was not behind the very chiefest of the Apostles; but in Writing to the Ephesians, he calls himself less than the least of all Saints. There is many a true Word spoke in Jest; but by this it appears that Paul was no Saint, neither were any of the Apostles. What think you, Theophilus, is this spiritual Pride, or sanctified Humility?

Over the Corinthians how does he flourish the pastoral Rod of his apostolical Authority? || I call God for a Record upon my Soul, that to spare you I came not unto Corinth.

* Matth. xxiii. 9.
|| Ibid. i. 23.

† Rom. xvi. 25.

‡ 2 Cor. xi. 5.

§ Ibid. xii. 11.

ninth. This I think is as good as swearing, that he came among them to brandish his Power, and expects them to regard it. For this End also did I write that I might know the Proof of you, whether you be obedient in all Things. Elsewhere he tells them, * I told you before, and foretell you as if I was present with you the second Time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, (sinned or not sinned) that if I come again I will not spare; and a little after, Therefore I write these Things being absent, lest being present I should use Sharpness, according to the Power which the Lord hath given me. One would imagine by such Language he was already clothed with the Purple and the Mitre.

With what Authority he writes to them concerning their going to Law? † Dare any of you having a Matter against another go to Law before the Unjust, and not before the Saints? And with what a Blast of Wind does he swell their Vanity as well as his own? Do ye not know that the Saints shall judge the World? And if the World shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest Matters? Know ye not that we shall judge Angels! how much more Things that pertain to this Life? Pretty fellows indeed to judge Angels! when they never could agree together in their Judgment of what was right or wrong; but were ever dividing and subdividing into Sects, Schisms, Heresies, and Factions.

XVIII. Of St. Paul's Conduct in propagating the Gospel.

When St. Paul's Temper was turned against the Jewish Priests, the Persecutions of the Jews on one Side, from whom he could never again hope for Favour, with the Affections, Honours, and Advantage of the Christians on the other, kept him steady to that Party, over whom he presided as Supreme in all Churches of his own Planting among the Gentiles; where he generally brought his spiritual Wares to a good temporal Market; and used all Arts to bring them in: For this Reason he became all Things to all Men †; and preached his Gospel privately where he had Access, to those that were of Reputation §, lest he should run in vain; and being indeed crafty ||, he caught them with Guile. He had always his Milk for Babes *†, and Meat for strong Men, cooked up according to every one's Palate, and found his Account in it.

Peter went so far as to eat with the believing Gentiles who were Profelytes of the Gate, not for setting aside the Mosaic Law; but Paul was the first that maintained there was no Occasion for the believing Gentiles to be circumcised, and keep the Law of Moses; and procured a Decree from a Council of the Apostles for that Liberty or Indulgence to the Gentile Believers. In which Point he was indefatigably zealous; for he knew,

* 2 Cor. xiii. 2. † 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. ix. 22. § Gal. ii. 2.
|| 2 Cor. xii. 16. *† 1 Cor. iii. 2.

knew, that granting the ritual Law extended to the Gentiles, it must be necessary to the Jews; and if the Continuance of it was necessary, there must be also a Continuance of the Priesthood; and that would abolish his own Right to it, who was a Priest by Nature, though not by lineal Descent from *Levi*. Therefore he declared, that the Gospel made a *Change* * both of the Priesthood and the Law; and wisely set aside the Levitical Law and Priesthood; which being a great Charge and Slavery to the People to maintain, it was always disliked by many; and now they were better enabled to declare against it, being under the Government of the *Romans*. This likewise tended to reconcile the Gentiles to Christianity, made a wide Rent from the Jewish Religion, and set it on a Basis distinct from both Jew and Gentile; which rendered it the more conspicuous, and was the Occasion of its not being swallowed up by either. Thus he modelled Christianity, and was therefore, properly speaking, *the Author of a new Religion*: Which he could only take the Advantage to do, under another Name, to which many through the Love of Novelty, and (as it then appeared) of Liberty, became Profelytes. Probably the Stories of the Miracles and Visions of its Professors might draw in some. The keeping their Ministry was by free Gift without Compulsion as yet, (though it had not then Power to be otherwise) and therefore seemed agreeable; and the Terms of Acceptance were easy to them that could believe, or

could pretend they believed: The main Article or Sum of it was declared to be this, † *That if thou shalt confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine Heart that God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the Heart Man believes unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation.* This new Religion was likewise charitable to the Poor, which made it appear kind and acceptable to many, and their public Worship seems to have been managed in the manner the Quakers now is. Many Christian Sects have no doubt improved and mended it; for nothing is perfect at first: But the *Roman Church* particularly hath gone from bad to worse, and added Corruption to Corruption: Thus being compleat in every Thing vile, have compleated the vilest Church on Earth.

The Apostle *Paul* being a Jew by Religion, and a *Roman* by Birth, could talk both Languages; and being also born in a *Grecian City*, might have some Knowledge of the *Greek*: Therefore he was better qualified than the other Apostles, because *he spoke with Tongues ‡ more than they all*; so he was fit by this Means to preach among the Gentiles, which the others were not; and with the Liberty of a *Roman* for his Protection, he made his Peregrinations in the Countries about, in *Asia, Greece, and Rome*; by which Means his Doctrine became public to those Parts that were under the Subjection of the *Romans*. There is therefore no Reason to believe *the Gift of Tongues* was any Thing

* Heb. vii. 12.

† Rom. x. 9, 10.

‡ 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

Thing more than preaching and praying *ex tempore*; but this there is no doubt they did, as they made great Pretensions to the Spirit.

XIX. Of Dreams, Visions, and Inspirations.

Nothing is more easy than to pretend to see Visions, and dream Dreams. Who can detect the Falseness of such Pretenders? When Lies are told in Favour of a Party, and espoused by them, what Stories may not receive the Currency of Truth with such? If *Whitefield*, or the *Wesleys*, or any other Enthusiast, was to say Christ appeared to him, we should laugh at it, and 'tis likely none but his own Followers would believe him. I mention *these Men* particularly, as being in my Opinion the most likely Persons to see Visions, as they are the most notorious Enthusiasts of the Age among us; yet what *Believer* can argue against the Possibility of it? Or can give any Reason why *Christ* might not as well appear to either of these Saints as to St. *Paul*. Had any of these ever pretended or affirmed such a Thing, I would fain know (allowing the one to be true) how is it possible for us to disprove the other? Or what Proof can be given of it? Did not *John Reeves* and *Lodovic Muggleton* found their Imposture on such Pretension? And may not any other be founded on the same? Suppose *Saul's* Vision was true, and theirs not; and theirs true, and his not; or both true, or both false; who by the Circumstances can determine it? The Authority of Numbers on

one Side against a few on the other, will always carry the Point in Favour of the strongest Party. If it be said that Christ appeared to *Saul* in Company, and he is said to appear to *Reeves* alone, we have none of the Company's Word for it; only somebody for *Saul*, we know not who. We have in St. *Paul's* Favour, what? A bad Relation of a dark Relator; on this is erected a blind Faith. This is all the Proof we have of the Matter, that it was Fact; and that *Paul* was not an Impostor, nor an Enthusiast; and that therefore the Truth and Brightness of Revelation is well founded. But if what has the Sanction of Truth by a Multitude, is no more than taken for granted by the Multitude, where is the Proof it? *Mahomet* might be esteemed an Impostor at first; but is he thought so now, where his Religion reigns, and his Laws are obeyed? No certainly; Custom alters the Face and Fashion of Things, and Length of Time, in many Cases, lays Truth and Falseness on a Level. When Things cannot be easily enquired into, they pass for Truth with the Careless and Indolent. Thus all Imposture, when aided by Power, gains Ground in the World, in a long Tract of revolving Years, when the Proofs of the Imposture are borne down, and by Force obliterated as much as Force can do on rational Minds: And the Torrent runs strong to bear *him* down who strives against the Torrent. Error, when it becomes habitual, is as pleasing as Truth; as vicious Habits when indulged in Opposition to their contrary laudable Virtues, seem quite as agreeable,

agreeable, because established by Habitue.

It appears therefore impossible to know Truth by the Credit given to Inspiration only. No Art was ever better calculated to deceive than Inspiration. The Religion founded on Nature don't require it; but all others do. As natural Religion is not capable of Deception, so it cannot use those Means that are. True Religion is all of a Piece: It is plain and true throughout, and cannot deceive, being founded on the Reason and Nature of Things. This is the only true Basis of true Religion. What then, *Theophilus*, are all other Foundations and Religions? Can the Religion of Nature be built on any Thing but Nature? Can the Laws of God be less evident than Nature's Laws? Can the Truths of God be discoverable by any Thing less plain and certain than these, or can any Inspiration from him be less general than that of natural Inspiration? What is called supernatural, seems to me to be artificial. Where there is no Possibility of Deceit, there can be no Possibility of Imposition. Certainly the greatest Plainness is most necessary in all the Laws of God. Those which cannot be found out nor tried by human Reason, cannot be his Laws; because those Laws cannot be a fit Guide to the human Mind, that are no Light to the Mind. Whatever hides itself from honest Scrutiny, teaches us to beware of Imposition: Therefore whatever cannot be examined, for that Reason alone ought to be rejected, or the Credit of it to be esteemed a Matter of Indifference. For Truth

will bear Examination, and courts it; but Imposition flies and fears it; and therefore shrouds itself in Visions and Inspirations. These Things therefore require the nicest Search, and strictest Enquiry.

When *Error* chanceth to bewray itself ever so little, it endeavours to plaster and dawb the Matter up; because, by a little Light, many Things are discovered to the jealous and enquiring Eye. It is like a Clue that leads you on, *Theophilus*, to the better Understanding other Things unthought of before. If an apparent Falsity be discovered in any one Particular, that can by close Examination be found out, there is good Reason to be jealous of more that cannot be explored; for Lies lie close; and Deceivers only discover themselves by inadvertent or accidental Blunders. The Holy Ghost is pretended to as a cover for all holy Lies to usher them into the World, and defend them afterwards; 'tis made the Parent and Nurse of Error and Imposition: They do wisely then to prevent a Detection of these holy Frauds, to call it sinning against the Holy Ghost, and the most damnable of all Sins. Though, if there be any blaspheming or sinning against the Holy Ghost, it must be when Men lay their Lies to the Holy Spirit's Charge. Let those that believe this to be a dreadful Sin, beware of committing it; yet I am apt to think it is very often very ignorantly done, because Men are more apt to believe than doubt; and the Holy Ghost is not well known: For he appears so secret among us, that 'tis as hard to distinguish him from the Man

Man that appears for him, or in whom he is supposed to appear, as to know whether there be any Holy Ghost, now he has left off working Miracles; or, as to know whether his Seat be the third Step below the Father, or equal with him.

Let us neither be diverted nor terrified from Enquiry; but begin, and proceed with that Spirit of Boldness which Truth naturally gives. After these general Remarks, I proceed to examine and consider the Truth of those Traditions of this *Saint* which are handed down to us, and generally believed without any particular Examination.

XX. Of the Voice that spoke to

* Saul, which was heard and not heard.

A notorious Contradiction appears at first View, upon comparing the Relation of *Saul's* Conversion as told by the Historian, and what the same blundering Historian tells us *Paul* said of himself. As the History-writer delivers it, † *The Men that journeyed with Saul stood speechless, hearing a Voice, but seeing no Man.* But *Saul*, or *Paul* himself says, ‡ *They that were with me saw indeed the Light, and were afraid, but they heard not the Voice of him that spake to me.* How comes it about think you, *Theophilus*, that these Relations are not alike? Are we to attribute these Blunders to the Holy Ghost? A Man that don't know whether there is any Holy Ghost or no, might, methinks, tell a Story twice alike. *Paul's*

Secretary says, the Companions that journeyed with him *heard the Voice*: But *Paul* himself, by the Confession of the same Historian, tells us, that they *heard not the Voice*. The best Way I can think to reconcile it is, that *Saul's* Companions (being absent) heard not the Voice; but when they were present, they heard the Voice, that is, the Report of it, all that was to be heard; and there is some Reason for this too; for Apparitions and Visions are modest Things, and never care to appear before Folks. Besides, we find the Men that were with him never minded it; for it don't appear they were converted, the Voice spoke only to *Paul*, not to them; therefore how should they hear it? Or they might hear *Saul* talk to, and answer himself; so they heard the Voice that spoke, all the Voice there was to hear, but they heard not the Voice of him that spake to *Saul*: How should they? For the Voice spoke in him, and *Saul* heard it with his inward Ears. He that hears a Spirit speak, must have spiritual Ears; but as for the Men that journeyed with *Saul*, it be may their Ears were made dull of Hearing, lest they should hear and be converted, or the Voice might syringe *Saul's* Ears, and stop theirs, as well as the Light seal up his Eyes; or perhaps they heard a rumbling like a Voice; but whether it was human, or heavenly, or that of low Thunder, they distinguished not: And so the learned Expositors and Paraphrasers agree, they heard the Sound, but not the Words; they heard they knew not

* He was called *Saul* before, and *Paul* after his Conversion.

ix. 7.

‡ Ibid. xxii. 9.

† Acts

not what; that is, they heard the Voice, and not the Voice; for the sacred Writers were no Impositions; they wrote what they believed, and believed only what they knew to be true; they could not be imposed upon, nor had they any Design to impose on others.

XXI. *How the Men that journeyed with Saul stood still, and fell down.*

The Historian says, * *The Men that journeyed with Saul stood speechless*: But St. Paul himself, in telling the Story, says, † *And when we were all fallen to the Earth*. One would wonder in reading this, what was become of the Holy Ghost; whether it had forsaken the Writer or Translator; and *which Way went the Spirit from one to speak to the other*? If they stood, how did they fall to the Earth? unless they stood some Time to consider whether they should fall or no, and then fell by Consent, without speaking a Word. If this be an Error only in the Expression made by the Translators, then our Book is not the Word of God in English, whatever it be in the Greek. But this Matter is not clearly made out; for that Story which acquaints us that the Men stood still, only mentions that *Saul arose from the Earth*. If they had all fallen, and not got up again, *Saul* had wanted leading Strings. St. Paul, in telling the Story at another Time, says, ‡ *And I fell to the Ground*; not agreeing with what he says elsewhere, *when we were all fallen to the Earth*; and

so leaves us *all a-ground*, But how should he see what the others did? for he fell not till the Light came, and then he became blind.

XXII. *How the Light shone round about Saul only, and the Men also.*

We are also left in Darkneſs about the Light; for the Historian says, § *As Saul journeyed, he came near unto Damascus, and suddenly there shined round about him a Light from Heaven*. As St. Paul relates the Matter, || *About Noon suddenly there shone a great Light round about me*. But at another Time, as he tells the Story to Agrippa, *† *At Mid-day, O King, I saw in the Way a Light from Heaven above the Brightness of the Sun, shining round about me, and them which journeyed with me*. It will be said, here is no Contradiction. In the first Account St. Paul only is spoken of; afterwards, he speaks of himself, and them that were with him. I grant it; but if it was not necessary to mention what Evidence these Companions of his had of the Matter, why does St. Paul in his first Relation of it only barely say, *The Men that were with me saw indeed the Light*? for one may see a Body of Light at a great Distance from it. But if the same Light, which was above the Brightness of the Sun, shone round them all, how comes it to pass that they who journeyed with Saul were not made blind as well as Saul was. But to single one Man out from a Company for Salvation, and to let the rest go on and be damned, may be consistent with the

* Acts ix. 7.
Ib. xxii. 6.

† Ib. xxvi. 14.
*† Ib. xxvi. 13.

‡ Acts xxii. 7.

§ Ib. ix. 3.

the Doctrine of peculiar and personal Election, but shews a peculiar Spirit of Partiality. If Saul was converted by a Miracle, it's a Miracle his Comrades were not converted too; or if they were, that we are not acquainted with it. And if Sinners are wrought upon by irresistible Grace, or supernatural Power, where is Man's Free-will? And why don't Free-grace convert all, if Free-will is deficient? All Power is God's; therefore what he wills, nothing can resist.

XXIII. *How the Words which the Vision spake are reported different, at different Times.*

The Words which in the Vision were spoke to Saul in one Relation of it, are not the same that are said to be spoken in another. The Historian says, * *And Paul trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the City, and it shall be told thee, what thou must do.* 'Tis to the same Import, Chap. xxii. 10. But before King Agrippa nothing of this is mentioned; but a different Account is given by St. Paul thus: † *And I said, who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy Feet: For I have appeared unto thee for this Purpose, to make thee a Minister, and a Witness both of these Things which thou hast seen, and of those Things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentiles unto whom now I send thee, to open their Eyes, and to turn them from Dark-*

ness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God; that they may receive Forgiveness of Sins, and Inheritance among them that are sanctified by Faith that is in me. If the Words spoken to Saul were only heard by him, it was in his Power to make, or vary them as he pleased. The Manner, and the Message of this Vision is very unaccountable. To strike Saul down and blind, and command him to rise, and go to others to open their Eyes! sure this was an odd Way to it; to turn him from Light to Darknes, and send him to the Gentiles, to turn them from Darknes to Light! If this be the Lord's doing, it is wonderful in our Eyes.

XXIV. *That neither Saul nor his Company were on Horseback.*

It is rather to pull down the Pride of those that have set their Hero on Horseback, that I remark this, than to pull down Saul from his Horse. The Historian says, that the Men who journied with Saul stood speechless; and when he arose from the Earth, ‡ *they led him by the Hand.* It seems to me therefore that they walked it on Foot, tho' the honourable Gentleman, and some others, that are for exalting this Apostle, have set him on Horseback; I don't think the Business would pay Horse-hire; if it could, Times were finely mended with the Jews, whose Kings and Priests, when they ruled over other Nations, rode on Asses; and now they were subject to another Nation, to afford their Servants Horses, and pay them Wages for

* Acts ix. 6. † Ib. xxvi. 15, 16, 17, 18. ‡ Acts ix. 8. xx. 11. xxii. 11.

harrassing Beggars, is a fine Amendment indeed.

XXV. *Of Saul's practising severe Penance.*

When Saul was come to Damascus, he was there three Days without Sight, and did neither eat nor drink, as we are told, and might perhaps be true. Whether he lost his Stomach, occasioned by being frighted out of his Sins on the Road, or by losing his Sight; as if the last great Light he saw was to be his last Light. But if he believed the Vision, this could not be the Case; for how could he restore Sight to other blind Eyes, unless it was restored to his? It would be quite out of the Way to suppose, that in journeying a Flash of Lightning with Thunder struck him to the Ground, and so affected his Nerves, that it brought on him a Fever, which destroyed his Stomach, and a Delirium, in which he so strongly fancied all these Things were done and said, that he was subject to Paroxysms of a Fever on the Spirits, or a spiritual Fever, all his Life after; for nothing like this is mentioned in the History. To insinuate this, would be making myself too much like those that insinuate what there is no Warrant for in the Text, in order to justify it. But tho' Suppositions with them may pass for Truths, Truth can support me, or be supported by me, without Chimera's. I therefore think it better to deny the Truth of the whole Story, than account for it in such a Manner, tho' 'tis not impossible nor absolutely improbable; but this I declare, to shew myself a generous

Adversary to *natural* Infidels in favour of *biblical* Infidels. *Natural Infidels* are all those that deny the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature in Favour of supernatural Light. *Biblical Infidels* are all those that believe no Stories or Doctrines supernatural, tho' held forth in the Bible. All Men that believe differently, are Infidels to one another. So they that call others Infidels are Infidels themselves.

This prodigious Fasting then seems to have been a *Fit of severe Penance*; for *behold he prays*, said the Lord of him to *Ananias*. This was certainly overlooked by our honourable Author, who says, * *Though he was full of Remorse for his former ignorant Persecution of the Church of Christ, we read of no gloomy Penances, no extravagant Mortifications, such as the Bramins, the Jaugues, the Monks of la Trape, and other melancholy Enthusiasts insist on themselves. Surely not eating or drinking for three Days was a gloomy Penance, and an extravagant Mortification, unless he lost his Stomach by the Fright, as I mentioned before, or he was stomachful.*

XXVI. *Of the blundering Miracles, or miraculous Blunders performed at Saul's Conversion.*

One who reads the Story of *Saul's Conversion*, would think the Lord work'd Miracles merely for the Sake of working Miracles; for some of them seem rash and wrong; and then one or two more Miracles are wrought to set the bad Effects of the former to rights. *Saul* having been made dark by a bright Miracle, and blinded by the Lord, that he might see it was the

the Lord's Doings; three Miracles more are performed to recover his Sight, to rectify the bad Effects of the first.

First, Christ goes himself to Ananias, leaving his Seat at the right Hand of the Father in the Mansions of Bliss; he appears to him in a Vision, to send him to Saul, (for now Christ is only to be seen visionally) and gives him particular Directions to the Street, the very House, and his Landlord's Name where he lodged.

* *The Lord said to him, Arise, and go into the Street which is called Strait, and enquire in the House of Judas for one Saul of Tarsus.* Now 'tis strange to me, that the Lord Jesus, who is attended by not less than twelve Legions of Angels, could not or would not trust one of them on the Errand, but went himself to carry a Message fit to be sent by a Porter. If he humbled himself before, by taking on him the Form of a Servant, and made himself once of no Reputation; I see no Reason why he should do it again, now he was in a State of Exaltation and Glory. If it was not Christ that appeared to Ananias, but some spiritual Being, or Idea of him, how easily may one be bubbled or deceived by these spiritual Beings or Ideas.

Second, The Voice of the Vision adds, For behold he prayeth, and hath seen in a Vision a Man named Ananias, coming in, and putting his Hand on him, that he might receive his Sight. One would wonder he did not pray before! or if he did, that he was not heard before the third Day! for by this Time he must needs pray very weakly. The Vision, that this

Vision said, *Saul saw, Saul never owned;* therefore this Relation of a Vision in a Vision is to be questioned. Besides, what need was there that Saul should see Ananias in a Vision, giving him Sight, before he saw him do it in reality, but to multiply Visions to no Purpose? for sure Saul could believe Ananias gave him Sight when he heard him speak, and saw him and the Light that removed the Darknefs. These dark and visionary Stories seem to be Works of Supererogation, as well as of Supernaturalization.

Third, Ananias went his Way, entered the House, put his Hands on him, and said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus that appeared unto thee in the Way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy Sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his Eyes as it had been Scales; and he received Sight forthwith. Ananias Fibs; for how did the Lord Jesus appear to Saul by the Way? The only Thing that is said to appear to Saul was a great Light, that's all he saw; for as soon as the Light came, it struck him down, and blind; therefore then he could see nothing; and when he got up, he opened his Eyes, and saw no Man; he could not see at all, not so much as the Road at Noon-day: Therefore Saul saw not Jesus by the Way; though, 'tis said, † Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the Way. It seems as if Ananias and Barnabas were privy to Saul's Vision, and knew more of it than Saul did; which looks suspicious

* Acts ix. 11.

† Ibid. 27.

that they were deep in the Secret : But this *honourable Gentleman* assures me they were not ; and, as I think, he knows no more than I do of the Matter ; I believe him not *less* than the Gospel itself ; I fear to affront Believers by saying *more* ; besides, I am not used to sacrifice the Truth by Flattery ; and if I attempt to imitate St. *Ananias*, St. *Barnabas*, or St. *Paul*, I shall not be look'd on by those that read me as a *Saint* of that Class.

As for the *Scales* that fell from his Eyes, I suppose they might have been preserved in the holy Roman Church as a sacred Relict, and Proof against *biblical Infidelity* ; but that they would have made all those blind that could see them. I don't read that which converted *Saul* had Power to convert any of his Comrades ; and 'tis very remarkable, that those who were not made blind could not believe ; and that the Way to walk by Faith is not to walk by Sight.

It may be objected, that *Saul* saw *Jesus* by the Way, because he, in telling us who saw Christ after his Resurrection, says, *Last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due Time*. I answer, that *Saul* saw Christ by the Way is not confessed by these Words, which do not signify he saw him any more than once, and that he says * *was in the Temple as he was praying, and in a Trance*, and then perhaps it was that he thought 500 Brethren saw him too, because perhaps there might be 500 there. By the Account St. *Paul* gives of his own Conversion, to the *Galatians*, Christ appeared to him inwardly ; when it pleased God to re-

veal his Son in me, and many of St. *Paul's* Apes have therefore thought they have had Christ in them also.

XXVII. Of Paul's being guilty of Perjury.

St. *Paul* to persuade the *Galatians*, † that the Gospel he taught was all by Divine Inspiration, writes thus, *When it pleased God, who separated me from my Mother's Womb, and called me by his Grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen, immediately I conferred not with Flesh and Blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were Apostles before me ; but I went into Arabia and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three Years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen Days : But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's Brother. Now the Things which I write unto you, behold, before God I lie not. Now though he swears that he does not lye, I believe before God that he swears to a lye, and that there is no Dependence for Truth in these sacred Stories. He adds, *Afterwards I came into the Regions of Syria, and Cilicia, and was unknown by Face unto the Churches of Judea, which were in Christ ; but they had heard only, that he which persecuted us in Times past, now preacheth the Faith which he once destroyed, and they glorified God in me.**

If other Accounts of Christian History are true, this of his going into *Arabia*, and not seeing the Apostles is false. The ixth. xxiid. and xxvth. Chapters of the *Acts* tell us of his Conversion, and where he went afterwards. In Chap. ixth. 19, &c. after *Saul* had

* Acts xxii. 17, 18.

† Gal. i. 15, &c.

had received his Sight, 'tis said, *He was certain Days with the Disciples that were at Damascus*, therefore that he immediately after conferred not with Flesh and Blood is not true. The Historian goes on, *and straightway he preached Christ in the Synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, is not this he that destroyed them that called on this Name in Jerusalem, and came hither with that Intent, that he might bring them bound unto the Chief Priests? And Saul increased the more in Strength, and confounded the Jews that dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after many Days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him. But this laying in wait was known of Saul, and they watched the Gates Day and Night to kill him. Then the Disciples took him by Night, and let him down by the Wall in a Basket; and when Saul was come to Jerusalem he assayed to join himself to the Disciples, but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a Disciple. But Barnabas took him and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the Way, and that he had spoke to him, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus, in the Name of Jesus, and he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem. Therefore it is not true what he swears to, that he saw none of the Apostles but Peter and James at Jerusalem. For the Historian adds, *and he spake boldly in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians; but they went about to slay him; which when the Brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.**

It is necessary to make this long Quotation for the Sake of the whole Connection, that you may see, *Theophilus*, how it agrees with what he writes to the *Galatians*, and swears to the Truth of: And that there is not the least Reason to believe, according to this Historian, he was absent *three Years* in *Arabia*, between the Time of his going from *Damascus* to *Jerusalem*; for had it been so, the Disciples at *Jerusalem* must long before that Time have known he had been an accepted Disciple at *Damascus*, and that he had preached *Jesus* there; and not so long after have been afraid of him as not a Disciple, and needed *Barnabas's* Information of it, then, or his Recommendation to them. Therefore it appears he went directly to *Jerusalem* from *Damascus*, and there was received by, and had the Conversation of the Apostles. But supposing contrary to all this, that he had been before in *Arabia*, still what *St. Paul* swears to is false, or the History of him is false; that he came afterward to *Jerusalem* to see *Peter*, and abode with him *fifteen Days*, without seeing any other Apostle but *James*. Which Story, as it is in itself very unlikely that he should be at *Jerusalem* with *Peter* fifteen Days, and see none but him and *James*, so it is contrary to the Historian, who says, *he assayed to join himself to the Disciples*, and when they, being ignorant of what had happened, feared to receive him as a Member, he was recommended to them by *Barnabas*, and he was then coming in, and going out with the Disciples at *Jerusalem*, and there preached *Christ* openly, and boldly. Yet this Saint con-

tradicts all these Things, tells them another Story, and swears to it, *before God that he lies not*; but if what he swears to is true, the Historian's Account is opposite to Truth: And yet these Contradictions are called *the Oracles of sacred Truth, and the Word of God*. But is not this blaspheming the Word of God, and belying Things true and sacred to call them so? He who swears to a Lie, does not by swearing make it true, nor can he be the more believed for so doing, when the Truth is proved to be directly contrary to what he affirms. The Nature of Things cannot be altered by their Names, nor Facts by false Testimonies.

But I have not done yet, I have more Witnefs to produce against St. Paul's Affidavit, more *Christian Evidence* attesting to St. Paul's Words, before a Court of Judicature, against St. Paul's Words to the *Galatians*—Before King Agrippa and Bernice, Festus, the Chief Captains and principal Men of the City of *Cesarea*, Paul after declaring to them the manner of his Conversion proceeds thus. *Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly Vision, but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the Coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God, and do Works meet for Repentance: For these Reasons the Jews caught me in the Temple, and went about to kill me.* You see, *Theophilus*, that this Apostle preached first by his own Confession at *Damascus*, and at *Jerusalem*, before he went to the *Gentiles*, if this *Christian Historian* be true. Had it been otherwise,

would he not have said rather, that he shewed first to them at *Damascus*, and *Arabia*, then at *Jerusalem*, and throughout all the Coasts of *Judea*, that they should repent, &c. Now what Credit ought to be given to a Man that contradicts himself, and swears to the Truth of a Contradiction? In all the Account of his Peregrination in *the Acts of the Apostles*, (or rather *the Acts of the Apostle Paul*) I do not find he went at all into *Arabia*, nor does it appear he was ever there, unless he was in the Desert of *Arabia* when Satan buffeted him, for a little before the Devil served him in a very rude manner, he knew not where he was; and probably he might be in *Arabia* in a Vision. It was to be sure the Abundance of Visions and Revelations that made him abundantly forgetful. And some I fear will say that the Buffetings of Satan had beat all Truth out of his Head. God forgive those that are so uncharitable to *so true a Saint*, and make them see the Truth. Far be it from me, *Theophilus*, to say these Things made him an Enthusiast, but too much supernatural Grace destroys the natural Man. As the Light that surrounded him in his Travels to *Damascus*, being greater than that of the Sun, put out his bodily Sight, so it would any Man's in the World, unless prevented by a miraculous Power. But these Things made our poor Brother Paul's Head weak; for when the Nerves of the human Frame are too much stretched by the heavenly Powers, they must needs afterwards suffer more than common Relaxation, and Debility, not recoverable by their natural elastic Force;

Force; or their being always upon the Stretch caused him to be always equally as positive when he was wrong as right, if he was ever right.

XXVIII. *Of Saints who were by Practice Sinners, and Paul one of them.*

Every Man has his natural Vice or Infirmary, and some are addicted to more than one. I do not say that *Saul* was among other human Frailties addicted to Lying, but sometimes very much to forget himself, and make very unhappy Mistakes. But the Saints have their Failings, and the Mercies of redeeming Grace redeems them from the *Guilt*, but not the *Soil* of Sin, which is all covered over with the *white Robes of Christ's Righteousness*, were it not for this, which alone makes them to differ, we should see no Difference between Saints and Sinners; and might imagine that those Saints who wash their Robes in Blood, are bloody Saints; not Understanding how red Blood washes white: This is a Mystery to crimson Sinners. But the Sins of Saints create in them Humility, which is the first Mark of saving Grace: So the Lord lets his Beloved fall, to make them sensible he does not hold them: Therefore the Lies of Believers are justified, but the Truths of Unbelievers are condemned. 'Tis certain one would more softly pass over the Failings of the Saints, or Believers, as well as they would conceal their own, knowing human Nature, but that the Believers so wickedly defend

the greatest Vices of biblical Saints, when plaistered over with a Pretence of Sanctity, or Communion from God; and so unmercifully condemn them for Infidels who contend for Truth only, and represent them as Contenders for Vice and Immorality. Since therefore these narrow-soul'd Monopolizers of Righteousness will *Lie*; it becomes those that love Truth to speak, which it is plain the greatest Believers have the least Regard to. Lies have been always practised for the Sake of Christianity, and the good of the Church: Whether it be agreeable to the revealed Will of the Gospel, or not. And Truth has been always persecuted where Faith has been propagated, and established with Rigor. Faith is always taken on trust; Truth is found by Distrust and Enquiry.

I do not call *Paul* a Deceiver, but to be believed he sometimes solemnly affirms he does not *lie*; which Thing alone is sufficient to dispose one to fear he was addicted to *Lying* and Deceit. It is certain he did not always speak Truth, but sometimes endeavoured to deceive others; therefore if the Christian Religion stands on this Bottom, it stands on a very deceitful one.

For before the Chief Captain, Chief Priests, and Council at *Jerusalem* when *Paul* was to plead for himself, * and perceived that one Part of the Multitude were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the Council, Men and Brethren, I am a Pharisee, the Son of a Pharisee, of the Hope and Resurrection of the Dead, I am called in Question. Though this was a

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* Acts xxiii. 6.

crafty Stratagem to deliver himself from the High Priest's Examination, and so it did; yet he asserted two Falshoods, *First*, That *he was a Pharisee*; and *secondly*, That *for the Hope of the Resurrection he was called in Question*: Which shews he did not so much regard the clearing of Truth, as the clearing of himself. But it may be, the *pale-faced High Priest*, who looked like the Image of Death, might terrify him; and by the *burly burly* at Court he might be hurried out of his Senses, and forget himself and the Matter of his Accusation; and that he had owned that he was a Christian to the Multitude but the Day before. Did those Jews that knew Paul (think you *Theophilus*) believe this was the Conduct of an Enthusiast, or an Impostor? Now let some modern Saint, or Believer daub over the Sins of the antient Saints, and palliate or justify those Vices in them, or in themselves, that they righteously condemn in others, according to their wonted and abundant Grace, and gracious Partiality.

XXIX. *Of Paul's working a Miracle at Lystra, and the Lystrans Treatment of him.*

Tho' the foregoing Accounts shew that Paul sometimes affirmed what was not true, and that with a Design to deceive others, and must have done so in his extravagant Flights aforementioned, unless he was himself deceived, or beside himself; yet I do not say he was an Impostor. But it is very much to be feared, the *Iconiums* thought him such at *Ly-*

stra *, or their Conduct is not to be accounted for; first to esteem him as a God for working a Miracle; and not long after, to stone him, and leave him for dead. There was a Cripple whom Paul perceived *bad Faith to be healed*, that is, he was in the Secret. If he had not been in the Secret of Faith he could not have been cured. What is this but † *an apt Disposition in the Person on whom the Miracle is wrought*, as the Gentleman calls it; tho' he says, ‡ *no such Dispositions were to be found in the Gentiles, and as at Lystra the Heathens were not led into the Secret of the Means of working Miracles, they imputed it to their Gods*. Here we find that such a Disposition was found among the Gentiles; and as we are told, God does not save us whether we will or no; so this shews that God does not work Miracles on us, whether we will or no. We must come into the *Disposition* or *Secret of the Means* to have them wrought. This almost leads us into the *Secret of the Means of working Miracles*, which they that are not led into, may impute to their gods. Those that wrought Miracles as they could not always work them, nor upon all Occasions, so they were forced to work them when they could, when a proper Opportunity offered, or not at all. This seems to have been the Case at *Lystra*, otherwise the People should have been first informed by Wisdom, before they had been amused by strange Power, that they might have known the End and Design of the Miracle; they should first have delivered their Gospel-message, opened

* Acts xiv. 8, &c.

† Obs. p. 57.

‡ Ibid. 59.

pened People's Understandings, let them know from what God they came, and upon what Errand, that the God *Jesus* had desired the Honour of their Worship, and to that End was willing to oblige them by doing some singular Favour, to display his Power, that they were required to pull down their old gods and put up a new one, or whatever their Message was; and then produced their Credentials in Confirmation of it. But not doing this, *Paul* and *Barnabas* confirmed the People in their old Idolatry. I suppose the Cripple had not Patience to wait, and they feared if they did not cure him quickly, he would cure himself, the Consequence of which might be the crippling them, if the Means of working the Miracle had been exposed. They not rightly preparing the People for the End of the Miracle, the People had no Notion of the coming of any new god; or that any such had been born lately; therefore they thought their old gods were come again to pay them a Visit, and hoped by their Readiness to honour them, they would do more Miracles among them. When they saw the Cripple leap up and walk, at the Command of *Paul*; they lift up their Voices, saying, the gods are come down in the Likeness of Men. They took *Barnabas* to be *Jupiter*, being, I suppose, the more personable Man, and *Paul* to be *Mercury*, being the best Prater, and the Priests of *Jupiter* brought Oxen and Garlands, and would have done Sacrifice unto them, and scarce could they restrain the People from doing it, by declaring they were not gods. The very next Thing we read is, that

there came thither certain Jews from Antioch, and Iconium, who persuaded the People, and having stoned *Paul*, drew him out of the City, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the Disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the City, and the next Day he departed with *Barnabas* to Derbe. Here was a Miracle performed in vain, by not going the right Way to work. 'Tis easier to make a Mob stare, and gape, admire and adore, than understand. *Paul* had Power to work a Miracle, to make a Cripple dance, but not to preserve himself from being stoned. So devout a People could never have been persuaded by the Jews from other Parts to stone one whom they took to be a god, and would have worshipped, for miraculously healing a Cripple; unless these Jews persuaded them it was the Work of *Imposture*. When there is Reason to suspect false Dealing in Pretensions to Miracles, the Honour Men had for the Pretender is turned into Contempt; and the more Devotion their Credulity raised, the greater they think is their Disgrace for their Folly; and consequently the greater will their Resentment be to the Impostor that occasioned it. The next Day, instead of staying to work any more Miracles there, he and *Barnabas* thought it best, as bruised as he was, to march off.

XXX. Of *Paul's* Contest with *Elymas*, and making him blind.

In the Isle of *Paphos* they found one *Barjesus* with the Deputy of the Country, a Jew, whom they call a false Prophet and a Sorcerer, who a little after is called *Elymas*, and

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 and said to be a Sorcerer only by the Interpretation of his Name, who endeavoured to prevent the Deputy from becoming a Christian Convert. For this Reason to prove that Reproach and Slander is common to Saints, *Paul fixing his Eyes on him*, that is, plucking up a bold Assurance, and staring him out of Countenance, said, *O full of all Subtilty and all Mischief, thou Child of the Devil, thou Enemy of all Righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right Ways of the Lord?* And so, that he might see they were the right Ways of the Lord, he made him blind: For a Season it is said, but how long that Season lasted is not said; so a Man may be made blind by throwing Sand or Dust in his Eyes. In what manner it was done, or if true, I know not; but if *Elymas* reasoned well, why did *Paul* rave? If he reasoned ill, why did he make his Body blind, instead of enlightening his Understanding? Why did he take away his Sight to make him see the Truth? *Elymas* could not be full of all Mischief, for *Paul* was full of some, in making him blind; which if true, I believe was done by some other Power than that of Words: For I cannot think the wise God lent his Power to *Paul* to execute as his Passions pleased. *Elymas* might by some Accident lose his Sight for some Time, and those that were willing to make a Miracle of it, ascribed it to *Paul's* doing; but he darkened his Eyes instead of illuminating his Mind, as this Story tells us. And indeed *Paul* could work any Miracle but that. Is this turning Men from Darknes to Light? Is it not plain

that *Elymas* was too hard for *Paul* in Argument, that he set him a raving, not a reasoning. But reasoning was not *Paul's* Talent, he was too hot to reason coolly, and had too many Starts and Emotions to proceed regularly; he appears for the most Part to be plunged in too much Puzzle and Obscurity, to judge deliberately, and deliver himself clearly.

XXXI. Of *Paul's* Expulsion at Antioch and Iconium, and his falling out with *Barnabas*.

What is the Reason that at Antioch, the Place of their flourishing most, * the devout and honourable Women, and the chief Men of the City were against these holy Men, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and expelled them out of their Coasts. This was not done by Ruffians, and a rascally Mob; nor could these prevail on Persons of such Character to do it. All the Reason given for it is, that the Jews stirred them up to it. This Dust is cast in our Eyes, to prevent our seeing the Truth. I imagine that *Barnabas* got little Credit by being *Paul's* Companion, and sometimes suffered on his Account. It could not be the preaching of Morality that stirred all Places up against him, wherever he went, and so often obliged him to shift Quarters. It was not Morality that brought him so often into the Pickle of Persecution; for neither the Precepts of the Gospel, nor the Practice of Christians, have any Thing super-excellent in them. In most Places that *Paul* went to, Disturbances rose about him,

* Acts xiii. 50.

him, as if his turbulent Spirit, which he had before his Conversion, still remained; for the People seemed principally to aim at getting rid of him, and having so done were contented.

If Signs and Wonders were done by Paul and Barnabas at Iconium, as we read, how came there to be * *an Assault made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their Rulers to use them despitefully, and to stone them*; which to avoid, they fled to *Lysra* and *Derbe*. Their Power of working Miracles never stood them in any Stead for their Defence when they wanted it most, so Gypsies pretend to tell Strangers their Fortune, but know not their own. They were always safest when they run for it, and chose rather to trust to a natural Conveyance of their Persons, than to a supernatural Power for their Preservation. By what they knew they had done, they knew what they had to do; and generally made off in Time,

At *Antioch*, Paul and Barnabas who had long traded apostolically in Partnership, notwithstanding they were possessed of the peaceable Spirit of the Holy Ghost, fell into such bitter Contention, that Paul parted from Barnabas, who had brought him into Favour with the Apostles, and Credit with the Christians, and set up for himself. The Occasion was frivolous enough whether they should take *John Mark*, or *Silas* to wait on them; this shews us of what furious bitter Spirits the Propagators of Christianity were, that the most trifling Differences rent them into irreconcilable Schisms. But Paul, who would give Place to no Man,

took *Silas*, and left *Barnabas* to take *Mark*; of whom we hear no more. The Writer being *Silas*, or one of Paul's Party, who after this, and not before, when he writes of Paul and himself, writes in the first Person plural, *we* and *us*, and could not be *Luke* the Evangelist, as it is pretended, because his last Account of Christ's Ascension, and that in the *Acts* do not agree; as is observed in the Resurrection considered †.

'Tis insinuated that these Writings contain the Truth of Facts, because they bewray the Weakness of the Writers, or Persons written of. Is it any Wonder that Men who are not wise, discover their want of Wisdom? or that Men who would be cunning in every Thing, are out in many Things? No doubt but they tell such Circumstances they could not well avoid; and with Design to tell those Things in such Manner as might cover their own Faults, as well as they could. And to be sure, there was no *Imposture* in the Case; because they were not weak enough to confess it; for as they confessed other Weakness, they would no doubt have simply or honestly confessed *that* too, had they been guilty of it!

XXXII. Of Paul's circumcising Timothy.

St. Paul at *Lysra*, or *Derbe*, circumcises *Timothy*, because the Jews in these Quarters knew his Father was a Greek, notwithstanding he delivered at the same Time, to the several Churches in the Cities he passed thro', the Decrees of the Apostles and Elders at *Jerusalem*,

* Acts xiv. 5, 6.

† Ibid. 48.

lem, which he and *Barnabas* had procured, that the gentile Converts were not required to be circumcised, nor to keep the Law of *Moses* only * to abstain from eating Meats offered to Idols, and from Blood, and from Things strangled, and from Fornication; and notwithstanding the same *Paul* testified to the † *Galatians*, that if ye be circumcised *Christ* shall profit you nothing, that every Man who is circumcised, is a Debtor to do the whole Law, that *Christ* is become of no Effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by Law, are fallen from Grace. Yet this temporizing Apostle was willing at that Time rather to please the Jews, and that *Christ* should profit *Timothy* nothing, than that the Jews in those Parts should not profit *Paul*. Ah! poor *Timothy*, thy Soul and Body were at thy Father *Paul*'s Disposal, but thou wast cut off from *Christ* for *Christ*'s Servant's Sake, and he could graft thee in again, for *Paul* could do all Things thro' *Christ* that strengthened him, and say them too. If it was a Point that concerned Man's Salvation, which it must have been if *Paul* declared the Truth, that if you be circumcised, *Christ* shall profit you nothing. How could he dare to circumcise *Timothy*? For either this was a lying Declaration, or the circumcising *Timothy* was an Action that gave his Doctrine the Lye: It must have been false and deceitful one Way or another. It may be I shall be told that the Words mean, who so dependeth on Circumcision and the Law for Justification, could not be justified by *Christ*. But then why did *Paul*

do that he declared against? why countenance that Superstition and false Faith which deprived Men of the Benefit of *Christ*? Is not this compounding with Error, and plaistering the Believers up with Deceit. If he had declared it an indifferent Thing, it had not deserved this Censure.

XXXIII. Of *Paul*'s Spirit, Vision, and Devil.

‡ After they were come to *Myfia*, they assayed to go into *Bythinia*, but the Spirit suffered them not. I wonder how it hindered them, and what Spirit it was; for *St. Paul* was no Enthusiast. And *Paul* and *Silas* passing by *Myfia*, came to *Troas*, and a Vision appeared to *Saul* in the Night; there stood a Man of *Macedonia* and prayed him, saying, come over into *Macedonia*, and help us. And after he had seen the Vision, immediately we endeavoured to go over into *Macedonia*, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel unto them. A Spirit hinders their going one Way, and a Vision directs them another, and yet *St. Paul* was no Enthusiast, nor did he act the Impostor, to ape the Enthusiast: To the *Thessalonians* he writes, § we endeavoured more abundantly to see you with great Desire; therefore we would have come unto you, but *Satan* hindered us. What were they obliged to ask *Satan*'s Leave? or were they under the Dominion of *Satan*? *Paul* was not a Match for *Satan*, but the Devil's Power was || too hard for him, whom he defies to encounter; how could he then turn Men from the Power of *Satan* to God, when himself was turned.

* Acts xv. 29. † Gal. v. 2, 3, 4.
§ 1 Thess. ii. 1, 7, 18. || 2 Cor. iv. 4.

‡ Acts xvi. 7, 8, 9, 10.

turned by Satan from seeing the *Thessalonians*, and from the Service of the Gospel among them, tho' he endeavoured more abundantly to do it with great Desire. But in this Age, we don't understand what a Spirit, or a Vision, or Satan is.

XXXIV. Of Paul's delivering the fortune-telling Maid of the Devil.

At *Philippi* in *Macedonia*,* it came to pass (say they) as we went to Prayer, a certain Damsel possessed with a Spirit of Divination met us, which brought her Master much Gain by Soothsaying; the same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, *These Men are the Servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the Way of Salvation. And this she did many Days. But Paul being grieved, turned and said to the Spirit, I command thee in the Name of Jesus Christ to come out of her; and he came out the same Hour.* This shews that Paul was a spiritual Man-midwife. If this was a good Spirit, as if it spoke Truth one would take it to be; if it directed the People to Paul, and Paul to Christ, it was a kind of preaching the Gospel; and if that be good, why did St. Paul cast it out, or stifle it? If it was an evil Spirit, was not Satan's Kingdom divided against itself, and he necessitated to set up the Power of Christ to the Destruction of his own, and preach himself out of the World? Why then was he silenced? I shall be answered perhaps, that the Devil was crafty, he preached up the Faithful only that he might expel them and the Faith together. Alas! the poor Saints were always

too weak for the strong Man armed, for they never scuffled with him, but he buffeted them, and they came off with the worst of it. They had always the worst Fortune when they had the Fortune to work Miracles. This Damsel brought her Master much Gain by Soothsaying. But tho' it was a hireling Spirit in other Cases, it was to be sure none in this, for the History does not say she was hired for so much a Day to preach up Paul and his Companions; only that she followed them and cried, these are the Servants of the most high God, that shew unto us the Way of Salvation. The Gospel Spirit is a disinterested Spirit, even in the Devil himself! We are not to conceive that this soothsaying Spirit was hired to be silent when commanded, nor that the Maid was silent when she received no more Hire: But whatever was the Cause, when the Maid was mute the Maid's Master broke Silence, and sung another Tune; the Devil's Master grew more troublesome than the Devil; for when her Master saw that the Hope of their Gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the Market-place, unto the Rulers, and brought them to the Magistrates, and raised the Multitude against them. What the Maid's Master said, we are not told, yet as we do not read, that they laid Bribery and Corruption to their Charge, there is no Proof of it. The Magistrates and Multitude thought them guilty of something; for they caused them to be beat, and put in Prison, but they got their Liberty, being Romans, upon Condition they would walk

* Acts xvi. 16, 17, 18.

walk off; for *they desired them to depart out of the City*, and so were content to get rid of them. These *Saints* would never let the *Devil* alone, though he seemed *almost a Christian*, and preached the Gospel. How haps it, some may say, there are no such Devils now? A-lack and a well-a-day! there's many a Devil preaches the Gospel now, but they are not pointed at, nor disturbed, and so the Gospel and their Interest agree very well together; for the Devil is only a roaring Lion, when he is disturbed, and raises Persecutions when he is persecuted. Let him alone in his *Den* and his *Living*, and he's quiet enough; for to be sure the Devil is not without Passion, being contrary to God who has none. *When the Sons of God met together in old Time, * Satan came also among them*, and he will be among the *Saints*, let them do what they will, and that they know; for his Pride sometimes induces him to keep good Company. If they would let him quite alone, so as to regard him no more than if he was not, he would not be; but would certainly die of a Consumption, as the Witches have done, since annulling the Act of Parliament against Witchcraft; for he is never more alive, than when he is most opposed.

XXXV. *Of Paul's Expulsion from Theſſalonica and Berea, and quitting Athens.*

Reports fled from Town to Town after Paul and his Attendants wherever they came; so that they could not abide long in a Place. They passed through † *Amphipolis* and *Apollonia*, and came

to *Theſſalonica*; there in a short Time all the City was set in an Uproar. Jason's House was assaulted, where the Saints lodged, and the Saints were fought for, the People and the Rulers were troubled, and having taken Security of Jason, &c. they let them go. And the Brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night. Why, what was the Accusation? What! why they had turned the World upside down wherever they went, by saying, *there was another King, one Jesus*, whom they knew nothing of, nor believed, or feared, that's all the Reason the History gives.

From *Theſſalonica*, they go to *Berea*; they had not been long there before Satan heard of them, and found them out; the Jews of *Theſſalonica* followed them, and stirred up the People to drive them away. The Saints were innocent, for here's nothing laid to their Charge. Then immediately the Brethren sent away Paul to go as it were by Sea, but Silas and Timothy abode there still. Paul was the principal Person whom Uproar followed. Paul was conducted to *Athens*, there he (an unknown Man) begun to talk of an unknown God, and while he spoke philosophically they gave Attention, but when he dropt the Philosopher, the Philosophers dropt him, as soon as he begun to tell them what unknown God he meant, the Man God Christ Jesus, they called him a Setter-forth of strange gods; they burlesqued his Doctrine and called him a Babler, as if he prated more than reasoned; 'tis no Wonder if he, a Despiser of Wisdom, attempting to philosophize,

* Job i. 6.

† Acts xvii. 1.

phize, could not hold it, that not being his Talent, he could not reconcile their Philosophy (of which he had some Smattering) with the unknown God he held forth to them; they were too inquisitive, a Disposition always destructive to Faith: So he left them, to seek a People more prone to believe, and of less curious Enquiry; for there he made no great Hand of it, that was no Place for him to stay in.

XXXVI. Of Paul's working at his Trade, his Humility and Disinterestedness.

From * Athens, our travelling Apostle goes to Corinth, where falling in with Brethren of the same Trade, he so far mortified himself as to work with them, of which Humility he boasts not a little in an Epistle to those People; wherein he tells them, that † *those who preach the Gospel ought to live of the Gospel; but, says he, I have used none of these Things, neither have I written these Things, that it should be so done unto me; for it were better for me to die, than that any Man should make my Glorying void.* If he could not live without glorying or boasting, where was the wonderful Humility of his Working, when he did it on Purpose to boast of. At another Time he says, † *What is it wherein ye were inferior to other Churches, except it be, that I myself was not burdensome to you? Forgive me this Wrong.* Taunting Humility! Behold the third Time I am ready to come to you, and I will not be burdensome to you; for I seek not

yours, but you. He knew if the latter be found, the former follows. Tho' he boasted of working, which by the Way is a Sign he worked but seldom, yet he did not live altogether by his Work. He insults them on this Head.

§ *Have I committed an Offence in debasing myself that you might be exalted; because I have preached to you the Gospel of God freely? I robbed other Churches taking Wages of them to do you Service; and when I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no Man; for that which was lacking to me, the Brethren which came from Macedonia supplied; and in all Things I have kept myself from being burdensome to you, and so will I keep myself.* As the Truth of Christ is in me, no Man shall stop me of this Boasting in the Regions of Achaia. This shews how much it was his Humility that made him work, and not his proud Stomach to boast of it afterwards; and that there was no Policy in it, but all was simple Honesty, as he seems willing to have it understood. || *I did not burden you, but being crafty, I caught you with Guile; meaning ironically with honest Labour and inoffensive Simplicity.* Notwithstanding all his boasted Labour, his Work did not maintain him, for upbraiding them with Neglect he says, *† *I am glad of the coming of Stephanus and Fortunatus, and Achaicus, for that which was lacked on your Part, they have supplied.*

If he had no Pay at Corinth, no Priest can plead a Right to it better than he does; and 'tis likely he wrought at his Trade that

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* Acts xxiii. † 1 Cor. ix. 14, 15.
|| Ib. ver. 16. *† 1 Cor. xvi. 17.

† 2 Cor. xii. 13. § Ib. xi. 7, 8, 9:

he might do it the more freely, that they might make him the larger Purse next Time. He is an admirable and artful Beggar, as may be seen in the viiith. and ixth. Chapters of his second Epistle to the *Corinthians*; to which I refer you, *Theophilus*, at your Leisure, and to *Philippians* iv. 10. to the End. To the *Romans* he writes, * *It hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain Contribution for the poor Saints that are at Jerusalem*; and that it was their Duty so to do. *It hath pleased them verily, and their Debtors they are, for if the Gentiles have been made Partakers of their spiritual Things, their Duty is also to minister to them in carnal Things.* He recommends to the *Corinthians* † also the Example of the *Macedonians*; others he directs, † *Let him that is taught in the Word communicate to him that teaches in all good Things.* || *If we have sown unto you spiritual Things, is it a great Matter if we shall reap your carnal Things? As they that minister about holy Things live thereby, so they that preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.* Such like Doctrines and Precepts he delivers, whereby 'tis evident, that if he was not paid for his spiritual Wares, he reckoned them in his Debt; and that he did not take up Preaching to labour at his Trade, but expected to live by Preaching, and found it no doubt a more profitable Occupation than Tent-making, and more fit for his arrogant and rambling Disposition. And it seems to me he had some Crumbs of Comfort from them before he sent his second Epi-

stle, what else mean these Words? § *You also helping together by Prayer for us, that the Gift bestowed upon us by the Means of many Persons, Thanks may be given by many on our Behalf.*

He laboured also at *Thessalonica*, where he staid but three Weeks, to teach them what they ought to do for him. ** *Your selves know how you ought to follow us, for we behaved not disorderly among you, neither did we eat any Man's Bread for nought, but wrought with Labour and Travel Night and Day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you.* Not because we have not Power, but to make ourselves an Example unto you to follow us, &c. But if he did work among them, he seems not to have sent *Timotheus* of a Fool's Errand; for it does not seem that he came back empty handed. †† *When I could no longer forbear (Paul tells them) I sent to know your Faith, lest by some Means the Tempter have tempted you, and our Labour be in vain.* But now when *Timotheus* came from you unto us, and brought us good Tidings of your Faith and Charity, &c. we were comforted, &c. and he had Supplies sent him while he was there from *Philippi*; for he tells them, that in *Thessalonica* you sent once and again to my Necessity. So that if he found Occasion to boast, he could find little Occasion to grumble; for though the Workman is worthy of his Hire, if he labours honestly, and does his Work well, yet it seems in this Case, that those who never hired him paid him Wages; or his Case had been a poor Case.

XXXVII.

* Rom. xv. 26, 27. † 2 Cor. viii. 9. † Gal. vi. 6. || 1 Cor. ix. 11, 13, 14. § 2 Cor. i. 11. ** 2 Thess. iii. 7, 8, 9, 10. †† 1 Thess. iii. 5, 6, 7.

XXXVII. Of the Miracles Paul wrought at Corinth.

As to Miracles, St. Paul tells the * *Corinthians* concerning himself, truly the Signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all Patience, in Signs and Wonders, and mighty Deeds; but these were performed in them, not without them; for he threatens, † *If I come again I will not spare, since ye seek a Proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you.* If the Miracles done by him were outward, visible, or known; why did some of them seek a Proof of his Mission? What other Proof would or could they have? And why does he write thus, but to chide them out of Countenance in doing it? If they sought a Proof, what Signs and Wonders had he done? Was not this Reprimand to make them ashamed of demanding Proofs as could not be given? Surely it was a Proof of his Power to do Wonders, if many of them believed without any Proof! towards such, his Power was not weak, but mighty in them; and that to them was Proof enough. We read not of any Miracle he did at *Corinth*, by his Historian, *Acts* xviii. though he staid there a Year and six Months, and longer, only that he had an encouraging Vision in the Night. If there had been any greater Miracle done worth Notice, I suppose it would have been taken Notice of, but when the Historian works no Miracles, the epistolary Writer does; what is wanting in Deeds, is made up in Words. Perhaps

had he wrought any Miracles there, he had not staid so long, for Miracles never answered their End, nor were ever attended with reasonable Success.—If ever God wrought any Miracles to mend Mankind, he has as much Reason to repent his mending Works, as ever he did his creating Works † *Gen. 6-6* in making Man.

XXXVIII. Of the Holy Ghost.

Let me, *Theophilus*, just step aside to pay my Respects to the Holy Ghost, and I shall come to Miracles again by and by. At *Ephesus*, Paul found certain Disciples that had not yet found the Holy Ghost, they were so wholly unacquainted with him, that they had not heard whether such a Being had Existence, they confessed they knew not whether there was any Holy Ghost; but Paul had him in his Hands, therefore, when he laid his Hands on these ghostless Believers, they were electrified by the holy Fire, or the Holy Ghost dropt into their Heads, and sat upon their Tongues, so that they spake with Tongues and prophesied; that is, they spake the Mysteries of the Spirit, for the Tongue of the Holy Ghost is Prophecy. They had, besides their own Tongue or Dialect, which was common, and intelligible, this, which was uncommon to those that spoke, and unintelligible to those that heard; so they spake with Tongues and prophesied.

The Holy Ghost was, according to the new Manifestation of it, a bodily Being §, which could appear in one or many distinct Bodies, at

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one

* 2 Cor. xii. 12. † Ib. xiii. 2, 3. ‡ Gen. vi. 6.

§ It is the Spirit of a Body no doubt, according to the *Roman* Clergy; for they

one and the same Time. At *Pentecost* it came like the rushing of a mighty Wind, and appeared on the Head of each Speaker like a fiery cloven Tongue. I wonder these ignorant Believers had never heard of it; it is a Sign that this Wind made no great rushing without Doors, and though it blows where it lists, it did not list to blow in every ones Ears; Believers, who were the next Door Neighbours to them that had the Spirit, knew nothing of it: It descended in a bodily Shape like a Dove on the Head of Jesus when he was baptized, which none but *John* the Baptist saw, though many People came to his Baptism. There is not a Word of the Holy Ghost in all the Old Testament: There is Mention made of the Holy Spirit, as a Nature, or Quality, but not of the Holy Ghost, as a bodily Thing. The first Account we have of it was, when the Angel *Gabriel* came a courting of *Mary* by Proxy for the Holy Ghost, he tells her *, *the Holy Ghost should come upon her and overshadow her; therefore the holy Thing that should be born of her should be called the Son of God*, and therefore that which was said to be conceived in her was of the Holy Ghost. And since the Holy Ghost made so free with Man's Nature, I think we may make a little free with his; for if a King so far demeans himself to go a begging, sure a Beggar may then converse freely with a King: Excuse therefore, *Theo-*

philus, my Freedom with this human Holy Ghost. It was a new Thing never made common 'till Jesus was glorified, and sent by him on the Apostles as his Deputy; and though more dreadful Judgments are denounced against those that speak lightly of it, than those that blaspheme God himself, yet I find no where in Scripture that this Holy Ghost is a God; if any, it is an inferior Deity, a kind of Divine *Mercury*, I suppose substituted by Christians instead of the Heathen one; for when they threw the Pagan Gods out of Heaven, and made Devils of them all, they filled up the vacant Seats in Heaven with Gods of their own making: And this, for aught I know, may be the true Meaning of *Lucifer*, *Satan*, or the *Dragon* and his Angels warring in Heaven, and being in heavenly Battle vanquished, and thrown over the Battlements into the bottomless Pit. If so, what *Christ* says, *I saw Satan fall like lightning from Heaven*, must mean that he saw it in the Spirit of Prophecy; and it must be in this Sense only that the Gospel has conquered *Satan*, and routed the Devil and his Angels; and their falling from Heaven then, means from the Places of Worship, and the Veneration paid them by Men; and being cast into Hell, is into Contempt and Obscurity. But as for the other Sort of Devil, *Sin*, Orthodox Christianity has used it with great Compassion, as
a tender

they tell us, that *whoever are sent by the Church, are sent by the Holy Ghost*. Annot. on the New Testament of *Rhemes*, p. 116. So that the Holy Ghost is nothing but the Spirit of Holy Mother Church; and therefore, p. 158, The spiritual Man is he that judgeth and discerneth by the Spirit of the Church, the Truth of such Things as the carnal Man cannot attain unto: And the carnal, or sensual Man, is he that measureth heavenly Mysteries by natural Reason, human Prudence, and external Sense.

* Luke i. 13.

a tender Mother, not overlaid and stifled it, like a negligent and careless Nurse. These two Sisters *Sin* and *Folly* never had a better Friend in the World than Faith; and therefore their children are the Chosen; for *Christ* came into the World to save Sinners, of whom, says our bouncing Apostle, *I am Chief*. And he says, *God hath chosen the foolish Things of this World*, &c. of whom Believers are the Chief; for *by the Foolishness of Preaching*, 'tis said, *he saves them that believe*.

You may think, *Theophilus*, I have lost Sight of the Holy Ghost, because I am entertaining myself with *Faith*, but I cannot look upon the Child without having the Parent in my Eye. This bodily Holy Ghost is said to dwell in *Jesus* more eminently than in any other Person, and therefore it is called the Spirit of *Christ*, and is said to dwell also in those that are *Christ's*, and so *Christ* is said to dwell in them; which seems to be the unravelling the spiritual Mystery of Christianity. But this Dwelling is only by Faith, and is only known by Faith; therefore those that have not this Faith, know not whether there is any Holy Ghost, and take it to be only Chimera.

For my own Part, I don't know if there be any Holy Ghost, or what is meant by it, and imagine now I never had it, though once I thought I had been plunged in it, and not merely sprinkled; if ever I was baptized with this holy Water, it has been long ago all dried up; but if ever I drank of it, I have it still, because I never thirst for it; for it is said, *he that drinketh of this Water shall never thirst*; but those that fancy

they every now and then drink of it, are always as thirsty as if they drank of the Salt Sea: therefore 'tis a Riddle to me what this Fountain of living Water is; for they that have no Faith cannot want it, and they that have Faith never desire any. You see Believers did not know their want of the Holy Ghost 'till it was put into their Heads.

Since the Holy Ghost is by free Gift, and cannot be bought or sold; for when *Simon Magus* would have bought some of it, *Peter* said to him, *Thy Money perish with thee, because thou thinkest the Gift of God can be bought with Money*. And yet spiritual Merchandize has been in the Church! Now, *Theophilus*, methinks I see the Reason why, and the Time when the Holy Ghost and the Power of working Miracles forsook the Church; it was as soon as the Church was guilty of spiritual Traffic and *Simony*, and that's almost as soon as it was a Church; *St. Paul* thought it reasonable to take carnal Things for Spiritual; bartering Goods for Goods is to the same Effect as selling for ready Money. I own, that where there is not Payment in Money, barter seems fair; unless it be fairer to sell Faith upon Credit, and so barter Faith for Faith, which has a just Semblance of Value for Value. But there is another Way the Holy Ghost may be lost, and that is, when a Man or Church is so profane as to barter it away for Reason and common Sense. Then, O then, go Faith and the Holy Ghost together! This is selling one's Birth-right for a Mess of carnal Potage! These are spiritual Edo-

mites ! But the resigning all human Qualifications at the Footstool of Faith and the Holy Ghost, *to desire to know nothing but Christ, and him crucified*, with this humble Apostle, is to be a spiritual *Israelite* ; but I am of a more aspiring Mind, desiring to know Christ and him glorified ; for if he is only to be known crucified, not risen again, and ascended into glory, *your Faith is vain*, Theophilus, *and you are yet in your Sins*.

XXXIX. Of Paul's miraculous Handkerchiefs and Aprons.

We are told that at *Ephesus*, special Miracles were wrought by the Hands of Paul ; which is not to be wondered at, as he had got the Holy Ghost in his Hands ; and that from his Body were brought unto the Sick Handkerchiefs or Aprons, and the Diseases departed from them *. Here we have the Means of working Miracles, but such Means as shew the Story of them to be a Thumper. Some Virtue else seems requisite besides the Aprons, Handkerchiefs, or Napkins to be wrapt up in, or go along with them : Something then they carried off from Paul's Body. I want to know how long these Aprons or Handkerchiefs must have been with holy Paul to be thus impregnated with this healing Quality ? And how long the Diseased wore them before they were cured ? Where they applied them ? And how ? Whether this Wonder-working Saint gave them

away at his own Charge, or at the Charge of the Church ? How many he might carry about him on such an Occasion ? Whether he had always this Power, or only at certain Times ? Whether, a Handkerchief or an Apron could cure more than one ? Whether, if handed about by many People, it might not lose it salubric Virtue by the Way, before it reached the Sick it might be designed for ? Whether they received it mediately, or immediately from Paul's Body ? Whether it cured instantly, or in Time ? Whether Paul's Body was any Thing more liable to Disease for parting with so much medicinal Power ? Whether he received them from the Sick, and returned them back again ? How long the holy Effluvia abode on the Apron or Handkerchief ? What Operation it had on the Sick ? Whether a pure Quality could lodge with Dirt, Excrement and Corruption ? Whether the physical Property contained in these Aprons and Handkerchiefs remained after an Emunction, or resisted Sweat, or could stand a Lather ? Whether, if the Diseased lost the Handkerchief or Apron, there was not Danger of the Disease returning ? Since here is no Mention made of the Holy Ghost, I will not suppose any Part of that was wrapt up in them, or stuck to them. Alas I am at a Loss, in all these Cases, and many more, to understand the Nature of the Thing. Well, what we cannot conceive, we must believe ! O holy

* St. Chrysostom (tom v. contra Gentes, in vita Babylae) sheweth in a whole Book to that Purpose against the Pagans, that by the like Virtue of other Saints, their Relicks have done like Wonders, not only in their Life-time, but after their Death. This also he insinuates by the Shrine of St. Babylas. All Romish Antiquity is pregnant of such romantic Testimonies ; contrary to the Nature of God, of Man, of Things, and of common-Sense.

holy Mother Church! How sacred are thy Relicks!

XL. Of certain Quack-conjurers and the Devil.

At Ephesus the Quack Miracle-mongers were snapt. I will tell you the Story *verbatim*, *Theophilus*; for 'tis Pity any of it should be lost. The Historian writes, * *Then certain of the Vagabond Jews, Exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil Spirits in the Name of the Lord Jesus, saying, we adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven Sons of one Seva a Jew, Chief of the Priests, which did so. And the evil Spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the Man in whom the evil Spirit was, leapt on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them; so that they fled out of that House naked and wounded.* These new Conjurers are said to be Vagabond Jews, and yet seven Sons of a High Priest, which don't tally, however it is no doubt as true as the rest of the Story. They are called *Exorcists*; if so, they were very young unskilful Practitioners in the Art; and therefore I suppose them to be Boys at Play, being all Brothers; and that they were going to act a Comedy, in order to burlesque St. Paul, which turned out an unexpected Sort of a Tragedy to them, but a Christian Farce. The Boys perhaps found a Boor to begin to practice on, that had odd Fits, whom they expected some Game with. I find the Man would not be made their Laughing-stock, he handled them roughly, and tore all the Cloaths

off their Backs; but I suppose they did not all stay to be stript; I warrant you there was a little Skirmish for some Time; seven to one is Odds, and seven is a holy Number too; I wish we had more Particulars of it. Thus it turns out, supposing the Devil had no Hand in it; but now put the Case he acted a Part, let's see how it will come forth then? The ignorant poor Rogues did not call over the evil Spirits perhaps by their proper Names, nor had led them into the Secret of their Design; and besides, the evil Spirits knew by their Manner of Address, these were not the right Folk that belonged to Paul and Jesus: *We adjure you*, say they, *by Jesus whom Paul preacheth*; the Devil knew by that, they were no Preachers of Jesus, and consequently might be Impostors; and so rousing up his brimstone Courage, he proved them to be. He answers, *Jesus I know, and Paul I know.* How came this evil Spirit so well acquainted with those good Persons? *What Communion has Light with Darkness; or he that believes with an Infidel; or the Saints with Satan: But who are ye?* It is strange too the Devil knew not his own Folk, and should tare his own People in Pieces! This is Satan divided against Satan, the Devil grown mad! The old Man pulling down his own House on his own Head! If the evil Spirit had not got into a sturdy raw-bon'd Fellow, he could never have play'd his Part so well. These ignorant Bunglers had not led the evil Spirit into the Secret of their Design, therefore the Devil had a Mind to spoil the

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* Acts xix. 13, 14, 15, 16.

the Sport of those that were not rightly initiated. 'Twas enough to startle the Devil to come upon him all at once, without any suitable Warning, *We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.* Names enough to frighten the Devil! And but that he smelt a Rat, or rather the Rat Devil smelt a Trap; and therefore for the Preservation of his own Liberty, he had a Mind to contest the Point and put his Power to the Proof. The Devil was disposed to have a Trial of Skill for it, or as it were a Trial at Law, and the Devil Defendant won the Cause, nonsuited the Plaintiff's Party, made them pay Costs, and kept Possession of the Premises. These young Attorneys in the spiritual Court attempted to plead the Plaintiff's Cause without Fee, but Satan knew such Practice would ruin the Law, and make the Gospel *vile*, or perhaps he had no great Regard for Law or Gospel, but lookt upon these young Bravo's as a Parcel of *Wapping* Solicitors; and was determined not to be made a Fool of by those that understood neither Law nor Gospel; resolved to spoil their Trade of Devil-catching in Time, and not permit any Interlopers. For if the evil Spirits suffered themselves to be imposed on by every one that pleased to use the Name of *Jesus* and *Paul*, they might not in Time find a Body to put their Heads in, nor be able to sleep in a whole Skin; therefore they wisely cramp't these Pretenders in their Beginning, that they might stand upon Record for an Example to others; for Satan knew the *Saints* would pen it down, as their

own Advantage, against Invaders not commissioned by proper Authority, tho' it really turns out to the Devil's Advantage. Here one of *Paul's Handkerchiefs*, or the *Shadow of Peter* * was wanting. It seems the Devils had been greatly disturbed, and their Power weakened in the Time of *Jesus Christ*, he having given universal Toleration to all that would annoy him, and beat him out of his Intrenchments; and all his strong Holds: But after his Death the Enemy recovered his Spirit, and feared none but the *Holy Ghost*; having no potent Adversary in the World but him; he knew *Paul* was not of that tolerating Spirit that his Master was, but like holy Mother-church, and High Churchmen, that would not have Dissenters cast out the Devil, but had rather the Devil should cast out Dissenters; and that Men go not to Heaven at all, than not go their Way: Being willing to side with the Devil for their own Advantage. And indeed all the Apostles were greater Friends to Satan than their Master was; they in his Time † met with Men that cast out Devils in the Name of *Christ*, and forbade them so to do; because they followed not them, the Disciples were for Conformity. But *Jesus Christ* allowed of Non-conformity to those that did not formally follow him; for when they told this Story to their Master, they received a Check for checking others *forbid them not*, said he, *for there is no Person who does a Miracle in my Name, that can lightly speak Evil of me.* So *Christ* we see granted a universal Toleration; and there is nothing can

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* Acts v. 15, 16.

† Mark ix. 38, 39.

more recommend *Christ* to Infidels than such a Spirit, for they are dear Lovers of religious Liberty, and therefore the truest Protestants, as they most sincerely protest against that Church which is itself in Bondage, and the greatest Promoter of Slavery in the World; making Slaves of the Souls of Men.

They early begun the Tyranny and Craft of Book-burning. Many also of them that used curious Arts brought their Books together, and burned them before all Men, and they counted the Price of them, and found it fifty thousand Pieces of Silver*. Resolved at all Events, that none should have to do with the Devil but themselves. Thus they have endeavoured to stifle all Evidence against their own Fraud, under Pretence of preventing the Frauds of others †.

XLI. Of Miracles ascribed to Paul which were none, and of his Peregrination to Rome.

Dancing after this Apostle has almost tired me, *Theophilus*, therefore I hasten to a Conclusion. Going from thence thro' several Places, he came to *Troas*. The Christian Church then often met in an upper Room, tho' now they have got down into the first Floor with great Pagan Pomp, and are as strongly intrenched as the

strong Holds of Satan. However, then in this high Church they could afford a great many Lights. There was one *Eutichus*, a Youth, sat in the Window, a drowsy Hearer, and *Paul* being a long-winded Preacher, *Eutichus* dropt out of the Window; the Fall stunned him, so that the People below thought he was dead; but *Paul* went down and embracing him found him alive, and said, *Trouble not yourselves, for Life is in him*. At length he came to himself; and this is set down by *Paul's* Champion for a Miracle; and so is that of his shaking a Viper off his Hand without swooning, † tho' it never bit him; who also says, that *Paul* always preached *Jesus Christ*, and not himself; but I think, in many of his Epistles, he preaches himself, especially at § *Miletus*, if ever any Man did. But notwithstanding the Commendation *St. Paul* gives himself, I have already proved, that all Things which he said are not true. Then he tackt about to *Jerusalem*, there he prevaricated in his Conduct, and in order to gain the Jews he became a Jew, tho' he had preached and practised Gentilism among the Gentiles; which Piece of Hypocrisy had like to have cost him his Life. What the Jews thought of him on this Account I leave you, *Theophilus*, to judge for yourself. They dealt a little more sourly

* All heretical Books are by this Example consigned to the Flames, by Mother-church, and have been so in all Ages. The Christian Emperors, *Constantine*, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, *Martian*, *Justinian*, made penal Laws for the burning or defacing them, to prevent their being read. So terrible is Heterodoxy and Unbelief, that the best Way of answering it, has always been by Fire, which destroys all Reason, that more accursed Thing to the Spiritual Israelites, than *Achan's* Wedge of Gold and *Babylon's* Garment was to the Carnal Israelites.

† Acts xix. 19.

† Ibid. xxviii. 3, 4, 5.

§ Ibid. xx. 17, &c.

with him than the Gentiles did; for by their Means he was brought many Times to the Bar, and imprison'd, and could not get clear, but by appealing to *Cæsar*. Thro' many troublesome Travels and Voyages, he arrived at *Rome*; where he enjoyed free Toleration for Preaching in a hired House of his own, for two whole Years. How long he lived beyond that Time? what became of him afterwards? when, or where, or how he died; they that would know, may go to *Rome* and enquire; and there they'll be told as much Truth about him, as he told about himself. And as *Rome* appears to us to be the last Place he was at, he was doubtless *Bishop* at *Rome*, and left his Spirit to the Church behind him, tho' the Church *Lyes*, as it has ever done, in saying *Rome* was *Peter's* See; but they have Room enough to lye there as they please, so they do but lye within the Pale of the Church.

XLII. Recapitulatory Considerations.

Upon Examination it appears, that the History of *St. Paul* wants both the Authority of good Testimony and Reason to make it pass current with those that see for themselves. What is fit to be generally esteemed true History, should have the general Esteem of Mankind as such; and not that of bigotted Believers only. Facts that will not bear Examination ought no more to pass current, than Coin that will not bear the Proof. Little Truth is to be given to those Stories, that are taken upon Trust by those that have not the Spirit of Discernment. That

Story which wants the Probability of Truth, cannot prove the Probability of another Story, or of a Doctrine equally improbable. If different Parties on one Side, give each other the Lye; who that is of neither Party, can believe any of them? What Foundation have the Moderns to new Stamp the Face of Authority on ancient Writings, which the Ancients themselves rejected? If we had *Roman* History, which had been condemned by *Romans*, we should scarce think it worthy the Credit of *Britons*. Why must we confide in those that have handed Stories down to us, who in their own Time were not to be believed for their Knavery? When Stories look more like Romance than Truth, where is the Crime for taking them, for what they appear to be? or where is the Wisdom or Virtue of receiving them as Truth? What can better discover the true Value of Things, than their own intrinsic Worth? and how can a true Estimate be known without it? Can there be a greater Mark of Madness, Infatuation or Delusion, than for a Man to glory of seeing or hearing what he can give no Account of, and when at the same Time he owns, that he knew not whether he had his Senses? Or what can be a greater Mark of Deceit and Vanity, than to boast of extraordinary romantic Favours, to be esteemed an extraordinary great Man? Is it a Sign of a Man's Meekness, or Humility, or of his being possessed with a blessed Spirit, that would curse an Angel from Heaven who dared to contradict what he asserted? Is he implicitly to be believed without Contradiction, who has the Spirit of

of it both in Words and Works? How great does his Faith appear to have been, who owned he *stood by Faith*, and yet was *in danger of falling*? How does his Disinterestedness for lucrative Gain appear, who leaves a poor honest laborious Trade, for a more gainful and easy Occupation; and Priest-like, insists on *their* Payment, as his Dues, who never hired him? And how does his Humility appear, who leaves an humble Employ to make himself Head of a Sect? Is he to be praised for his Holiness, whose whole Life is a Scene of Contradiction? The giddy-headed Man, that changes from one Sort of Superstition to another, tho' he may be called a Convert, is not the better Man. If the same turbulent Temper appear as before, the Man is not more holy by his Conversion. If he have not the same Power as before, he can't do the same Things, and then the Conversion is not in the Man, but in his Circumstances. He that is of a restless Disposition, will disturb others of their Rest as much as he has Power to do it. He that will dissemble and lie, and deceive, and curse, and swear, and forswear, may be esteemed a very pious *Saint*, but is a very immoral Man. Who and what is an Enthusiast, if he that is conducted by Dreams, Visions and Inspirations, by a Spirit and by Satan, is not? And if Stories that contradict themselves are true, what are false? If Men will strive to make Contradictions look like Truth; by Wire-drawing them to a seeming Reconciliation; what will they not say to gain a Point; what Iniquities will they not palliate,

what bad Cause will they not plead to make their own good? Can the indiscreet Stories of Miracles pass for the Works of the God of Wisdom? Is it consistent with his Conduct to interfere in a wonderful manner, to make reasonable Men wonder he should so interfere, working Miracles oftentimes to no Purpose, and sometimes one Miracle to cure the Defects of another? So miserable are the Stories of Miracles, that as they reflect on the Wisdom of God, so they as stupidly represent the Workers of them miserable, and those that are invested with such mighty Power, notorious Examples of Imperfection and Weakness. Whatever Wonders they are reported to have done Abroad to others, they did nothing wonderful at Home for themselves; but all their Miracles rather tended to make them Marks of Misery. Now and then we are entertained with the Relation of mischievous Miracles, to shew us how the Workers of them went about doing Good! Whatever Holy Ghost is in the Heads of those that pretend to possess him, their Hearts are full of Feuds and Factions; as it was in the Beginning, so it is now, and ever will be Enthusiasts, without End. *Amen.* 'Tis not the pretending to the Perfection or Direction of an embodied God, can remove or conceal the Imperfections of a Man. Exorcisms, Conjurations, and Witchcraft, are Deeds of Darkness; the Stories of them only shew the Ignorance of the Age in which these Things were pretended to be done; whereby we may know how easily People were imposed

posed on, and need not wonder at the great Success of the conjuring Clergy. But the Christians, good Men, had no Hand in these Cheats! They indeed were said to turn the World upside down; but then it is to be supposed, that was because the World was the wrong Side upwards before, and the People were so obstinate, they would not let the Saints set it in the right Position, who came to mend the World; so the World did every Thing evil to, or wrong by, them, rather than permit them to set the World right. But the working of Miracles ceased after the Apostles Time, because when their Master saw that Power in the Hands of Fools, he took it away to prevent their doing more Mischief with it than Good. And now seeing we have no Miracles given to guide us, we are not to be guided by them, but by what we have, that is, by the Reason God has given us; it having been found by Experience, that Ignorance and Miracles are miserable Informers and Reformers of a misinformed World: And no wonder, for would it not vex a good Being to see Miracles carried about in Handkerchiefs, and Aprons full of Miracles handed about, by which Means they might be prostituted to vile Uses, and be applied to the Cure of many Dogs and measly Swine; Actions forbidden in the Gospel, *Give not that which is holy to Dogs, neither cast your Pearls before Swine.* It was proper therefore a Stop should be put to such male Practice, which is doubtless Sacrilege; and 'tis now proper we should have no Miracles. From the Recital of the Words and Works ascribed

to our Hero Saint, by his Followers and Advocates, it appears how much they turn out to the Advantage of his Character, and clear up the Evidence, Credit, Purity, Excellency, and Truth of the Christian Revelation. Now let us compare this Divine Light (as it is called by Divines) with the natural Light of human Reason, and see which is most properly the Light of the World, and I have done, *Theophilus*, for this Time.

XLIII. Of Reason and Revelation.

This honourable Author says, that in *Deism itself, the most simple of all religious Opinions, are several Difficulties for which human Reason can but ill account; which may therefore not improperly be styled Articles of Faith.* He may stile them as he pleases, but a *Deist* is not bound to any Articles of Faith of another Man's making; he is to believe only what appears right to his own Reason. And he is not to be saved by his Belief, if it be really right; nor to be damn'd, if he unluckily believe what is wrong. He only subscribes in his own judgment to this Article, That he must account for Things in the best Manner his Reason is able to do; and where that fails, acknowledge his Weakness in Things unnecessary to be known, or above his Capacity to know; and not expect to comprehend all Nature; nor reject what Truths he can comprehend for those he cannot; nor is he to receive any Thing for Truth, because he cannot conceive every Truth. And if Revelation be subject to the same Casualties, or Consequences that Reason is, 'tis not better; if it inform

inform us no clearer, 'tis *as dark*; if it be as liable to be misunderstood, 'tis *as dim*; if it don't open our Understandings, so as to make us argue more clearly, and on a better Foundation, 'tis *not a greater Light*. How is it then given to enlighten the Dimness of our Reason? If it need Reason's Assistance to explain it, 'tis *weaker*; if it confound our Reason, 'tis *worse*; if it have not plainly the Advantage of Reason when compared with that alone, 'tis *not a greater Light*; or if Reason have the Advantage of Revelation when so compared, Revelation is a *less Light*. If we can know nothing truly by Revelation without Reason, Revelation is *no true Light at all*. If we keep Men of the best Sense and Learning in constant Pay to explain and defend Revelation, and yet they can do neither, when opposed to Reason only: What Sort of a Light is it? If the Expounders cannot agree amongst themselves in Essentials not depending on Reason, or know what the Essentials are; how essential is it? If they cannot display their boasted Revelation to be glorious in itself, worthy of God, entirely true, perfectly plain and easy to be understood, intrinsically pure, just, consistent and harmonious, that the Doctrines and Precepts it contains, all naturally tend to make Men wiser, better, and happier; it seems to want the Proofs of a divine Original; and if it has not done so, it seems to have been given in vain; and so not the Revelation of perfect Wisdom; and if proper Proofs are wanting of its being so, all that enquire and judge for themselves, and that are capable of judging of the Reason and Fittests of Things, will conclude it

to be no extraordinary Light; and that nothing more is necessary to direct the Faith and Practice of Men, than adhering in Judgment to *Reason only*, freed from all Enthusiasm and Imposture, and in Practice to *virtue alone*, freed from all Superstition.

In all Countries, and among all Religions, there will be always some Enquirers, Free-thinkers, Philosophers and Deists, but Credulity and Enthusiasm are such strong Ingredients in the Composition of human Nature, that they will never be all such. Rational Principles suit reasonable Men only. The Majority of every Nation will always be of that Church which is propagated by Education, and established by Law and Custom: Therefore the Craftsmen need be in no fear of their great *Diana*. Any Religion, in any Country that teaches good Morals, if practised with a good Heart, will make a good Man; which neither enthusiastic Faith, nor superstitious Worship among them all will do; and there is little Faith or Worship in the World, to which Enthusiasm and Superstition are not joined: Therefore those Christians of the most moral and rational Parties among us, are as fit, by their *Rationality*, (not by their *Revelation*), to direct Men in their Duty and Behaviour as any other that I know of in the World, with this Difference, that while we enjoy the greatest Freedom in the World, our Constitution is in that Respect the best in the World. And all reasonable Men agree, that *Virtue* is of the utmost Benefit to Mankind, and that the right Understanding of it is the Path to Peace, Freedom, and Happiness.

T H E

THE
P R E F A C E,
BY WAY OF
P O S T C R I P T.

R E A D E R,

THIS Epistle to thee follows in natural Order, being almost always written last, tho' standing first; I write as thou readest, for my own Satisfaction, to find out what is faultless, or to find fault; to inform, and to be informed; for the Rocks that others have split on, are the Land-marks we ought to beware of. To know if a Man be truly wise, we should enquire what Follies he has been guilty of; or if honest, what Knavery; or if holy, examine his Conduct; this is more or less needful, as it is of more or less Consequence. The more any Thing is exposed, it will be examined the more. This is the present Case respecting St. Paul; the honourable Author of, *The Observations on his Conversion and Apostleship*, has elevated his Character, and made the Superstructure of Christianity depend upon it, and has indeed acquired by it as much Glory as the Nature of the Subject permits, nor do I envy his Fame. But unless Things as they are represented are to be implicitly received, it can be no Error to examine into Errors for the Truth's Sake; and since *the Weapons of our*

Warfare are not carnal but spiritual, let who will attack me with my own Weapons, I beg no Quarter; for begging Quarter is craving Indulgence in Error, which let the strongest Reasons detect and destroy. The Strength that is not tried is not known. Let Men rouse themselves, and not imagine that Security lies in Indolence. I thought myself well acquainted with the Apostle Paul before this Examination, but must own, I was not half so well as since; for in examining the History of him, more Light sprung up than I expected. The Fruits of my Labour, Reader, are presented to thy View, with Scripture uncorrupted by Explanation in the Front, that at one View the whole Account of St. Paul's Conversion may be seen, to save thy Trouble in often seeking the Text in different Places. I have only transposed one Verse, as you will see was necessary to do, and that it has not altered the Sense.

If Christianity is not essentially Enthusiasm, wherein does the Essence of Christianity consist? Or wherein is the Distinction between that, and the Religion of Nature? If Christianity be only natural

Re-

Religion, why does it not naturally appear to be so; and why do Christians contend with those that would have it so? But if Christianity has not its Foundation in Nature, is it not Enthusiasm? For what is Enthusiasm, but the Belief and Practice of such Things as are supernatural? And what are Things supernatural but such as are not in Nature, or do not spring from Nature, nor are taught by Reason; if Christianity be purely natural and rational, what need had Man to be taught it by supernatural Means; for Nature is unchangeable, and at all Times manifest to those that have Industry enough to seek what she informs, Courage sufficient to call in Question popular Errors, and natural Abilities to distinguish the true Light of Nature from ungrounded Hypotheses, gilded Deceit and false Pretensions. These Things were never past seeing by some in every Age and Place, though seldom safe to discover. To free Men therefore from the Danger of speaking Truth, is to be a greater Redeemer than divulging Truth to Men. If Christianity teaches to believe and act Things contrary to Nature, is it not Enthusiasm? The Basis of the Christian Religion consists in believing Christ rose from the Dead; (*for if Christ is not risen, your Faith is vain.*) Is not to believe him risen from the Dead, to believe an Action that is contrary to Nature? Is not the Trinity a Doctrine contrary to Reason and Nature? And to believe that any Man who was ever born, was *the only-begotten Son of God*, by his Spirit's *overshadowing a Woman*; that God can be Man, or Man God, that

all Power is committed to Jesus Christ, in Heaven and in Earth; (for 'tis contrary to Reason and Nature, to believe that the Father hath divested himself of all Power, and given it to the Son; or that the Father and the Son are one.) What is it less to believe, that the Sacrifice of Christ should atone for the Sins of Men; that 'tis impossible for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, therefore to get there they must part with all they have; that it is adviseable Men should make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake; that we should hate our nearest and dearest Relations and Friends and our own Lives for Christ's Sake, and the Gospel's; that we should love our Enemies; that we should depend on God, and take no Thought for the Morrow; and such like, which seem to me to be the distinguishing Essentials of Christianity, and inseparable from Enthusiasm, because the Belief and Practice of such Things are contrary to Reason and Nature. If these are not the Laws of Christianity, nor Enthusiasm, I wish they were better distinguished.

The Reflections I have cast on Faith, is to be understood of traditional, unexamined, superstitious, enthusiastical, and erroneous Faith, substituted for Righteousness; not of that Faith in God, which is productive of good Works, of the Faith which works by Love. All the Faith in God that is necessary, is to have that Faith in God which is necessary for our Obedience; and all the Obedience required of us, is to love God and our Neighbour; for in this is comprehended the whole

whole Law of God; and to love God, is to love those Properties or Attributes we believe to be in God; or to love the Laws of God, that is, such Laws as tend to the Good of Man, which are fit for Man to believe and practice, *viz.* the Belief of Things naturally reasonable, and the Requirings of a reasonable Nature. This is true Faith and Obedience: For we know nothing of God, but by Faith, the Knowledge of God being a philosophical and speculative Consideration; therefore every Man is to believe for himself, according to the Light and Judgment God has given him: For an adequate Notion of God is inscrutable to all Mortals. In Things concerning only God and Man, Man is accountable only to God. *What hast thou to do to judge of another's Servant? To his own Master he standeth or falleth.* And as for Things concerning Man and Man, this Rule is given us, *Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets,* Matth. ii. 12. That is, this is all that God by Revelation requires: This is the Sum and Substance of all Religion. This comprehends all the Law of God by his Prophets; this Answers all their Ends and Aims, but they that have other Ends have intermixt other Things with it, and made it miraculous and mysterious, that they might amuse and deceive.

By what has been said it appears, that true Religion is not

built upon Fables, nor upon *Paul* or *Peter*, nor on what this or that Man says or pretends; but on the Nature and Necessity of Things, on Obedience to God, according to Men's Faith in him as their Reason directs them; and in Obedience to Man, as the Law of Man, and in Man, directs to Man's reasonable Obedience, in Things not appertaining to God; thus every Man will serve God in sincerity, and Man with honesty, and Religion will not be a Cloak for Knavery and Inhumanity. 'Tis not what *Peter* or what *Paul* says, or what is said of them, that affects the Foundation of true Religion; but 'tis what the Nature of Things require or forbid, that are justly commanded or prohibited. Whatever may be proved true concerning *St. Paul*, does not at all concern the Truth of Religion, whether he was a wise Man or an Enthusiast, an honest Man or an Impostor; but the Religion of him that stands on *St. Paul* must fall with him. Divinity, Law, and Physic, are only rightly founded on the Nature, Reason and Circumstances of Things, all besides is Enthusiasm, Tyranny and Imposture.

If I have uttered the plain Truth, pardon me; if not, make me to know my Error, and I am, Reader,

Your most humble Servant,

M. P.



SUPERNATURALS

E X A M I N E D:

IN FOUR

DISSERTATIONS

ON THREE

T R E A T I S E S.



SUPERNATURAL

EXAMINED

IN

DISSERTATIONS

ON

THE

SUPERNATURALS

E X A M I N E D:

I N F O U R

DISSERTATIONS

O N T H R E E

T R E A T I S E S.

V I Z.

- I. On the Observations of the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of *Christ*. By *Gilbert West*, Esq;
- II. and III. On Miracles and Prophecies, shewing the Impossibility of the one, and the Falsity of the other; in Answer to Mr. *Jackson's* Letter to DEISTS.
- IV. On the Defence of the peculiar Institutions and Doctrines of *Christianity*.

Take heed lest any man deceive you. MAT. xxiv. 4.
Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necesse est,
Non radii solis, neque lucida tela diei
Discutiant, sed naturæ species ratioque. T. LUCRET.

*These fears, this darkness that o'erspreads our souls,
Day can't disperse, but those eternal rules
That from firm premises right reason draws,
And a deep insight into Nature's laws.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for F. PAGE, near St. Paul's.

SUPERNATURALS

EXAMINED:

IN FOUR

DISSERTATIONS

ON THREE

THEMATICS.

BY

- I. On the Operations of the Will and Evidence of the Resurrection of Christ. By John W. E. B.
- II. and III. On Miracles and Prophecies, showing the Impossibility of the one, and the Futility of the other; in Answer to Mr. Jackson's Letter to Dr. H. A.
- IV. On the Evidence of the peculiar Institution, and Doctrine of Calvinism.

Printed by J. B. E. B. at the Press of the University of Cambridge, 1841.

LONDON:

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READER,

I have been the more bold in exposing my Opinion, because I believe it to be the Dictates of Truth, and right Reason, and that Truth is most conducive to the Happiness of Mankind: This I believe, because I see that Error and Falshood tends to Man's Unhappiness; though I am not insensible, that every Good hath, in its Consequences, some Evil; and that every Error and Evil is productive of some Good, but with this Difference, Error being itself an Evil, generally and naturally produces Evil; and the Good that arises from it, is by unavoidable Accident, there being no absolute Evil; and Truth being a Good, its Productions are generally of the same Nature; the Evil that arises from it, is by meer Necessity: Good and Evil being only relative Properties, naturally and necessarily interwoven in the Nature of Things; therefore, though Truth may be the Cause of some evil Consequences, as Liberty also is; yet they are, in their Consequences, the Authors of so much Good, that I think none but Knaves, Madmen, and Fools, desire the Suppression of Truth and Liberty, for the little and partial Good that arises, or that is likely to arise, by so doing. Banish Truth, and you banish Sincerity and Honesty, consequently all Virtue, for all arises from this Foundation: Banish Liberty, and what will follow, but Tyranny, Slavery, and Violence? If Truth and Liberty are exiled, all manner of Wickedness will abound as an overflowing Deluge. In a general Desolation, some are Gainers, but what good Man would wish for it upon that Account? We see that Wars, Fires, Tempests, Inundations, Earthquakes, Pestilences, are not absolute Evils, but are good to alter and level human Affairs; for in the Shake and Jumble of Things, as they make many rich Men poor; so by them many poor

are made rich ; yet he must be a very bad Man, that wishes or helps forward these Desolations.

It may be said, that Truth is not always fit to be uttered ; I own that some particular Truths, at some particular Times are not ; but the general Truths of Nature, such as are not injurious to good Government and social Virtues, I think ought to have free Course ; but that what is contrary, ought not to be propagated nor permitted : For the most excellent human Knowledge, is that which shews wherein human Happiness consists, and most conduces to it : Though I think that every one is not a proper Judge wherein consists this Sort of Knowledge.

I observe upon Reflection, in the 56th Page, I have said, that *all Men seek their own Good*. I would not be understood to mean that every Man seeks *only* his own Good, or another's, merely for the Sake of himself ; but that this is the *Principal*, or *General*, not the *only* Motive of human Actions. Man is a Machine that is moved by various Springs, but I do not think that the Machine Man, is like Man's Machine ; though he is certainly the Machine of Nature, or of God's ; and I own that he can, by a Power in himself, do Evil as well as Good ; but as God, from the Perfection of his Nature, can do only the best, so he can never blame himself, nor behold what is evil to him, nor be unhappy or displeased, which are the same Thing in every Degree : But Man being mutable, and therefore fallible, can know and do Evil, as the Consequences of his Actions experimentally prove : Man therefore is free to do both, but God is not ; for then God would be mutable and imperfect. Men think God wants Power, if he cannot do otherwise than he does, not considering that such Power it is his Perfection not to have ; for though he has it not, he wants it not ; for what is perfect wants nothing. God has all perfect and possible Power, but what is contrary to his Perfection, is not possible with him. He always acts according to the inviarable Perfection of his Nature, and contrary to that it is impossible for God to act ; yet Men think God could have made the World better than he has done, if he would ; for he can do whatever he will. Why then would he not ? Why did he not ? What is this but magnifying his Power, to diminish his Perfection ? But the Answer is plain and easy, *God could not* do otherwise than he has done, or cannot do otherwise than he does, because he could not, cannot *will* otherwise than he does, or than his Will is. To suppose then God could have made the World better if he would, what is this but supposing, if God can will what 'tis impossible he should, then he may do what it is impossible he otherwise could ? Does not this then amount to an Impossibility at last ? If God can do better than he does, he must blame himself that he does it not ; for sure it must be as easy for him to do the best, as otherwise, but the Perfection of his Nature must necessitate him always to will and do the best. Because Men read that, *With God all Things are possible*, they think it is possible for God to act as foolish as Men do, and as romantic as they think ;
that

that he can make a Camel pass through a Needle's Eye, or an Elephant go through an Auger-hole. But the Excellency of his Nature does not permit him thus to alter his Works; he cannot will Things so contrary to his eternal Mind and Rule of Action; he cannot act so contrary to his constant Actions, because he cannot contradict himself. I repeat again, that the Perfection of God's Nature necessitates him always to one best manner of Action. Well, but say they, God is not good at all, if his Goodness is not of Choice, if he can do no otherwise, if it is of necessity and not voluntary. What is this, but a narrow Notion of partial Goodness, bringing God's Nature down to Man's, conceiving Goodness in God must be of the same Nature as Goodness in Man, the Effect of Passion and Partiality of Mind? Is not the Sun light, because it is not always naturally and necessarily luminous? Is not God good, because he is always the same to all, universally, or one universal Good? Must Goodness in God spring from Affection, as in Man? Let it be proved to be so, and I will assent to it; but I do not see it so in the Conduct of his Providence, by which only I think we can judge of his Nature. Is not that Man good, who is naturally just, benevolent, beneficent, humane, and sincere, so that he must offer Violence to his Nature to act the contrary? If there be Affections, there are Passions in Deity; and if Passions, he is changeable; and if changeable, imperfect; then indeed he may judge wrong, and do wrong; may make bad as well as good; may mend and marr; attempt, and fail in his Attempts; may do and undo; repent and be angry; be pleased and displeased; happy and unhappy: Then if he works Wonders, it is not to be wondered at; for, indeed, it would be a Wonder if he did not: Then it would be no Wonder if he ordered Nature's Laws, and contradicted his own Laws and Orders. This would be agreeable to a Power that can do any Thing, and to the Exercise of a free Power, or the Power of a Free-will, that can as easily Will wrong as right, and evil as good; for if the Will is not equally indifferent to both, how is it free? And if it be, what Perfection has it? Or what perfect invariable Rule is its Guide? For if one Nature predominates, so as to keep under or confine its contrary Nature, how is the Nature, which is in Subjection and Confinement, free? Or how can the Possessor will or act, but according to the Guidance of the ruling Nature? And this he does indeed most freely; and for this Sort of Freedom, the Authority of St. Paul might be quoted, if we made that our Rule; but this makes it neither the more or less true, for Things are as they are in themselves, whatever Paul or Peter might think or say about them.

The last of these Pieces, is a Defence of a Book entitled, *Deism fairly stated, and fully vindicated*; because I think it is the honest Performance of an honest Man, and because his Answerer seems to me to have more of the subtilty of the Serpent in him, than that which is free, open, plain, resplendent, and rational. *Olet artificium.*

If Printing had been as easy to me as Writing, these Pieces, but more especially those on Miracles and Prophecies, had made their Appearance in Public long ago. On these two Subjects, indeed, Mr. *Chubb* has treated in his posthumous Works; but in a very different Manner than what is here done; which were in the Printer's Hands long before his were. I will venture to say, in Favour of these his last Productions, that they seem to me to be the Result of his last and best Judgment of Things; expressed with great Freedom, in a plain and nervous Way of Reasoning, as clear as the Light; with a Coolness like the Evening of that Day wherein God walked in *Eden*; which appears to be metaphorically more true here than there: Though in these Works of his, that great and good Man, Mr. *Foster*, is foiled, and the divine Legation of that mighty Disputant, Mr. *Warburton*, is torn to Rags, never to be patched up more: And if his Thoughts on the *Scriptures*, on *Divine Impressions*, on *Deity*, *Religion*, *Revelation*, a *future State*, &c. are not attempted to be answered, I shall ascribe it to the Consciousness Men have of failing in the Attempt; for though he was not learned in Words, his Words are fit to instruct most of our learned Men. I am,

R E A D E R,

Your Well-Wisher

to the Way of Truth,

M O R A L P H I L O S O P H E R.

S U P E R.

SUPERNATURALS

EXAMINED.

DISSERTATION I.

On the OBSERVATIONS of the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, by Gilbert West, Esq;

THESE Observations are occasioned by the Objections made against the Evidence in *The Resurrection of Jesus considered*; from which, the Beginning of his Introduction tells us they took their Rise; because, though satisfied with the Abilities of two of his Antagonists to that Piece, *he was not fully satisfied with their Manner of clearing the sacred Writings from all the Contradictions charged upon them: Therefore he set to read and examine for himself; being astonished at finding Writers who, for above these 1600 Years, have been reputed holy and inspired, charged with such a Contrariety in their Accounts, as ill agreed with either of those Epithets: And because he thinks he has discovered the Vanity and Weakness of such Imputation, I thought fit to examine his Discovery.* Such Observations as seem to carry Argument with them I shall only regard; the rest I pass over, aiming at Brevity. As this Piece came out after *The Resurrection Defenders strip of all Defence*, it could not be brought in to ring Chimes with the rest, and

therefore must be tolled by itself; which makes the Music the duller, but the Tone is not the less clear and distinct. Since Reasons for Examination of Things are objected against by no Disputants, if we allow *the Authority of Reason* to supercede all other, of what Consequence is the List of *great Names*, which this Author gives, who have been of the believing Party? For all Religions that have been countenanced, encouraged, and established among a People, must have had the Favour of many *great Men*. When we seek Truth, we are not to regard *Names*, but *Things*: Whether therefore the Writer be a *Clergyman*, or a *Layman*, dignified or without Dignity, it matters not: We are not to look to the Writer, but to what is written. If a *Plowman* speak equal Truth with a *Bishop*, or a *Nobleman*, it deserves equal Regard; for though there ought to be a Deference paid to Mens Persons, according to their Place or Merit, Truth should be esteemed the same in all.

I shall not trace this Observer in his long and perplexed Method;

thod; for if all agree, as he would have it, concerning the Evidence of the Women; there are unanswerable Objections which he has not cleared up, but puzzled rather by a Multitude of Words; and some that he has evaded without mentioning, or attempting to clear up. Suppose the Matter should turn out, as he has endeavoured to represent it, it is evident the *Relaters* were miserable *Historians*, to put their Readers to so much Trouble to know *their* Meaning, and reconcile *their* Differences. But it will be found by farther Observation, and nicer Scrutiny, that the Matter is irreconcilable, and that Revelation is such a Light to Reason, as Reason cannot find out.

The Gentleman takes great Pains to force a Reconciliation of the disagreeing Accounts of the Women's Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus; as if the making them *consistent*, was sufficient to prove the Truth of the *Whole*; or that the *whole Truth* rested on the Agreement of those *particular Accounts*; not seeming to know, that the Truth of Facts are not proved by the *Consistency* of the Relations of those Facts, but that they are infallibly disproved by their *Inconsistency*: For it is not so certain, that several Accounts of Things which agree are true; as it is certain, that wherein they disagree, they cannot both be true; and it is possible neither of them may. The manner in which the Observer has attempted to reconcile the Text, in brief, is thus.

Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, go to the Sepulchre, as in St. Mark, to which Mary Magdalene approaching, sees the

Stone rolled away; she leaves her Companions, and runs and tells Peter and John.

Her Companions, in the mean Time, enter the Sepulchre, see and hear Angels, who tell them Jesus is risen, and bid them tell it to the Disciples; they returning to do as commanded, Jesus meets these (Mary and Salome) by the Way.

Before they come to the Disciples, Peter and John, by the Information of Mary Magdalene, came to the Sepulchre; they found it open, and the Body gone, but no Angel.

Mary Magdalene, who went again with Peter and John, stays behind at the Sepulchre, after they are gone, and there sees Angels and Jesus, who converse with her, as in St. John, and she departs.

Then Joanna and Women with her, (among whom Mary Magdalene was not) come to the Sepulchre; they also see and hear Angels, and go and tell the Disciples; which occasions the Disciples with Peter to go again to the Sepulchre, who see the Body gone, as before, and now see Angels.

But when Mary and Salome made their Report, this Dependent faith not. This Scheme is fraught with these Disagreements and Absurdities.

That Mary Magdalene left her Companion (or Companions) and returned alone to acquaint Peter and John, and was not one of them, that met Jesus by the Way, is contrary to St. Matthew.

That Joanna and the Women with her were a different Company from Mary Magdalene and her

her Company, is contrary to St. Luke; and that their Report occasioned Peter, to go a second Time to the Sepulchre, is without Authority.

That Peter and John went a second Time to see no more than they could at first; or seeing any Thing more, heard nothing from the Angels, as the Women did, though they came about the same Errand; or that they had any Discourse together, are Surmises, Conjectures, and Inventions.

That the Angels and Jesus sent a Message to Peter, and the rest of the Disciples, to tell them he was risen? Yet both the Angels and himself got out of the Way, when they came to see after him, and yet were there again, as soon as the Apostles were departed, is absurd and improbable.

That so great Care should be taken by the Angels and Jesus, to deliver a Message to the two Marias, or (as the Observer will have it) to Mary and Salome, and yet it was not their Report to the Apostles, but that of Joanna and her Party distinct from them, that told the Resurrection to the Disciples, is an Explanation that adds Blunder to the History: And that there is no Account when they that saw and handled Jesus delivered their Message at all, according to the Observer, makes a manifest Omission and Error in the Historians. But this is a meer Contrivance to explain an inexplicable Difficulty, to make the particular Reports agree, which nevertheless they fail to do.

If the Women that were with Mary Magdalene were gone back from the Sepulchre before she returned to it, and in their going

saw Christ, consequently they saw him first; and yet St. Mark says, Christ first appeared to Mary Magdalene.

This Author says, that the two Disciples going to Emmaus, in all likelihood, heard not the Report of Mary Magdalene, (page 7.) nor that of the other Mary, with whom he joins Salome; whereas St. Luke tells us, it was them by Name which told these Things unto the Apostles, and mentions them together as one Company.

(Page 79.) The Observer says, that the Difficulty upon stating the Appearances to be different, and made to different Persons, arises chiefly from Mary Magdalene being mentioned as present by every Evangelist: But there seems to be this Reason for it, she was at the Head of the Women, and the Chief of those who attended our Lord, and followed him from Galilee. But what Authority has this Author to contradict the Text, and suppose the Historians always put down her Name as one among them, whether she was there or no. If the Text cannot stand upon its own Authority, it neither can on his Explanation of it. Our Squire, by a very pretty Method, contradicts the Text to reconcile the Contradictions of it. But as I believe he knows Greek better than St. Matthew did, he must needs know what St. Matthew knew nothing of, and therefore owns, (p. 24.) that there are two inaccuracies to be charged upon St. Matthew.

The first is, that Mary Magdalene, with the other Mary, saw the Angel. This he may also charge upon St. Mark and Luke, for they say the same. An orthodox Man I perceive may contra-

dist the Text, to make that which is apparently *wrong* appear *right*; but he that is cautious of Error must, *right or wrong*, swallow down the *Contradictions* of it.

The second is, that *St. Matthew takes no Notice at all of Salome, who was present*. How does the Gentleman know she was present? He imagines it. If his Imagination is right, how does he excuse these Things? Why thus: by saying, *the Evangelists were illiterate Men, not skilled in the Rules of Eloquence, or grammatical Niceties*; yet very often he quotes the *Greek* to prove his point by *grammatical Niceties*. Sometimes they are said to have the *extraordinary Assistance* of the Holy Spirit, that they may be believed; and at other Times, they are represented as not having the *common Assistance* of common Sense, that they may be excused.

I am not for making a Breach where there is none. I do, and always have, passed over abundance of little Particulars, and trifling Matters, that the *Defenders* of the Resurrection puzzle themselves about to reconcile; but I cannot agree with them that cannot agree with themselves. I cannot believe that *Contradictions, Absurdities, and Disagreements*, are true. I never *strain* the Text, to make it speak what it does not, or to signify otherwise than it naturally does: I am more willing to see *Truth* than *Error* in it; and had rather reconcile it, than set it at Variance; but I do not think it my Duty to receive that as Truth, which does not appear like it; or by forced Constructions, to endeavour to make that appear to be Truth which does not, or allow

Things to be contrary to what they appear to me: For this is not to find Truth, but to falsify it; not to endeavour to see Things in the Light, but to lock them up in Darknefs. I am not for *misrepresenting* Things, but for *representing* them in a clear and proper manner. I am willing to be convinced by Reason; and, when convinced of Error, thankfully to acknowledge it. I love Truth, though it be unfashionable, discountenanced, and despised: Enquiry is the Way to it.

I proceed to prove however, that these Historians disagree in their Narrations, *each of them* plainly shews, by his Story of the Women's going to the Sepulchre, that *Mary Magdalene* was one of them that went thither, whether with Company more or less, or without, and that each of them intended it for her *FIRST* Time of going there. *Matthew* signifies, that she and another came thither *immediately after the Sepulchre was opened*, and not one of them say she was there before. *St. Mark*, that she and two more said among themselves in going, *Who shall roll us away the Stone from the Sepulchre?* Therefore she is not to be supposed to have seen the Stone rolled away before. *St. Luke* says, she and others went there, and *carried sweet Spices to anoint or embalm the Body*; therefore *Mary Magdalene* had not been there before, and saw the Body gone, and therefore 'tis evident, that each Writer intended his own Account of *Mary Magdalene's* going to the Sepulchre to be the first Time of her going there, as well as *St. John*, who tells us only of her going while it was yet dark, and finding

finding the Sepulchre open, runs back surprized, and tells it, saying, *They have taken the Lord out of the Sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.* The Time indeed that St. John speaks of her going first there, will allow for her going again with other Women, but the other Particulars are irreconcilable to it; therefore, however contradictory their Accounts are to one another, 'tis not in the Wit of Man, without Contradictions and Absurdities, to make them otherwise, or reconcile the Matter by supposing, as the Gentleman does, that *Women came at different Times, and in different Companies to the Sepulchre.*

This Observator says, *Mary Magdalene* went the first Time with the other *Mary*, and *Salome*; and as soon as she saw the Sepulchre open, leaving them behind, ran and told *Peter* and *John* of it; and neither saw the Angels at the Sepulchre, nor *Jesus* in her Return. Because the Story told by St. John does not agree with what St. Matthew, Mark, and Luke say, he denies them to be true: And because St. Matthew's Story of the Watch does not agree with other Circumstances in the same Evangelist, nor with what is said in all the others, I have denied that Story to be true. How then does he by this Invention reconcile the Evangelists more than I do? We are then agreed that St. Matthew is wrong; and one may as well conclude, without any Contrivance, to set them right, that the *Circumstances of their Proofs do not agree*; as by long, tiresome, and vexatious Labour to avoid the Embarrassment, fall into as great at last; and by taking Pains to prove

they *do agree*, prove unavoidably, contrary to Design, that *they cannot be made to agree*; which renders them more fatally worse, than if there had been no Pains taken about them. And since, of the two Women that touched him, St. Matthew says, *Mary Magdalene* was one, which this Author, though a Believer, says was *not*; it further invalidates the Proof, and makes that worse, which is already too bad, and in very Deed cannot be mended.

The next Observation is, that *there were several distinct Appearances of Angels*, because these Appearances too do not agree; but I think 'tis more likely there were *none at all*, and that 'tis as well to be an Unbeliever upon easy Terms, as to take Abundance of Pains to be a Heretic, and so distanced from the orthodox Faith, after all one's Labour.

Our Observator says, *the Angels*, (i. e. the Ghosts) did not tell *Mary Magdalene* that *Jesus* was risen, though St. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, say they did; but he only denies what they say, to make them say as he would have them: Therefore, *as his Methods of Interpretation are strained and unnatural, they tend only to discover the Greatness of his Embarrassment*, as well as of those on his Side that have been before him. Though he thinks he has done better than they, he is much mistaken. He says, *the Angels were not always visible, but appeared and disappeared as they thought proper.* If Angels are Creatures of Men's making, as I apprehend they are, Men can do what they will with them: But that Substance which is the Object of Sense, must remain

main the Object of the same Sense, while it remains the same Substance, if it be not removed, nor intercepted, or there is no Certainty in our Senses. An Angel that vanishes, as Bubbles do, is a meer Apparition, a Phantom, an *ignis fatuus*, an angelic Bubble, but not a real substantial Angel; if there be any real Substance in Angels, and if an Angel be not a meer Phantom, or a Creature of Man's airy Fancy or Imagination.

(P. 36, 37.) If any one asks, *For what Purpose did the Angels descend from Heaven?* He tells us, *to fright away the Soldiers, and give the Women free access to the Sepulchre.* But why did not the Angels suffer them to stay and see *Christ* rise? No, then they would have blabbed the Secret, and we might have had other Testimony than that of the Saints; if it came any other Way, it had been unsanctified: 'Tis not for Heathens to proclaim, nor for Pagans to preach the Gospel! Or is it asked, why the Angels staid not till the Women came, before they rolled away the Stone, that they might have seen *Christ* rise? No, *Christ* left his Linen behind him, for a Proof that it was not proper for them to see him rise, nor for him to stay till it was light.

(P. 17.) The Observator owns, that *the Soldiers saw not Christ come out of the Sepulchre, being in a Swoon or Trance.* The Angels were quite rash, hot, and hasty, they flash'd their Lightning too soon; one would think it burnt their Fingers to contain it. The Soldiers themselves said they were *asleep*; St. Matthew says, they *became like dead Men*, which is much

the same, for Sleep resembles Death: Perhaps they might be drunk, and so either in a *Swoon*, or *asleep*; and the sacred Historian might as probably dream at the End, as at the Beginning of his Book. Though this is sufficient to answer this great Book, yet I shall make some further Remarks.

The Gentleman passes over without Notice my Arguments against the Probability of there being any Watch; only he insinuates *, that the Setting a Guard is true, *because we have no authentic Act of the Elders and chief Priests to the contrary.* This seems to me intended to wave a Difficulty that cannot be encountered, for the Circumstances in our own Evangelists contradict their own positive Proof. If the chief Priests had made such an Act that had reached us, we should have said, it had been made by them after St. Matthew's Gospel was written, in Contradiction to him; and it could not be done before, if they knew nothing of it. He says †, *The Sanhedrim, by an express Deputation to all the Synagogues of the Jews throughout the World, only says, that the Disciples of Jesus came by Night, and stole away his Body, without making any Mention of the Roman Guards; therefore, to be sure, they knew of none: This,* says he, *was by an Amendment of theirs, without telling us how it was before the Amendment.* Another Argument given us, that the Disciples did not steal away the Body, is, *because in the Acts of the Apostles they are not charged with it.* This makes it the more likely to be fact; because that Author has not mentioned such

* Page 345.

† Page 364.

an Accusation, which 'tis owned, in St. *Matthew*, they stood charged with; and he endeavours to discharge it, by the Story of watching the Sepulchre. The Report of the Disciples stealing the Body away, and saying he was risen, which is confidently believed by the *Jewish Nation from that Day to this*, is a Confession that there was not Evidence enough to convince them of the Truth of the Resurrection of *Jesus*, at that Time when it was said to be done: Yet now, 1700 Years after, in a foreign Country, the bare Reports, the contradictory Reports of we know not *who*, is esteemed sufficient to convince us!

Just as I was writing this, came to see me my old Friend Rabbi *Nathan Sabtecha*, a Man well versed in the Controversy between the *Jews* and *Christians*, to whom I communicated my Meditations on this Subject; he broke out in the following Words, which I took a Memorandum of, as follows:

'The whole Relation of the Resurrection of *Jesus* seems to be rather that of Dreamers and Visionaries, than of Matters of Fact, it is so confused and blindly told. So absurd and contradictory is your Gospel History, that its own Relations are its own Refutation.

'The Soldiers made a false Report, as we are told by those who will have it, that the Sepulchre was guarded by Soldiers, (which we know nothing of;) but if it was so, did not *Jesus* know it? If not, sure he never rose: If he rose, why did he not by his Presence confute it? What did he rise again for, if it was to be a Secret? Better he had never risen at all, than

'thus to rise, and secrete himself. How did he prove himself to be the Light of the World, if he left the World in *Darkness* about his Resurrection? The great Article of all, and Proof of all his other Proofs, left unproved! For if he be not risen, O ye Christians! your Faith is vain! And if he is risen, and we are left in *Darkness* about it, ye can neither bring us nor yourselves into the Light of it!

I told him that my Author said *, that *Christ* promised to give that evil Generation a sufficient Proof of his rising from the Grave, after lying three Days in it; but that he absolutely denies *Christ* promised to appear to them.

'I grant it, (said Rabbi hastily) nor to any one else. The patchwork Promises do not agree with the patchwork Performances. So then this was a sufficient Proof, without the Appearance of it. Suppose Dr. *Emmes's* Disciples had affirmed he rose from the Dead, and that some of them had seen him, as they might have affirmed, could they but have conveyed away his Body by Night; would *England*, would *London* have thought it a sufficient Proof of his rising from the Grave? If this would have been insufficient for you, how could the like be sufficient for us? Our Fathers required a reasonable Proof of his rising from the Dead, and the most reasonable of all Proofs was such as the Nature of the Case afforded. This Fact, if it was a Fact, afforded a personal Evidence, and no other, and they desired no other; an Evidence, the most easy to him, and most convincing

ing to them. This would have been the fullest Proof, the justest Testimony, the truest Demonstration, the most natural, most reasonable, and most proper; every Way fit, and no Way unfit, in every Respect right, and in no Respect wrong: The utmost Satisfaction they could have, was to have seen and heard him as before, such a Proof as their Senses would not permit them to deny; but since that was denied to them, they had a Right, and a very just Right, to deny all other pretended Evidences. Your *Christ* declared that we were to believe in him; but believing others of him, is not believing in him.

But (replied I in the *Observer's* Sense, expressed in Page 303) *They had no just Pretensions, who were Unbelievers, and persecuted him to the Evidence given the others.*

Yes, (returned he upon me smartly) the more just Pretensions, and he under an indispensable Obligation to appear to them above all others; to many in common, as much as to one; to all the *Jews*, as well as to your Apostle *Paul*, who had been a Persecutor; that where Sin abounded, Grace might much more abound; that he might shew himself an impartial Being, and a Lover of Mankind; that he might prove, he could practise the Precepts he taught; *love ye your Enemies, and do Good to them that hate you*; that he might resemble him whose Son he called himself; that is, the heavenly Father, who sends his Sun and Rain on the Just and Unjust; that he might act ac-

cording to his own Profession; that he was come to seek and to save them that were lost; that he might prove the Truth of what he declared, that he came to call Sinners to Repentance. I say, (continued he) according to his own Precepts and professed Principles, *Jesus* was under an indispensable Obligation to appear to that Generation of our People; to his bitterest and most malignant Enemies; which must have converted them, causing Joy in Heaven, according to his own Doctrine, and brought immortal Honour to himself on Earth. Who, (but Christians themselves) can believe otherwise than we do;—that the Disciples of *Jesus* stole him away by Night, if he appeared to none but them? Nay, it must appear dubious to the thinking Part of Christians; therefore, we have the greatest Reason in the World to believe, the Resurrection was made by those who asserted it. The Disciples had the least Cause of any for such an Appearance, as they were Believers already, and if they were righteous Men; for such need no Repentance. *Jesus* professed, he came not to call the Righteous to Repentance: But if the Disciples were not righteous Men, what had he made of them all the while he had been with them? And what were they the better for being his Disciples? If they were not righteous Men, what Reason have we to believe them? It had been better to have converted, and sent his Enemies to preach the Gospel, by making Disciples of them that were qualified. If your
Christ

Christ was the Light of the World,
 as he declared himself to be;
 why did he not rise in the Light,
 and enlighten the World with
 his Presence? Why did he rise
 and set in Darkness? Why did
 he arise in the Dark, and after-
 wards play least in Sight? Was
 he afraid of a second Crucifixi-
 on; where was his miraculous
 Power? If he came into the World,
 that the World through him might
 believe, and that believing they
 might be saved, why did not his
 Works correspond with his Doc-
 trine? Why did he deny us the
 reasonable Evidences of a well
 grounded Faith? And how then
 can you Christians blame us for
 not believing *this was he that*
should come, and that we are not
to look for another? For what
 Works did he do? It is plain
 our Fathers questioned his Mi-
 racles; if they said, *he cast out*
Devils by Beelzebub, what could
 they mean, but that they
 thought it Stratagem, and not
 pure Miracle; that the Devil
 was put in, before he was cast
 out by the same Art. It is cer-
 tain, that miraculous Works of
 real Goodness could not be as-
 cribed by them to the Devil,
 as is confidently pretended.
 Whatever Wonders are attri-
 buted to him in your Gospels,
 it is evident they were all done
 in the Dark, or out of Sight of
 any but his Friends; whatever
 those may have written, who
 wrote what they pleased: For
 they are all as good as denied,
 since they own that a *Miracle*
 was what our Fathers wanted,
 as a Proof of his Character.
What Sign shewest thou that we
may see and believe thee; what

dost thou work, was their Cry?
 And whatever may be by your
 Gospel Historians pretended,
Jesus himself confessed, he that
doeth Truth, cometh to the Light,
that his Works may be manifest;
 and as this was his own Doc-
 trine, it was calling on him to
 put it in Practice, and to come
 to the Light, that they might
 come to the Truth; and know
 the Truth of his Light, and the
 Light of his Truth: For as *he*
that walks in Darkness, knows
not whither he goes; so he that
 believes in Darkness, knows
 not the Consequence of so blind
 a Faith. A miraculous Proof of
 his Mission was what they per-
 petually called upon him for, as
 your Evangelists themselves con-
 fess; therefore they never had
 a Satisfactory one. At Length
 we are told, his own *Resurrec-*
tion was to be the consummate
 Proof and Evidence of his Mis-
 sion; and see how this Proof is
 proved, and this Evidence turns
 out! then it is to be proved by
another Miracle! what does this
 look like? The honest Man,
 that can pay the just Demands
 made upon him in current Coin,
 will never shuffle off his Credi-
 tors with bad Bills. If the Story
 of *one Miracle* be defective, how
 can it be patched up by *another*
 of a different Kind? Where
 was the Residence of *Jesus* the
 forty Days he is said to abide
 on Earth after his Resurrection?
 How could he be alive so long
 among his Disciples, and not
 be discovered to others? Why
 did he not in all that Time ap-
 pear in Public as before? Why
 did he secrete himself on Pur-
 pose to make his Resurrection
 doubted?

• doubted? Why is the Means of
 • Salvation made so unreasonable,
 • that we must believe, what did
 • not appear? if *Jesus* kept out
 • of the Sight of Unbelievers,
 • they could not be convinced;
 • and if his rising again was not
 • to convince them, to what Pur-
 • pose was it? Why did not the
 • Disciples proclaim that *Jesus*
 • was risen, before they reported
 • he was ascended; and not to be
 • seen, while his own Appearance
 • could have proved it? Why did
 • he send his Disciples (as they
 • say he did) to be knocked at
 • Head, for telling People what
 • they could not believe; when
 • he might have prevented their
 • ill Success only by his Appear-
 • ance? Which would have pre-
 • vented their Persecution;—so
 • their Blood is owing to his ill
 • Conduct. The Watch (if there
 • was any) denied his Resurrec-
 • tion. What is pretended of the
 • terrible Angel and Earthquake,
 • was before any Disciple came to
 • the Sepulchre, according to
 • *Matthew's* own Account; how
 • then could the Disciples know
 • any Thing of the Matter? Did
 • the *Soldiers* tell them? Then
 • whom themselves call Liars
 • were the Authors: I dare say
 • the high Priests and Elders were
 • not so great with the Disciples
 • to acquaint them with it. Does
 • not this then look like Forgery,
 • and sufficient of itself to shew of
 • what Nature it is, without an
 • authentic Act of the Elders and
 • chief Priests to the contrary?
 • And if they really bribed the Sol-
 • diers to report what they did, I
 • would fain be informed how the
 • Disciples came to know it: It
 • appears to me, concluded he,

• that the greatest of all Gospel
 • Miracles is this, that so mean a
 • Plot should have so mighty a
 • Success; tho' this may be ac-
 • counted for, but I have said e-
 • nough to you, and too much to
 • most, and indeed I think suffi-
 • cient to all;" and so he de-
 • parted.

I think, upon Reflection, the
Rabbi has said all that need be
 said to reasonable Men, and to
 others 'tis not needful to say any
 Thing; 'tis enough for the former,
 and every Thing said is not suffi-
 cient or too much for the latter;
 yet to corroborate the whole, a
 few rising Considerations claim
 the Reader's Regard.

We are told, that *Christ* ex-
 plained to the two Disciples going
 to *Emmaus*, from *Moses thro' all*
the Prophets, the Things concerning
himself: But we are not told what
 that necessary Explanation was;
 they give us no Manner of Ac-
 count what was this Revelation
 made to them; so that *our Eyes*
are still holden that we cannot know
him. And tho', as it seems at ano-
 ther Time, *he opened their Under-*
standings, that they might under-
stand the Scriptures, they, nor
 their Successors, do not open ours,
 nor tell us any Part of what he
 said; and notwithstanding he com-
 manded them *to speak that in the*
Light, which he spoke to them in
Darkness, (*Mat. x. 27.*) it is kept
 in the Darkness he delivered it.
 Supposing then they had all the
 Evidence pretended, since we
 have nothing of the Evidence they
 had, why should we be required
 to believe as they did? And if the
Matter of their Stories be true,
 that *Jesus* rose from the Dead;
 which Fact is not disputed, but
 the

the Evidence of it, for it is told in so miserable a *Manner*, that 'tis evident Mistakes are conveyed to us; our Faith of it is on a *fallible Foundation*, and consequently is not founded on divine Inspiration, but on the disagreeing Reports of Persons, *whom* neither we nor our Fathers ever knew, nor *when* nor *where* they were first reported; nor can we have better; and all adverse Proof, the *Christians* have, with all their Art and Power, destroyed. They began the *Burning of Books* early, *Acts* xix. 19. and as soon as they had Power, burnt not only *Books*, but *Men*; to the Honour and Glory of *Christ's Church*, for every Church subsists by Sacrifice. *Believe or be damned* was the first *Christian Authority*, and *believe or be burnt* was the next, as soon as they had Power to make it and put it in Execution. *To hate Friends and Relations for Christ's Sake, is a true Christian Doctrine*; and consequently, to persecute and burn them for *Christ's Sake*, is a true *Christian Spirit*. Does not a Law to punish a Man for not believing a Report, afford Reason enough to render it suspicious? For 'tis not the Nature of *Truth* to use any Authority but that of *right Reason* and *clear Evidence*. She never obtrudes herself on Trust, nor forces her Way by Pains and Penalties. From those that will not regard her Voice, she turns away; their Disregard brings on their own Disgrace and Punishment. Does not the Necessity of believing the Thing proposed on *hard and rigid Terms*, shew the Reason of that Necessity? For if you don't believe, you will examine; and Examination makes

Frauds as well as Truths appear. If the Reporters and Assertors cannot work upon Men's *Reason*, they must, *in order to be believed*, work upon their *Passions*, for all depends upon *Belief*; therefore *be that believes and professes shall be saved!* noble Encouragement! and *be that believes nor, shall be damned!* dreadful Terror! whom they cannot lead, they drive; the first takes in all easy good-natured Fools, the other all tardy timorous ones. So the poor Fools of this World are persuaded, that by this Means they are made rich and wise in Faith. Thus those who are governed more by their *Passions* than *Reason*, the *Simple* and *Sinners*, who are by much the greater Part of the World, are drawn in; these bring Numbers into the Church, Numbers bring Power, and by Power the rest are compell'd, at least, to pretend Belief. Thus *Faith*, of one Sort or other, like a *spiritual Deluge*, has overrun the World. As when the Dogs are muzzled, the Wolves will destroy the Sheep; so Silence the wise and experienced, and the Incautious will be taken in, and become the Prey of Men practised in Deceit. This may certainly be said of the *Mother Church*, whatever may be pleaded for her *Children*.

(Page 203.) This Writer owns, that as *St. John* says, *TWICE Jesus came in when the Doors were shut, he intended to signify that he came in miraculously, or he would not have mentioned that otherwise trifling Circumstance of the Doors being shut.* As this Gentleman confesses it requires no great Depth of Philosophy to understand it impossible, that it cannot be imagined how
I a solid

*a solid Body can penetrate a solid Body, and yet both of them remain the same Bodies after as before; 'tis the plainer Truth; and tho' it be so, I apprehend that St. John's Faith was able to remove this Mountain; for Faith can surmount all Contradictions. That a material and a spiritual Body may be the same, or different only at different Times, according to the Will of the Spirit that possesses it, might have been St. John's Opinion for aught we know, if we may conjecture his Faith by the Facts he relates. Though, according to this Way of Thinking, the Gentleman merrily says, in this Sense, the Spirituality of the Walls and Doors may be as well inferred as the Spirituality of Christ's Body, and imagines that Argument would very well have become me; I really think the same, had I first had that unlucky, as he has the lucky Thought. In me indeed, it would have been as he says, *sophistical, ludicrous, and absurd*; in him I really think it is *witty, pleasant, and a propos*. He seems to grant, (P. 206.) that what is contrary to the Laws of Nature, cannot be effected: How comes he then to talk of a Power that can controul the Laws of Nature, (P. 207.) and opening a Passage through Walls and Doors, without making any visible Breach in them? For if this be not effected by some natural Means, 'tis as much contrary to the Laws of Nature, as the other. If the Laws of Nature are the Laws of God, and he can subvert those Laws, then God can contradict himself, and every Absurdity is possible with him; but if this be impossible, then God can do nothing supernatural.*

This is a Sketch of an Answer to his Challenge (P. 142.) on the Impossibility of Miracles. Let those that think this Point (says he) can be made out, try their Strength in this Argument, which supercedes all other Objections that can be made in Favour of any Miracle. A Dissertation on this Subject follows, that answers his Challenge.

As to the three thousand said to be converted by St. Peter's Sermon, I have, in my Opinion, heard a thousand Times better Sermons, that I fear have never converted three; therefore, I am dubious, if the Word *thousand* be not an Interpolation. If his Sermon converted them all, then all the others talking with Tongues was to no Purpose: It may be they talked in the Spirit, since it was by the Spirit they spoke; for we are not told one Word that any of them said, besides *Peter*; and if the Historian was faithful (which is not to be questioned) undoubtedly he has told us all they said; for if 'tis not to be supposed they omitted any Thing against themselves, as they have not mentioned that the Jew Rulers did not accuse the Disciples of stealing away the Body of their Master, when they were brought before them, therefore there was nothing said by those Rulers about it, and therefore the Disciples had no Hand in it: I say, as they omitted no Circumstance that made against themselves, it cannot be imagined, but they faithfully inserted every miraculous Circumstance, and all the Particulars of Prodigies that happened in Favour of themselves and their Mission; therefore not mentioning what the

the others said, shews, they said nothing.

If this wonderful Conversion be true, 'tis no less wonderful that so many, and all at once, believed the Resurrection of *Jesus*; then, and so few of them have believed any Thing of it *since*. The Holy Ghost, if he had gone on, might soon have converted the whole Nation by *three thousand* in a Day. What hindered this hopeful Progress? It was not in Man's Power to stop his Maker's; why then was *his Arm shortened*, since he wills that *all Men be saved*, and no Man can save himself? I apprehend this Miracle of the Tongues has some mystical Meaning; and it seems to me to be this, that as *cloven Tongues* sat on the Head of the Speakers, it shews that the Gospel has a *two-fold Interpretation*, and that the Preachers are *double-tongued*, so that the Hearers cannot understand the Spirit's Meaning. The Spirit came like the *Rushing of a mighty Wind*, and has continued to be like that *boisterous Element* ever since. There were Men gathered together from *every Nation under Heaven*, that the Gospel might be preached to all Nations; this is typical of a world of Confusion in the Church; what Believers take for *Rhapsody and Inspiration*, not only Unbelievers, but other Sort of Believers, look upon as *Drunkenness of Opinion*, and Infatuation. There's the same Reason the *Christian Church* should be typical, as the *Jewish*; for, as my author says, *Inasmuch as the Jewish Religion did virtually contain the Hopes of the Gospel, the Religion itself was a Prophecy*: So as the *Christian Religion* does virtually contain the Hopes of the Promises

of Heaven, 'tis itself a Prophecy, or a Type of the *better Covenant of good Things to come*; for the Good of it is certainly not yet come, nor ever likely to come to Men, till Men come to Heaven.

The Observator takes those Particulars for granted, that he should prove; and argues from those as if already proved, that you must take for granted: Thus from their own Accounts of Things he attempts to make their Stories good, which he but attempts; and from Facts not granted, he attempts to prove the grand Fact in Dispute; which may as well itself be granted, as Proofs from the same Foundation. This he calls (p. 294.) a *long and scrupulous Examination of the several Particulars which constitute the Evidence of the Resurrection*. And then, says he, *I have endeavoured to shew, that never were any Facts that could better abide the Test*; and concludes, as if he had succeeded, that *never was there a Fact more fully proved than the Resurrection of Christ*; when at the same Time none was ever less, and the *Inconsistencies and Absurdities* of the Relations destroy all Proof; and wanting its essentially necessary and natural Proof, has no Proof in Nature. If a Man rise from the Dead, to be publicly known, and was not publicly seen, his Ends are frustrated by his own Inaction, or wrong Action; he is unsuited for Non-appearance. If *Enemies* as well as *Friends* have no Proof of it, it is but a partial Proof. If *Jesus* rose, that Men might believe who were not his Disciples, that End was too weakly effected; for of the *Disciples* themselves some doubt-
ed.

ed. What is done in the Dark, wants Light for its Discovery.

This Author being reduced by meer Necessity to make the Evangelists agree; for Facts forms Conjectures; for they do not agree to insinuate what he does, or countenance his Insinuations. When one Story, told by several Persons, is *irreconcilable*, there is no other Way of Reconciliation, than to say *they are different Stories*, and if that Method fail, it had been better never to attempt it. To force a Story to agree that *does not*, is like forcing a Story to be *true* that *is not*. They that can rest satisfied with Reports on the Credit of the Reporters, and believe the Possibility of Miracles, are capable of believing any Thing, if they believe the Reporters credible Persons. Nothing is more easy than to plant Belief in the Mind before Reason springs up; and it is difficult in most to eradicate it, when it is deeply rooted by long Continuance. This Faith is a Weed that generally choaks the Growth of Reason. Is this the Revelation that is to enlighten our Understandings, that we cannot understand wherein the Light of it consists? that must be shrouded in Subterfuges of Suppositions and Imaginations, to make it so much as have the Appearance of that necessary Agreement, without which it cannot possibly have the least Appearance of Truth?

The Observator endeavours to prove the Fact, by the exact Accomplishment of Christ's Words*; tho' a thousand Proofs, without the Right, will never do; and this alone, is the only satisfactory

one, *viz.* a Satisfaction given to the People in common. One of his Assertions for Proofs is, that *Jesus foretold his Death and Resurrection*; tho' he should first have cleared up the Objections against these pretended Predictions in *The Resurrection considered*; in which is plainly shewn, that those to whom it is said to be foretold, foreknew nothing of the Matter; consequently those Predictions were made after, and ascribed to him; and as that of his *Resurrection*; so was that of his *Death*; for both are put together in the History; which *destroys the Story of the Watch*: But this very *material Argument*, our Observator being not willing to observe, passes over in Silence. What is the Meaning of this, but that he knew it was wisest so to do; for he thought that few who read *The Resurrection considered*, would read his Observations on it. To answer this single Point, two more such Volumes as his will be too little.

Another Prediction ascribed to *Jesus*, that this Author mentions, is *the Treachery of Judas*. But *Jesus* appeared to have no Foreknowledge of this, when he promised that the twelve Apostles, should *sit on twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel*, *Judas* being one; tho' I suppose *Judas* has lost his Commission since.

The Observator does not mention two Prophecies, ascribed to Christ, which should have been fulfilled long ago, but are not yet come to pass.

1. The Temporalities promised his Disciples for adhering to him, *Mark x. 30.* That *they should receive*

ceive an hundred fold in this World, for whatever they lost at that Time, new Relations, and large Inheritances; unless they found their new Profession of catching Men instead of Fish bring them in Cent. per Cent. and so turn to a very good Account. This was not fulfilled otherwise in this World, nor is likely to be, even in Faith, unless the old exploded Doctrine of the expected Millenium be revived.

2. The coming of himself in Power and Glory, with all its Signs and Concomitants, which was to have been immediately after the Destruction of Jerusalem, *Matth. xxiv. 29. Mark xiii. 24.* Notwithstanding the Disciples were to endure Persecutions, they were to be present at that Time, either alive or raised up from the Dead, *1 Theff. iv. 13*, to the End. *Matth. xxiv. 4, 15, 23, 25, 33, 42, 44. Mark xiii. 5, 7, 9, 18, 21, 23, 29, 33, 35, 37. Luke xxi. 8, 9, 12, to 20, 28, 31, 34, 36.* and that Generation was not to pass until all these Prophecies were fulfilled; and both Heaven and Earth should sooner fail than this Prediction, *Matth. xxiv. 34, 35. Mark xiii. 30, 31. Luke xxi. 32, 33.* and when he sent forth his Disciples to preach the Gospel, he told them (as we read) *Matth. x. 23. Ye shall not have gone over all the Cities of Judah, until the Son of Man be come*; therefore the Apostles called it *the last Times, and the End of the World.*

I suppose it will be objected, if the Prophecies are not of Christ's making, but ascribed to him afterwards; why have they ascribed false Prophecies to him? For I made the same Objection to Rabbi Nathan, who returned me this Answer.

' The Prophecies that the Messiah shall be a personal King in this World are too plain to admit of any Equivocation, or explain away by Mystery. It is so expressly predicted, that if this is not to be depended on to be literally accomplished, there is not any Prophecy to be depended upon; so that when we Jews are able to give up this, we shall give up all the rest for Chimeras or Imposition. It was impossible to persuade our Nation otherwise, nor did ever Jesus attempt it. Therefore when he was crucified, it was plain he could not be that Messiah which was expected. What was then to be done to keep up the forlorn Hopes of the Disciples? What, but to secure his Body where no Eye could see it, and give out he was risen and ascended in their Sight to Heaven, and that he had promised he would come again armed with Power, reward his Adherents, punish all his and their Adversaries, give to his Friends Estates and Places under his Government for a thousand Years, that Jerusalem should be renewed, and the Temple rebuilt, though then subjected to the Gentiles, and be made the Glory of the whole Earth, and the Seat of universal Monarchy. They that believed Jesus was rose from the Dead, were capable of believing all the rest: For what is impossible to a miraculous Power? And with this Bait the Disciples caught Men. It is our steady Faith in God by his Prophets, and our Faithfulness to God's Laws, given to us by Moses, maugre all Persecutions

' in this World, that keeps us
 ' still a distinct People from all o-
 ' thers; and from those we have
 ' suffered most, by whom we ought
 ' to have been favoured most;
 ' those I mean (said he) that bor-
 ' row their Religion from us;
 ' and have by their own Confes-
 ' sion the Means of Salvation from
 ' our Race. Admit we did wrong
 ' in crucifying him, we did it igno-
 ' rantly in Unbelief (for which
 ' Paul obtained Mercy;) and the
 ' Gospel owns, that it was so or-
 ' dained to be for your Salvation;
 ' and what were our Fathers that
 ' they could withstand God, if
 ' we are given over to Infidelity
 ' and Hardness of Heart by him;
 ' how can we frustrate his Will,
 ' who does what he will in the Ar-
 ' mies of Heaven, and among the
 ' Inhabitants of the Earth, and
 ' who can stop his Hand, or say unto
 ' him, what dost thou? But we,
 ' against Hope, believe in Hope;
 ' which proves us to be the Chil-
 ' dren of Abraham; and therefore
 ' those to whom the Promises are
 ' made.' Then with a solemn
 ' Sigh, and an involuntary Tear
 ' that dropt as he spake, O right-
 ' eous Lord Jehovah, said he, re-
 ' member Israel thy chosen, and
 ' Jacob thine Inheritance.' And
 ' turned away to weep forth what
 ' he could not utter. The most sin-
 ' cere Christian cannot be more sin-
 ' cere than he.

It argues the utmost Partiality
 and Blindness to affirm, as this
 Author does, (p. 307.) that the
 Apostles and Evangelists were the
 Authors of the Scriptures whose Names
 they bear; we have the concurrent
 Attestation of all the earliest Writers
 of the Church, deduced by an unin-
 terrupted and uncontrolled Tradition,
 from the very Times of the Apostles,

which is such an Authentication of
 those sacred Records, as is not to
 be overturned by bare Presump-
 tion, and a surmised and unproved
 Charge of Forgery. The Charge of
 Forgery is not a bare Presumption
 and Surmise: It has been owned
 by Believers themselves, as in the
Resurrection Re-considered, (p. 49,
 50.) It is bare Presumption to
 assert confidently, that we have
 an uninterrupted and uncontroll-
 ed Tradition to the contrary; for
 there is no Reason to presume it.
 Besides, Dr. Mills, has discover-
 ed a Passage, giving an Account
 of a general Alteration of the four
 Gospels, in the sixth Century, re-
 corded by *Tinuis*, an African Bi-
 shop, who flourished in that Age,
 (see *Cave's Hist. lit.* p. 415.) in
 his *Chronicon*, which was printed
 by *Canisius*, at *Ingolstadt*, in 1600,
 and by *Joseph Scaliger*, in his E-
 dition of the *Chronicon* of *Eusebi-*
us. The Passage is this: *In the*
Consulship of Massalia, at the Com-
mand of the Emperor Anastasius,
the holy Gospels, as written, Idiotis
Evangelistis, are corrected and a-
mended. Dr. Mills likewise tells
 us, that *St. Isidore*, Bishop of *Se-*
ville, relates the same in his *Chro-*
nicon. This shews how incorrup-
 ted our sacred Records are; and
 I think that Corruptions or Ab-
 surdities, concerning watching the
 Sepulchre, are so plainly shewn,
 in the *Resurrection of Jesus consider-*
ed, as evidently display such For-
 geries or Errors from some Quar-
 ter, which are indefensible. If
 they carry this Proof with them,
 we need not run back for many
 Ages to prove they have it not,
 from a Church abounding with
 Forgery and Corruptions, and e-
 very Impiety; and therefore a
 most undoubted incorruptible Re-
 pository

pository of pure and unspotted Truth! It is most fit and satisfactory however, that its own intrinsic Nature should speak its Worth; let it stand the Test of human Judgment, and be judged as that says Men are to be; *by its Words be it justified or condemned.* I know not whether the sacred Writings, as they are called, are those of the Writers whose Names they bear, or not; and if they are, I know not *who* nor *what* those Men were, but their bare Names only; therefore cannot take Things related on the Credit of I know not who, that were the Relaters. It is not reasonable I should be obliged to take that for Truth, which has not the Appearance of it, upon Trust to those that might be either Men cunning or foolish, honest or dishonest, for aught any Man in the World now knows, or can possibly know about them: Therefore I think the Authority that ought to govern our Minds and Manners should be reasonable, or the Authority of evident Truth and Reason only.

Permit me to mention somewhat *in Favour of the Evangelists*, and conclude; and there is no Doubt, but most of my Readers will believe, that for me *so to do*, is a Sign of drawing near a Conclusion.

Though the Holy Ghost was promised to bring all Things to the Remembrance of the Disciples, he was not always present; for St. Paul says, 1 Cor. vii. 12. *Now I speak, not the Lord*: If the Lord had been then present, sure St. Paul would have given him the Pre-eminence of Speech, and been silent while the Lord spoke; and therefore he might not be

present to the sacred Historians, at the Time when they wrote; and so Slips and Errors might creep in: And if he was present, they were but Men, and therefore fallible; for though the better Half of *Christ* was *God*; he was subject to the Infirmities of *Manhood*, and to be provoked to say many Things, (*Luke xi. 53.*) which perhaps he would not otherwise have said, and which the Writers do not seem to have recorded, though *in him* it is said *dwelt the Fulness of the Godhead bodily*, (which is not true manifestly; for if so, all *God* was in him, and all the *Creation* besides subsisted without *God*, and consequently existed without *God*, and is independent of him;) yet though it were so, the *Manhood* prevailed over the *Godhead*, at a Time when the *Manhood* wanted its Assistance most;—in the Time of his Sufferings. The Apostle *Paul*, who boasted he had as much of the *Holy Ghost* as any Man, next to his Master, had *Sin* always present with him. And if the *Holy Ghost* did bring all Things to the Remembrance of the Writers; yet how could they have Patience to write all that the *Holy Ghost* remembered them of, when St. *John* (xxi. 24, 25.) tells us, that *if all the Things were written that Jesus did, he supposes that even the World itself could not contain the Books that should be written.* And the World now is scarce able to bear or regard all the *pros* and *cons* about it. With this I shall finish, as St. *John* did, who knew when he had said enough; and in so doing, imitate the blessed Example of one of the greatest Saints, in one of the very best Things done by him.

SUPERNATURALS

EXAMINED:

DISSERTATION II.

On Mr. JACKSON's *Letter to DEISTS: Shewing the IMPOSSIBILITY of Miracles and Prophecies.*

In a *Dialogue* between a *Christian* and a *Deist*.

The INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

C. **A**T your Request, Sir, I come to pay this friendly Visit.

D. I thank you, Sir, and am prepared to entertain you in a friendly Manner. In this Arbour fit for Retirement, pray sit down; let Friends be free; it is the life of Friendship; there is not any Thing more agreeable to me than to contemplate and converse; here is good Wine, which discretionally used, is fit to keep alive the good Spirit of our Conversation.

C. The Place, the Season, and the Person are all pleasing to me; but what the End may be, I know not, and I fear not; seeing the Means are Good.

D. My Mind has conceived, and Labours to be delivered.

C. I am afraid your teeming Mind is big with some monstrous Production; let me be neither

Midwife, nor Nurse; but I will sit by you, while you deliver yourself.

D. That will do as well: But that which you rashly conjecture to be a *Monster* is *Truth*.

C. Then it is *Truth* gives you Pain.

D. I am only in Pain to be delivered; but it is a pleasing Pain, like that of *Love*.

C. If you are not big with a *Monster*, it is a *Miracle*.

D. If you are not a *Christian*, you are a *Conjurer*; you have luckily hit the Nail on the Head; *Miracle* is the Subject: The Hare is started, and now the Game begins: Let nothing divert us from the Pursuit. Have you read Mr. Jackson's *Address to Deists*?

C. I have.

D. How do you like it?

C. Very well.

D. I am glad of it; then you are

are to make use of his Arguments against me : Here is the Book.

C. This looks like giving me both *Sword and Challenge*, which however I do not except against, seeing the *Weapons of our Warfare* are not carnal but spiritual.

D. Well then, if you should be beat with your own Weapons, keep your Temper invulnerable.

C. I am not so weak as to suffer you to wound me : You shall find me as *brave* as you are *fierce* : Let your *Light* break forth, your *Fire* cannot hurt me ; I have *Christian* Patience.

D. And I have *philosophical* Temper, which is near of Kin : I have considered the Subject in the most *unprejudiced* Manner, I am capable ; and shall always have the greatest Respect for better Judgment when I see it ; not being fond of *Conquest*, for the Sake of *Opinion* ; but desire to be convinced of Truth, and to embrace it, for Truth I love ; and regard not whether it be called *Faith*, or *Infidelity*. If the Darkness be on my Side, therefore, it is Charity to lead me out of it, who am willing to inform, and be informed, for my own Satisfaction, and the Benefit of those I converse with.

C. I have always had a good Opinion of your *Sincerity*, but the *Christian* World have but a bad Opinion of your *Sentiments*, I will not call it *Faith*, for in that we find you are wanting, when weighed in the Scales of Christianity.

D. In those Balances, that Side towards him that holds them, always preponderates : I solemnly declare, I am a *Lover of Wisdom*, however *small* may be my Share of it ; and I delight in that Under-

standing, which produces a virtuous Freedom and Tranquillity of Mind.

C. The Inequality of *Christian* Judgment that appears to you, proceeds from your Eyes not being enlightened with Faith. You may say what you will ; but if you do not *believe*, you will not *be believed* ; but go on with your Dish of Discourse, and talk to the Point.

D. I apprehend my intended Subject, which is the IMPOSSIBILITY of *Miracles*, may be a Field for curious Enquiries, and therefore worthy the Consideration of an inquisitive Mind, that hunts after the inestimable Treasure of useful Knowledge.

C. Great Lights do sometimes arise from small Sparks : That Subject is good which is productive of Good.

D. The *Rage of Enthusiasm*, and *Prejudice of Bigotry*, have done much Mischief, and been the Shame of Religion. This Subject may be a Means to expel in some Degree this *Contagion*, that has so infected the World.

C. You expect great Glory then for your bold Undertaking.

D. Nothing less than *immortal* ! This is the Ambition of Believers that plead no Merit, and profess Humility ; and, without flattering Modesty, Unbelievers are as ambitious as they. THE RESURRECTION CONSIDERED, and the other Treatises on that Subject, have obtained an *invincible Conquest*, and put all believing Adversaries to *everlasting Silence*, and why should not I expect a *Triumph*, if Truth be on my Side ? But whether so, or not, I joy in the *Liberty* that is productive of Truth,

Truth, the peculiar Glory of THE GEORGEAN REIGN. I intend a philosophical Enquiry of a general Nature. Let the *Unprejudiced* and *Understanding* judge; for such only can discern the Difference between the *natural Beauty* and *Power of Truth*, and any other Thing, by whatever Name dignified or distinguished, wearing its Mask and Appearance, which passes for *Truth* upon *Trust*. —Mr. Jackson's Arguments are such as include all that others have said, and more, in Defence of the *Possibility of Miracles*; who, undertaking to reason with philosophical Freedom on that Head, I take the Liberty to resume the Consideration thereof in the same Manner.

C. I think you may be very well reconciled to the *Christian Religion*, in the reasonable Light Mr. Jackson describes it.

D. He indeed dresses it up in the Light of *Deism*. If it was its *natural Complexion*, and not a *painted Beauty*, and all true as he represents it, *Deists* may be persuaded to believe that *Art* is almost as beautiful as *Nature*. Many fine Things may be said of any Religion, by Men of Skill, that take only the *best Part*, and make the *best* of it: But a Religion delivered in an *extraordinary Manner* from God, should be like him, not *partially*, but *totally Good*; not *obscure* and *intricate*, but *clear* and *plain*, *intelligent* and *harmonious*. If the many good Things he says about the *Christian Religion*, were *true* as well as *good*, they would exceedingly tend to promote the Honour of it, and reconcile it to them to whom he makes his *Address*.

C. Mr. Jackson says, you are "the first he knows of, that ever said it was inconsistent with the Divine Attributes, and the Rules of Truth and Certainty, that God should work Miracles;" and I think, indeed, you are somewhat *singular* in this Point, as I have heard by several.

D. I assure you, Sir, I affect not *Singularity*, and suppose I am not the *only one* that thinks so: But it may be a *Novelty* to those that have not considered it, that have sucked in *supernatural Nourishment* from their *ecclesiastical Mothers Breasts*, and are still delighted with it; but to those that *chew the Cud*, it is *indigestible Food*.

C. And you are one of the clean Beasts! we all feed in our own Way. What is Meat to others, is Bones to you; or, as the common Proverb aptly expresses it, One Man's Meat is another Man's Poison. But pray, Sir, how do you intend to manage this Argument? For you must be the Manager. In what Order will you proceed? Let us come to Order, that when one Point is discussed, we may go upon another.

D. Very well proposed, Sir; then, in treating this Subject, let the Examination be,

First, *Whether Miracles are consistent with the Course of Nature?*

Secondly, *Whether they are consistent with the Attributes of Deity?*

Thirdly, *Whether they are fit or necessary?*

Fourthly, *Whether they do not destroy the Foundation of Truth and Certainty? And are capable of the same Evidence as other historical Facts?*

Fifthly, *Whether the Disbelief of Miracles be Infidelity and Atheism?*

C. Grand

C. Grand Points! I suppose you expect to carry all before you. *Audacious Attempts* have often *shameful Overthrows*.

D. *Fortuna juvat audaces*. At the End of every one of these mental Entertainments, let a refreshing Glass be administered to the *outward Man*; for they that would keep their Tenants in their Houses, must keep their Houses in Repair.

C. While I hear you talk like a *Heathen Philosopher*, I have no Antipathy to living like a *Christian*.

D. But I shall discourse on a good Subject.

C. Many a one does so, and makes bad Work of it. However, good Talking should always be attended with good Living.

D. And reasonable *Thinking* is nourished by reasonable *Drinking*.

C. I fall in with you; and when Friends fall out, it is not friendly.

D. That's a self-evident Truth, and needs not our Proof.

C. Nor will it be friendly in us to prove the Truth of it.

D. Those Things that are not proper to prove, it is best to take for granted.

C. Do so by Miracles.

D. *Christians* don't Attempt to prove them because they think them *not proper*, but because they *cannot*. That Subject which can neither be *proved* nor *disproved*, is a very dark one, and ought to be dismissed.

C. That you make not dark Work of it, brighten up your Intellects with a cheerful Glass.

D. I will do so, my Friend; and as I expect no *supernatural* Aid, I will make use of the *natural*, and dismiss this introductory Discourse.

DISCOURSE II.

D. NOW, if you please, Sir, we will begin with the Enquiry, *Whether Miracles are consistent with the course of Nature?*

C. What general Definition do you give of a Miracle?

D. A Miracle has been generally allowed to be a *supernatural Operation*, or *the Work of a Power above Nature*.

C. But some Moderns think otherwise; among them is your Mr. Jackson, whose Reasons are to be my Rule. He says, (p. 17.) 'The Course of Nature is really the immediate incessant Operation or Agency of God himself in the whole Creation; and what is called a *Miracle*, is as much a Part of God's providential Government, and as much a Part of the Course of Nature, as any other: The Difference is, the ordinary Powers of Nature are *visible* and *manifest* in their Effects at all Times, and in all Places, but the extraordinary, at some particular Times, by Effects superior to human Agency, or common natural Causes for moral Ends.'

D. What do you think Mr. Jackson means by this? For I would take him by his true Intent and Meaning. Fair Argument scorns all manner of foul Dealing.

C. I apprehend he means this, that *Miracles* are as much a Part of the Course of Nature, as any other natural Productions are; only they are wrought at some particular Times, and on some extraordinary Occasions.

D. But every Thing in the Course of Nature, so far as we can

can judge, has its *Revolution* by the Flux and Reflux of Things; if *Miracles* are a Part of the *Course of Nature*, they must revolve as the *Course of Nature* does. For, by this Order of Things, *the Thing which has been, is that which shall be, and that which is done, is that which shall be done, and there is no new Thing under the Sun.* But as this is not true, applied to *Miracles*, so there is no Cause in *Nature* that can produce them. How does Mr. Jackson know, that a *Miracle is a Part of the Course of Nature*; since he never wrought nor saw one, nor knows any that did? And as he is a Stranger to the Work, he must be the same as to the Power or Manner of doing it.—Whatever is accountable by the *Course of Nature*, is not miraculous; and what is done in an unaccountable Manner, who can account for?—If a natural Work may be done for a moral End, or if false Prophets can work *Miracles*, the End for which a Work is wrought, makes it not a *Miracle*: *Morality*, therefore, is no more essential to a *Miracle*, than a *Miracle is essential to Morality*.

C. Mr. Jackson says, (p. 19, &c.) ‘Miracles no more alter Nature, or destroy the Laws of it, than the Power and Will of human Agents do.—The Cure of a Man any way diseased, by a Word or a Touch only, is no more contrary to the *Course of Nature*, nor inconsistent with it, than the Cure of these Diseases by human Means is: Nature is only restored in one Case, by extraordinary divine Power, and in the other by human Art.—If human Art can alter the Course of Nature, without de-

stroying the Laws of Truth or Nature, surely we must admit, that the Power of God can do so in a way superior to human Agency.’

D. I wish the Gentleman had told us what he meant by the *Laws of Nature* being altered by human Art. In curing Diseases, it is not the Case. The best Physician is only Nature’s Handmaid; he cannot cure the least Malady, unless Nature lead the Way, and co-operate with his Skill and Endeavours; and by her Assistance, a lucky old Woman may effect a Cure. That a holy or a royal Touch ever brought found Health to a distempered Patient, requires better Proof than bare Reports. This is said to be done by extraordinary divine Power, the other by human Art; if both these are consistent with the *Course of Nature*, the Power is one and the same: But this is as hard to prove as to perform. When we see the Thing done, we shall be better able to reason about it.

C. ‘A Resurrection of dead Bodies is no more contrary to the Nature of Things, than the Resurrection of dead Corn.’

D. True; for Seeds once dead cannot grow, tho’ it be said, *If a Corn of Wheat fall into the Ground, and die not, it abideth alone, (or is barren) but if it die, it bringeth forth much Fruit*; tho’ this, I suppose, was according to the Philosophy of those Times.

C. ‘Reason will easily, if attended to, inform us, that the raising a dead Body is as possible, as the giving Life to one in a natural Way is; and there is no more superior Power exerted in one Case, than in the other.—It is the same Divine Power which

which gave Life, and preserves it, that restores a dead Body to Life again.

D. It is easy to say and imagine Things, but how does this appear to be true? If the one was as easy to Nature as the other, why should not one be done as oft as the other? He owns, that there is no Power but what is according to the Course of Nature; but who ever heard, that by the Course of Nature, any dead Body ever came to Life again? If there is no more superior Power exerted in one Case than in the other, 'tis amazing that so many Children should be daily born, and that no dead Bodies ever get up and walk. Was this Doctrine true, one might reasonably expect Resurrections as often as Births. But all the Reason and Sense Men have, if attended to, inform us by Facts, that tho' Parents communicate Life to their Posterity in a natural Way, no Body once dead is ever raised again to Life, the one is commonly and constantly done, and the other never; that it admits of no Proof: How happens this? but because there is a Power in Nature to do the one, and not the other.

C. But is there not a Divine Power that can do it?

D. What, contrary to the Powers of Nature? All such Power was given up before by Mr. Jackson; you hear that even with him, Power natural and divine is the same. It is the same Divine Power, says he, which gave Life and preserves it, that restores a dead Body to Life again; I grant the former is either natural or divine, as you please to call it; for both with me are one; but there is no Power to do the latter, because not natural,

therefore not divine. All the Difference between natural and divine Power is only as it is applied to Things natural or divine, the Power is the same: Therefore this Distinction is needless, if it is the same divine Power which gave Life, and preserves it, that restores a dead Body to Life again.—Reason cannot inform us, that what is contrary to the Course of Nature may be; it is Faith informs us this. If this Course be the immediate incessant Operation of God himself in the whole Creation, no greater or different Power can be, none more immediate, or more incessant, for these Words admit of no Degrees of Comparison; there can then be no supernatural Interposition: By this the Possibility of all Miracles are excluded.

C. That is, if they are contrary to the Course of Nature.

D. And such all Miracles are, as by describing them will appear. Those we are required to believe, are not of that Sort as are a Part of the Course of Nature; as the raising the Dead to Life; the constant Motion of the Sun or Earth standing still at the Word of Command; the Sun's going back fifteen Degrees, when requested; a Sea parting, and making two Walls, with a broad Road betwixt, for a Nation to go through between them on dry Ground; the growing of Oil in a Cruse, as fast as it could be emptied into other Vessels, till all were full that could be got; and the growing of Meal in a Barrel all the Time of a Famine; destroying Men by Fire from Heaven, at the Word of Command, the Fire not being able to burn some Men, nor the Water to drown others: A Man's living three Days in the Belly of a Fish in the Sea; making Bread and Fish

Fish faster than ten thousand hungry People could eat them; seeing all the Kingdoms of the round World from the Top of a Mountain, and all this in a Moment; inspiring illiterate Men, that spoke their own Mother Tongue barbarously, with Knowledge to talk all Manner of Languages under Heaven, without learning any, and to write in the most learned grammatically; and these People's enabling others to do the same, by only laying their Hands upon their Heads; a Spirit's catching a Man up in the Air, and setting him down at a distant Town, &c. &c. &c. Such Facts are certainly all inconsistent with, and some of them plainly contrary to the general Course of Nature.

C. But Mr. Jackson says, a Miracle is as much a Part of the Course of Nature, as any other Works not miraculous, only more uncommon, and superior to human Agency.

D. If a Miracle be thus defined, all Manner of *strange and uncommon* Circumstances are *miraculous*; and we have Plenty of Miracles in all Ages of one kind or other; but they are not esteemed *Miracles*, nor any particular *Providence*, but by the most Ignorant. He that can do, by natural Powers, what no other Person can, only shews himself to be the *greater Artist*. A Display of *Art*, by natural Power, is no Demonstration of *supernatural Authority*. What *Credentials* does he shew, that he is in a *peculiar Manner* sent of God, to direct and govern Mankind, who does no more than another Man could do, did he know but his peculiar Art? If this be a sufficient Qualification to authorize a Man's *Divinity*, every cunning Artificer, who is the Author

of a *new Art*, is thus qualified. Is this any *Credential* that he comes from God more than another Man? Are natural Arts any *Testimonials* of a Divine Extraction or Commission? Do superior Arts invest a Man with superior *Divinity*, or prove him to be so invested? Or is meer moral *Goodness*, which is common to all good Men, a Proof of an *uncommon Mission* from God? Him that we ought to esteem *most eminently* of God, should *most eminently* display those Attributes we adore in the Deity, of Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, equally mixt and manifest. What Mr. Jackson asserts, that a *miraculous Work* is a Part of the Course of Nature, is the better to defend the Possibility of them in a philosophical Way of Reasoning, yet he seems obliged to give it up; for as he elsewhere expresses it, to work a Miracle is (p. 15.) to alter Nature, and (p. 16.) to interpose a Power otherwise than by a natural Means. The Author of the *Resurrection* cleared, says (p. 147.) a Miracle is contrary to the Course of Nature, and (p. 150.) he calls it a *superceding and suspending the general Course of Nature*, and says, that it is the *Essence of a Miracle to be contrary to the Course of Nature*.

C. But 'Miracles make no Alteration in the general System.'

D. If they did, the general System of Things would be overturned.

C. Therefore the Laws (or Power) that produce Miracles, injure not the laws of Nature in general; 'because these Laws have not a necessary Chain of Causes and Effects, or have a necessary Dependence on each other, and the general Course of Things still go on

on in a regular and uniform manner; therefore the rectifying or altering the natural Course of Things, by an immediate, divine, or supernatural Power, is only a different Exercise of the same Power, by which the Course of Nature is sustained and preserved.

D. All the Variations, or different Exercises of Nature's Powers, are owing to the different Means or Circumstances of Operations; they are constantly the same, when the Subjects and Circumstances are the same. The same Causes always produce the same Effects. Nature has no Power to act contrary to her invariable Rule of Action. There is no Power in Man, that can enable him to walk on the Water, as on Land; nor can Water bear his Weight; for it is a Law in Nature, that all Bodies, specifically heavier than a Fluid, sink in it, with a Celerity proportionable to the Difference of their Gravities. If therefore this Law be contradicted, it cannot be occasioned by a different Exercise of Nature's Powers, but must be ascribed to a Power different than is in Nature. When the Causes of Things come to be accounted for by natural Means, however they seemed before, they afterwards cease to be accounted Miracles. Such would be the Case, if a dead Man could be raised to Life, by the Power of Nature or Art; nor would the Operator be esteemed a Worker of Miracles, when the Method was known by Practice, tho' it might make the Dead and Living wonder. He that can do by natural Powers, what none else can, only shews himself to be the greater Artist; but this is no Demonstration of Supernatural Authority: So

that Miracles must be by a supernatural Power, or they cannot be at all. And I intend to demonstrate, by invincible Reasons, the Impossibility of such a Power.

C. But first of all make use of natural Power to recruit your own Ability; for if you do not inspire, you will certainly expire: After breathing your bad Spirit out, put a little good in, that it may be better.

D. With all my Heart, I am desirous to mend; and you shall see, that I am willing to become better.

C. I see you are, if this be the Way.

D. It is the Way yourself prescribed, and I follow the Prescription.

C. You are resolved to agree in being my Patient, when you cannot be my Doctor.

D. That so we may agree one Way or another.

DISCOURSE III.

D. HAVING signified my Sentiments, that Miracles are not wrought by the Laws of Nature; my next Intention is to shew, that to change the Course of Nature, is inconsistent with the Attributes of God.

C. How so? To suppose that God cannot alter the settled Laws of Nature, which himself formed, is a direct and evident Contradiction; for if he cannot alter them, it is because they are essentially necessary, and independent of him; and then he did not form them, or is the Author of Nature, which is Atheism. This is a demonstrative Proof of the Possibility of Miracles

‘ Miracles *a priori*, and the History of Mankind proves the Possibility of them *a posteriori*?’

D. God has *settled* the Laws of Nature by his *Wisdom* and *Power*, and therefore cannot alter them consistent with his Perfections: This is a demonstrative Proof of the Impossibility of Miracles *a priori*; and if the *Effects* change, so must the *Cause*: If the *Laws* alter, so must the *Lawgiver*. This proves the same *a posteriori*; which Histories of Miracles do not, for that, which is the Point in Question, can be no Proof.

C. Pray explain this more fully.

D. To suppose that God can alter the settled Laws of Nature, which himself formed, is to suppose his *Will* and *Wisdom* *mutable*; and that they are not the *best* *Laws* of the *most perfect Being*; for if he is the Author of them, they must be as *immutable* as he is; so that he cannot alter them to make them *better*, and will not alter them to make them *worse*. Neither of these can be agreeable to his Attributes. If the Course of Nature is not the *best*, the *only best*, and *fittest* that could be; it is not the Offspring of *perfect Wisdom*, nor was it settled by *Divine Will*; and then God is not the Author of Nature, if the Laws thereof can be altered: For if the Laws of Nature are God’s Laws, he cannot alter them in *any Degree*, without being in *some Degree* changeable. If all Nature is under the Direction of an *immutable Mind*, what can make a Change in that Direction? God must be allowed to be eternal, therefore he necessarily exists, and is necessarily whatever he is; therefore it is not in his own Power to

change himself; it is his Perfection to be *immutable*; for if his Nature could possibly change, it might err; for whatever is changeable, is not perfect. Besides, an *eternal* and a *perfect Nature* must necessarily be *unchangeable*: And as long as the first moving Cause is the same, all subsequent and second Causes can never vary.

C. ‘ If it was inconsistent with the Attributes of God, to alter the settled Laws of Nature, this World would not have been at all, or must have been eternal.’

D. It does not follow: For this World, for aught I see at present, might have been formed out of pre-existent Matter; perhaps out of some other worn out World or Worlds, by the common Course of Nature, gradually, as the Parts of it are constantly growing, changing, and decaying, which seems to indicate, that the Nature of the whole, is the same as the Nature of all the Parts which compose it. As by the Destruction of some Parts, others are produced, so it may be with Worlds. Thus the forming *this World*, may be no more altering Nature, than forming the *Parts* of it, as every World is but *Part* of the Universe. We see all the Parts perpetually decaying and renewing; and as the Whole is but a Collection of all the Parts, so may the greater Parts be as well as the lesser. Though this is but *Conjecture*, yet what have we of the World’s Original that is any Thing else? As little do we know of the Production of the World, as a young Child does of his own Production.

C. You argue that God’s Perfection consists in his Unchangeableness, and that of his Laws, in being

being like the Lawgiver: But the Things that *we make*, would demonstrate *our Imperfection*; if we could *not* alter them, and make them as we would have them; and in like Manner, therefore, is it not reasonable to think, that the Perfection of the Works of God, consists not in making them unchangeable; but in rendering them capable of being changed by his Power and Will, from one Degree of Perfection to another; and to suit the different Ends and States to which he designed them in different Ages and Durations by his original immutable Counsel and Will;—therefore not inconsistent with his Unchangeableness.

D. If God, by Length of Duration, becomes *better* or *wiser* himself; then he does wisely to make his *Works* alterable as his Will is; and if his Will is alterable, he does so; this is as a wise Man, who is *growing in Wisdom* does: But if the same State of Perfection be always in God, he does always best; and has one End and Design in every different Age and Duration; and always pursues that one, and the same *best End and Design*, by one and the same *best Means*; which Man cannot do, because his Wisdom is not perfect; but perfect Wisdom and Power can do no otherwise than pursue the *best End* in the *best Manner*; therefore cannot alter either. If God ever determined for moral Ends and Reasons to interpose, if needful, by a different Method, than that of his standard Laws; it must be either because he could not foresee the *Consequences*, which is like blundering in the Dark; or he fore-

saw it would be needful; and then it looks like a Blunder in the Design, and Contrivance; or he foreknew and determined his *own Works* should not answer his *own Ends*, without his mending Work, which is worst of all. That God, either *with or without Design*, let Men alone to go on in their old Way, 'till they were ruined, and could not recover themselves, nor he them, without extraordinary Interposition of supernatural Power, is a Supposition injurious to the Attributes of the Deity. If God designed, at certain Periods of Duration, to mend his ordinary, by an extraordinary Work to procure from Man extraordinary Faith and Dependence on him; it proves indeed they depend on *absolute Will*, not on *absolute Wisdom*; that by his *common* Laws he suffered Man to become totally bad, that he might get Honour by mending him, if possible, in an *uncommon* Manner. It becomes a wise Governor that his Laws be all the same, and his Government all of a Piece. Laws that require altering and mending, imply a Defect in the Lawgiver. To confirm this, I shall repeat a Passage from Mr. *Peter Bayle*, in his Books on Comets, *viz.*

‘ Nothing is more unworthy a general Cause, which puts all others in Action, by a simple and uniform Law, than violating this Law at every Turn, to prevent the Surmises and Suppositions that weak and ignorant Men may run into. Nothing gives a higher Idea of a Prince, than seeing him, when once he has enacted wholesome Laws, maintain them with Vigour towards all, and against all;

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all; without allowing the least Restriction on the interested Recommendation of a Favourite, or out of Regard to any particular Person. And of all Things apt to throw a State into utter Confusion, that which compasses the Point most effectually, is undoubtedly *the dispensing with established Laws*; changing, clipping, stretching or cramping them, according as the private Views of Parties find their Account in such Alterations. It is manifest besides, that the Necessity a Legislator is under of mending his Laws by Explanations, Interpolations, Insertions of Clauses, and sometimes a downright Repeal, supposes a Narrowness of Understanding, incapable of foreseeing the Inconveniencies that must arise in the Execution of those Laws. The longer a Law subsists without Alteration, the more it concerns the great and distant Views of the Legislator. Is it fit that Almighty God, after he has created some Causes free, and others necessary, by an Intermixture admirably fitted for manifesting the Wonders of his infinite Wisdom, establish Laws agreeable to the Nature of those free Causes, yet so little fixed, that the next Fit of Spleen or ill Humour in any one might entirely subvert them to their Destruction? The Governor of a small Town must expose himself to Contempt, if he changed his Rules and Orders as often as any of the Corporation thought fit to grumble. And shall God, whose Laws are calculated for a *general Design*, that perhaps what we see of the Uni-

verse is only an Underplot in the general Action, be obliged to derogate from those Laws, because they do not hit one Man's Fancy To-day, and another's To-morrow?

C. But suppose an original Design of proceeding to a greater or other Sort of Perfection in a natural and regular Manner?

D. Then the *Whole* must proceed gradually to introduce that *new System* designed in the original Draft; the whole Nature of Things must change together to require it. Thus no Room is found in this new Scheme for the Introduction of Miracles; for whatever is by a natural and gradual Process, is not miraculous.

C. Pray come to a Conclusion.

D. I conclude then, that *the Laws of Nature being the Laws of God, they are as unchangeable as he is*, both in the Design and Execution; and that a Miracle being contrary to the Course of Nature, is inconsistent with the Attributes of God; and therefore it is utterly impossible, in the Reason and Nature of God and Things, that any should be wrought.

I fear, Friend, I have quite tired your *Christian Patience*, you seem to be somewhat uneasy.

C. I have had a great deal of *Patience*; I can hardly call it *Christian*, to hear so much of such *beathen Philosophy*.

D. Perhaps your Uneasiness has made you wakeful. Many a patient Soul has dosed under the Word preached.

C. Then it has been for want of a quickening Spirit.

D. But that we don't want. Refreshment exhilarates the Mind. A good Spirit is no Enemy to Philo-

Philosophy; and you are no Enemy to a good Spirit: So that Philosophy and you are agreed.

C. I find you are resolved to make me agree with you by one Means or other. It would expose me to just Censure, should I put a wrong Construction on the good Meaning of my Friend, or blame his Freedom for maintaining what he conceives to be true and good, though I cannot join in the same Sentiments. An Attempt to discover Truth, and expose it to public Trial, is laudable; or the Propagation of Christianity is indefensible. As every good Christian would have the Liberty to propagate Christianity, because he conceives it to be true, so we should do to Men, as we would they should do unto us, (*i. e.*) grant them that Liberty, we ourselves desire, of divulging their Sentiments, as we would be indulged in divulging ours.

D. This Liberty Men have a natural Right to, though they are oftentimes unnaturally debarred of it.

DISCOURSE III.

NOW, if you please, let us enquire, *Whether it be fit or necessary for God, at any Time, to work Miracles?* What say you in Behalf of it?

C. I say this, that 'the providential Government of God is that of a *moral Government* over *free Agents*, in whose Power it is to disturb the natural System, and bring many Evils into it by Superstition, Tyranny, Oppression, Persecution, Fraud, &c. It cannot but be fit for God, as a moral Governor, to interpose

' his Power to remedy those Evils, ' by delivering and supporting ' the injured Innocent and Virtuous, by other than natural Means, or the ordinary Course of Things, and correcting or punishing the Impious, or Unjust, by immediate or extraordinary Acts of his Power.'

D. It seems very unfit that God, as a *moral Governor*, should give Man so mischievous a Power, which is capable of disturbing the *natural System*, and bringing many Evils into it. But if it was best that Man should have such Power, then it is best that such Things should be. If it would have been best otherwise, why was it not? It is better that Evil should not be, than permitted to be, to be remedied. But is it remedied? Surely no. Why then there has been no remedy exhibited. This is making the World dream of a *Doctor*, when it has had none. 'Tis meer Quackery to persuade Men that *Physic* is needful, when none can make them better. Since the Constitution of the World is unalterable, to say it is wrong, is only complaining of God's Government, or of Providence. When Things are as well as they can be, it is a Folly to grumble and complain.

C. What then, cannot Men be made better?

D. Yes, some may, but as to Mankind in general, they are as they ever were, some good, some bad; some growing better, some worse; sometimes moral, sometimes immoral; now foolish, then wise; here they hit the Mark, there blunder; sleep in this country, and in another seem to rouse themselves out of their Lethargy;

keep awake for a few Ages, and after dream again for a few Ages more; and such like is the Constitution of Mankind, and likely ever to be.

C. And is this best?

D. Yes certainly, since it can't be better, and nothing has ever spoiled the Constitution of Man more than the false Pretensions of mending it. If God did not like to see the World as it is, he would not have made it as it is: For how can he give Being to what displeases him? This is acting foolishly, and making himself unhappy. Man complains because *he is offended*, and thinks *God is offended* also as he is, because he thinks God is like himself: For his Ideas are limited to his Nature and Constitution, they go with him wherever he goes; that's the Reason Man is so inclined to Idolatry, and so many false Gods have been put upon Man, and have tyrannized over the Mind. *Man* always worships *Man*, for he knows no Being above himself. If his God has not *human Form and Nature*, he knows not what Form or Nature to ascribe to his God, and adores he knows not what.

C. What Notion have you then of God?

D. That he is a Being of infinite Perfection, but I confess I don't know what it is, but I know what it is not, and against that I argue. Perfection I admire and adore.

C. Then you adore you know not what, as well as others.

D. I own it, and the Reason is, because I am a *Man* as well as you, and, having *finite* Powers, cannot comprehend what is *infi-*

nite. All Things may be *good*, for aught I know, but I know they are not all *good* to me, for I am not *wholly good*, nor can I see them so, because I cannot see as God does.

C. You said, Man's God is always in *Idea* a *Man*, or he knows not what he is; but we say that God has no Body, Parts, nor Passions.

D. So say I, but then I cannot describe what that is. And tho' you say so too, if one tell you that God therefore is not *displeased*, or cannot be *angry* with Sin, having infinite *Perfection*, (for *Anger* and *Displeasure* are *Imperfections*) you are so *displeased* and *angry* with him that says so, that he seems to you to deny the Being of God.

C. I am not, but must own that most Men are. However, we do as you do, imagine God to be such as we conceive is fit for a God to be.

D. And that it is fit he should do such Things as you think are fit for him to do. So you make the System of the World a cobbling Piece of Work, and then think it is fit that God should mend it. I won't call this *Atheism*, but I think there is little of God in it, or rather nothing becoming him. It is fitting that the wisest Being do Things in the best Manner; and having so done, it is not fit he should *alter* them.—If the *ordinary* Course of Nature is the *immediate Act* of the Power of God, how can it want any *extraordinary* Mending, by any different Act? If it do, it is no Wonder if Things are ever mending, and never mended.—If God *attempted* to mend Man's Nature, and has not done

done it, the *Means* were not proper, and his *Attempt* was vain. The Reasons that make it seem fit for God to interpose his Power to remedy human Evils once, will make it appear necessary for him always to interpose.

C. But History informs us that he has interposed, if there be any Truth in the History of Miracles.

D. And done *no Good* by such Interposition; this is Slur upon Slur, or Blot upon Blot. Not to do Things well at first, then to mend them afterwards, and make them never the better.

C. You mistake, Things were well made at first by the Maker; but Man has made them bad by his *Free-will*.

D. What Pity it is Man ever had Free-will. Can any Thing produce Evil but Evil? If Evil be the Consequence, what was the Cause?

C. Good, the evil Consequent was accidental.

D. Not designed?

C. Not absolutely, but left in a State of Indifference.

D. Be it so; then Man's Evil is not absolute Evil; it is not Evil to God, but indifferent respecting him; what Reason is there then for his interposing or mending? For, *in this Light*, Things are as God designed them, therefore 'tis not fit that God, as a *moral Governor*, should interpose his Power to remedy what he thought fit to do, or to enable Man to do, which is all one; for all Man's Power is from his Maker.

C. But Man has *abused* his Power, which God fore-knew he would do, and therefore beforehand provided a Remedy.

D. If Man *abused* the Power

God gave him, nothing can better mend the Matter than to *take it away* again; since God foresaw the bad Effects, it had been better to give it with a more sparing Hand; to have been *less generous* would have been *more merciful*: But if it was done, and there was no recalling what was past, a *Remedy*, you say, was provided; where is the *Remedy*? I see none.

C. How should you? 'Tis only seen by the Eye of Faith, and you have none; your Light of Reason, as you call it, has put that Eye out.

D. I have a *natural*, but not a *miraculous* Faith; because I cannot see that Miracles have mended the World, therefore I cannot conceive they were ever wrought: For I believe God does not work in vain. Whatever he is the Cause of has its certain Effect. He cannot be disappointed in his Designs. Nor can I believe that Miracles are proper Means to mend Mankind: For Mens Hearts and Actions cannot be *better*, till their Minds are *rationally informed*. Miracles are Works of *Power*, which strike an awe on Men's Minds, but 'tis *clear Reason* must inform the Judgment. Reason is more fit to direct Men's Judgments right, than Works of Wonder; which tho' they make a Mob gape and stare, do not *give* them rational Faculties, nor *mend* them; since they do not mend the Works of Nature, nor direct Men to a Clue of Reasoning, as they are independent of the great Chain of Nature. Sudden Surprise and Astonishment, while it lasts, is more apt to *spoil* the thinking Faculty, than *improve* it. At best, this Curb to Nature lasts no longer than the Surprise affects the Passions.

sions, which is *vague*; but the Information of the Mind, by natural Deductions and Demonstration, is *permanent*. That cannot mend the Heart in a *moral* Sense, which does not mend the Mind in an *intelligent* one. If *Virtue* be founded on *Wisdom*, enlarging Men's intellectual Capacities, and illuminating their Understandings, will make them in love with *Virtue*: But if Men are to be governed by the slavish Fear of an arbitrary capricious Power, 'tis best working on their Passions by fearful and wonderful Actions, or the Stories of them, which bewilder their benighted Souls in the intricate Maze, or dark Wilderness of a blind Faith. Such Means, therefore, so unfit for the End, are not fit for God to use. If the *ordinary Course* of Things required *Miracles*, the original Contrivance was weak: If it was foreseen such Patch-work would be necessary, why was it not prevented? 'Tis better to prevent Evil than mend it; and to bring in a Bill of *Repairs*, when no *Reparations* are manifest, looks too much like *Fraud*. But to say, God acts always *wisest* and *best*, and that as *He* is, so are his *Laws*, *invariably the same*, is to say the *best* we can, and what becomes us *best* to say; and if so, then I think there never was, nor can be any *Miracles*, or Occasion for them; and we may venture to say, God never did what is not fit for him to do.

C. What (p. 17.) 'if God raises a dead Body for an Evidence of his Providence to those who deny it, or think him not concerned in the Affairs of the World, or for a Testimony to true Religion against an established Superstition and Idolatry; is

' not such a Miracle fit for the
' wise and good God to work for
' the good of Men? Let any *Deist*
' shew, if he can, how this is
' contrary to the Laws of Nature,
' or the Reason of Things, and
' inconsistent with the Divine At-
' tributes.'

D. If this be *fit*, it must be because the common Nature of Things is *unfit* to prove a Deity; but if the Works of God are fit to prove a God, where is the Reason that a dead Body should be raised to Life, contrary to the Laws of Nature, to satisfy *Infidels*? Is it fit that God, to oblige them, should reverse the Laws of Nature, which himself has established by his *Power*, and ordered by his *Wisdom*? Is no other Method *proper*, but one so *improper*? Of what Importance is this Creature Man, or his Worship to God, that to convince him of the Existence, Conduct and Government of his Maker, it is fit that God should alter his Method, and change the Laws of his Government? Is it reasonable that God should humour Man in so foolish a Manner, to go out of his own Way of *Wisdom* to convince Man that he is *wise*, and to govern the World in a different Manner than he does, to make Man sensible that he governs it at all? Is it reasonable that God should go *backward*, in order to prove to Man that he is going *forward*?

C. But every Man ought to believe a Deity.

D. Every Man *must* believe what appears to him to be true, and can believe no otherwise; therefore Belief cannot be a Duty, no more than 'tis a Duty for all Men to see; he that can see, will; but he that is blind, cannot. To
make

make Belief *meritorious*, or the want of it *criminal*, is a Mark of Imposture; for Truth requires a reasonable Conviction, not a blind Obedience.

C. Well, be that as it will, (p. 15.) 'Men, by abusing their natural Powers, have brought such Disorder into the moral State of Man, that his natural Powers are too weak to restore him to answer the Ends of Virtue and Religion; therefore a *supernatural Aid*, and a *Divine Teacher*, were necessary to reform the Corruptions of Man's Nature, and restore the Knowledge and Practice of true Religion, on which his Happiness depends.'

D. Mankind was never in so lapsed or deplorable a Condition, as to need *supernatural Aid*, or had it; for his Manners were never *supernaturally* reformed, or otherwise than by *natural Means*. Though some Men always think *stupidly*, and act *wickedly*, yet there are always those that think *wisely*, and act *justly*, who are fit to instruct the rest. Though not one Man is impeccable and infallible, yet there is always *Wisdom* and *Virtue* enough among the *Whole*: But those only are capable of *Reformation*, who are capable of *Information*. Whom the *clearest Reasons* are ineffectual to convince, the *most powerful Miracles* cannot convert; and if they could, that Conversion must be without Conviction, and therefore cannot render them morally just and good. Those that pretend to *extraordinary Assistance*, what *extraordinary* Creatures do they turn out? And what *wonderful good Men* have *wonderful Works* produced? Natural Reason wa

always sufficient, and always present with some to instruct others. Below Nature's Help, therefore, the human Nature never fell, and consequently was recoverable by it. In no Age of the World, or Plantation of it, were wise and good Men *wholly* wanting, or moral Conduct *unknowable*. Nor in any Part of the World, when Mens Vices were at the highest, were they otherwise reformed than by *natural Means*, if ever they were reformed at all: For they struggled through and overcame cruel Oppressions, Persecutions, Tyrannies, and Evils of every Kind, by the heroic Exertion of their natural Powers; or for want thereof, fell under the Evils they suffered to reign, or were not able to extricate themselves from. Whoever reads the History of Mankind will find, that the common Nature of Man, as well as that of the World, was ever the same; and that no supernatural Pretensions have mended it at all. *Wisdom* and *Folly*, *Learning* and *Ignorance*, *Virtue* and *Vice*, *Slavery* and *Freedom*, ever were, and remain, and rule alternately in *Persons*, *Places*, and *Kingdoms*. None ever were *wholly good*, or *wholly evil*, but the Superiority of one over the other, by Turns, or in certain Cases, prevailed. All seek their *own Good*, according to their different Conceptions of it, as their different Natures incline to. Motives induce, and Circumstances permit. This is the fixed Rule of human Conduct.

C. Is there no Room then to hope for supernatural Aid, wholly to vanquish evil Powers?

D. None. If there was, there could be no evil Power existing.

for what natural Power can resist a supernatural, that can supercede and suspend the general Course of Nature? What denominates a Creature free, is the Sense it has of seeking its own imaginary Good. And as each seeks its own private or particular Benefit, so the Weaker is obliged to give Place to the Stronger, as the Destruction of one Body affords Matter and Room for raising another out of its Ruins; and as every Thing destroys some other for its Nourishment or Support, so no one Thing can be supported without Prejudice or Loss to another. Hence is the Origin of Good and Evil, and hence they are both necessary and unavoidable, as Things are constituted. And the perpetual Changes all Things incessantly undergo, prevent particular Evils from being general, or everlasting.

C. Are the common, ordinary, or natural Means then, fit and sufficient to enable Men to answer the Ends of Virtue and Religion, without supernatural Assistance.

D. If the well-beaten Path of Nature is not most fit for Men to travel in, nor sufficient to lead them to Happiness, the Supernatural is nevertheless unfit and insufficient, being so mysterious and invisible, that Men cannot agree where or what the Path is, and the Evidences of it are as uncertain and unknown; which Men, tho' they strain their Eyes, can never see; and those of the quickest and strongest Sight see least. As soon as Men in good Earnest set about employing their Powers aright, to examine freely, judge impartially, and act righteously, they will find themselves grow in

Judgment and true Virtue, each according to his Ability, by natural Helps, without a *Divine Instructor*, or *supernatural Aid*, which cannot lead any Man one step beyond what Nature permits, nor ever did: For all pretended Inspiration, that has found Men Fools, has ever left them so. This Sort of God's Government of the World, fully justifies him, without affording us *supernatural Assistance*, and teaches Man not to expect it, nor to justify himself in doing Evil for the Want of it: Though as all Men have not Faculties alike, so all Men cannot improve them alike. Moreover, if the Creature cannot frustrate the Creator's Ends, then Men's natural Powers could never be rendered so weak as to fail of effecting it: But if the Creature can frustrate the Creator's Intentions, God is not sufficiently wise and powerful, or Man is wiser than the Omniscient, and stronger than the Omnipotent. To say then that Men, by abusing their natural Powers, have introduced such Disorder into their moral State, that those Powers are too weak to answer the Ends of Virtue and Religion, therefore a supernatural Aid was necessary, is imputing Weakness or Folly to God, whether he intended Man's natural Powers should answer God's Ends, or did not intend it; for by the one his Intentions are not answered, if extraordinary Power be necessary to rectify it, and by the other he did not intend to do what was necessary. To suppose God did not intend that natural Means should answer the Ends of Virtue and Religion, then the Supernatural were always necessary, and should always

ways

ways be employed, then *Miracles* and *miraculous Inspiration* ought never to cease. To suppose God as a *wise* and *good Governor*, in establishing his Laws, gave his *Creatures Liberty* to break thro' them, and for that Reason was obliged to do something *extraordinary*, and take *new Measures* to repair the Breach, that his Designs might not be defeated, brings Reflection on the Divine Conduct; for *Wisdom* never takes a round-about extra-natural Way to do what may be done by a direct and natural. To suppose that God made no Provision against a boundless Inundation of *Mischief* that Man's free Agency might occasion, but that of altering his Measures by *miraculous Interposition*, is a weak Supposition, and highly injurious to the Honour of God. Every Man's Experience teaches him, this boundless Freedom is restrained by general Laws and particular Circumstances. If something *extraordinary* was necessary to repair the Breach that Man had made, it was but a very ordinary Fence; the Creator had not set a Hedge about him, and about all that he had. If Evil, designed or undesign- ed by the Governor, was suffered to break through, so as to render mighty and wonderful Repairs needful, it highly reflects on the Conduct of the Governor, and also in not continuing those Reparations that are so highly necessary; for many have broke through the Hedge again, and feed on *forbidden Pasture*, so that the *spiritual Shepherds* threaten them with being *pounded*, because the holy City of the Letter is trodden down by Unbelievers! If Works of Won-

der, *miraculous* or *prophetical*, are agreeable to God's Wisdom and Power, to do or say, it must reflect on his Goodness not to display them now, when they are as much wanted, and as necessary as ever they were, since bad Men are as wicked, Fools are as credulous, Knaves as fraudulent, and honest rational Men as unbelieving as ever. Never was more need of the *sensible Proof* and *Demonstration of Miracles*, for they admit of no other Proof. If they are necessary in one Age, they are necessary in every Age; for if all Men should believe the same, they should have the same Grounds for their Belief; but if Reason be sufficient, there is no need of Miracles.

C. I believe you have been copious enough on this Head. Whether your Adversaries may think the Argument cogent enough, I know not; but, in my Opinion, it is Time to conclude this Discourse.

D. Well then, I shall make this Application of my Doctrine (and though I could say much more, I will not tire you) that from what has been said, it appears to be inconsistent with the Nature of God, the mundane and human Constitution, that Miracles are at all fit or necessary.

C. Now a cheerful Glas is necessary for our Constitutions; I'll begin, and wash your Doctrine down.

D. This way Fuddle-caps forget out of Church all that they heard in it.

C. It is pardonable, if what they hear is not worth remembering.

D.

D. Or if it spoils good Reasoning, or innocent Mirth.

C. Which we, by Agreement, enjoy.

D. And by this Means agreeably entertain each other.

C. Truth and Good-nature never disagree.

D. Happy is the Friendship that is founded on these.

DISCOURSE IV.

D. **W**E are now to enquire, *whether Miracles do not destroy the Foundation of Truth and Certainty, and are as capable of the same Evidence as other historical Facts.* What have you to say on the affirmative Side of the Question?

C. I am authorized to say, (p. 21.) that “nothing more exposes
“ a Man’s Understanding, than
“ to argue, either that Miracles
“ *destroy the Law of Nature, and*
“ *the Foundation of all Truth and*
“ *Certainty, and are also inconsistent*
“ *with the Divine Attributes;*
“ or to say, that Miracles, which
“ are the proper Objects of our
“ Senses, may not be as well at-
“ tested, and with as much Cer-
“ tainty, as any other Fact what-
“ soever.”

D. Miracles have been proved to be Operations contrary to the Laws of Nature; therefore they *destroy the Foundation of all Truth and Certainty*, for that *only* the Law of Nature is, and they have been also shewn to be *inconsistent with the Divine Attributes*. If a miraculous Story be as probable as one that is not miraculous; if a supernatural Action be as possible as a natural one, then it may be as well attested as any other Fact. But if Men’s Senses may be *deceived*, or their Understanding,

which forms their Belief; or if Men may *lie*, may see *false Visions*, or see the Vision of their Fancies, and if a Voice may be heard by the Imagination only of the Hearer; which are Things that nobody that has Understanding can deny, then *miraculous Stories cannot be attested with as much Certainty as any other Facts*. If Miracles are not the proper Objects of Sense, because they cannot possibly be at all, then they cannot be attested with any Certainty at all. How many People have imagined they have *seen, heard, and felt* what never was, and continued to *believe the Reality* of what has been only their own Conceptions? And the more People give Way to Fancies; the more *sanciful* they will be; the more Imposition is given Place to, the more Place it has in human Minds, and the more they will be imposed on. How many People have been punished and put to Death for *Witchcraft*? And when there was a Law against it, people believed it; but now that Law is annulled, there is *no Witchcraft* to be found: So if Miracles were not *believed*, Men would find no Reason to *believe* them, for *their Faith is the only Reason for the Possibility of their Existence*.

C. But sure “our Senses are as
“ good Judges in *miraculous* as in
“ common Cases, and those Mira-
“ cles which are the proper Ob-
“ jects of our Senses, may be as
“ well attested, and with as much
“ Certainty as any other Fact.”

D. Let us then have some *sensible* Demonstration of them, without which our Senses are no Judges; and then it will be Time enough to examine the Judgment
of

of our Senses. But if Miracles can convert the World, or if all the believing Part of the World were to turn *Infidels*, for want of a *sensible Miracle*, not one could be produced to save the World, or what is more to Christian Priests, to save their *Living*s and *Dignities*. O! that I could dare any of them to work a Miracle! I am resolved to do all that lies in my Power to provoke them, either to work Miracles, or to prove the Possibility of them.

C. I hope some of them will give you a *Rowland* for your *Oliver*. What a *Goliath* are you, to defy the Armies of the living God!

D. I don't defy the Armies of the living God, for I deny there is any such God living that can work Miracles, but, *Elijah*-like, I defy them to prove by a Miracle their God is alive, or that God himself has any Thing to do with Miracles, or with them in any extraordinary Manner.

C. Whatever may be your Opinion, it is certainly the Opinion of others, that (p. 23.) "Miracles are capable of the same Evidence, and have equal Right to be believed upon human credible Testimony, with any other historical Facts."

D. That Testimony cannot be credible which relates incredible Things; therefore the Relaters of such have not an equal Right to be believed, as those that relate any other historical Facts. We are to guard not only against being imposed on wittingly by Men that find their Account in deceiving Mankind, but against the unwitting Deceivers, who have no Interest in Deception, but have been deceived themselves, who have

Faith and Zeal enough to swear their own Fancies are Facts.

C. Such Things are owing to distemper'd Imaginations.

D. From which no Man can be sure he is not liable to at one Time or another.

C. But Imposture cannot chuse its Time to play upon us in our unguarded Hours.

D. If it did no Man can be secure of his Reason: As we say, if every Thief knew his Opportunity, no Man could be safe.

C. Pray, Sir, shew me in a more ample Manner, why Miracles are not capable of the same Evidence as other historical Facts.

D. Because, in many Cases, we cannot by our Senses be so good Judges of them; and if we cannot so well trust to our own Senses in the Case, surely we ought not to trust to Report; and less still to the Report of those Strangers that Party and Interest only make to be authentic. Suppose for instance, that a Miracle-monger and a dexterous Juggler both perform alike Things to Appearance, tho' the one be real, and the other delusory, while the Evidence of the Facts seems to be equal on both Sides; who but those that are skilled in the one, or the other, can distinguish the one from the other? How many juggling Tricks of heathen and popish Priests are recorded in History for Miracles; and other Impositions for the wonderful Works of their Gods and Saints, all for the Honour and Glory of Religion, and sometimes to subdue Men's Minds to Virtue: Are they capable of the same Evidence as other historical Facts? How easy is it for a pious Soul to be induced to believe notorious Frauds, that have the

the Face of *Piety*, and seem done to promote it! Are the Reports of strange Things, which they are not in a Condition to make a true Judgment of, *equal* to those of other historical Facts? Tho' *all* historical Facts recorded are not true, yet there is a vast Difference between the *probable* and *improbable*. If a Man tells me he came over *Westminster-Bridge* To-day, it may be true, tho' a little Objection may lie against it, because it is not quite finished, which may occasion some further Questions, in order to be better satisfied of the Truth of it; but if he tells me he took a running Jump, at low Tide, and leapt it over just by the Bridge, I know it to be *impossible*, therefore a *Lye*, and enquire no more about it. Is this *latter* Story as credible as the *former*? No sure, tho' I may know the Relater, and know him to be an honest Man, that is not used to lye; and tho' it be attested by many others. I ought to have *extraordinary Evidence*, to induce me to believe *extraordinary Things*, that are *supernatural*, which cannot be so credible as ordinary Things which are *natural*. In Cases where there is Difficulty and Danger in trusting to ones *own* Senses and Judgment, there is much more in trusting to the Senses and Judgment of *others*, and confiding in *their* Report; therefore such Reports are not as capable of the *same* Evidence, nor as fit to be believed as other historical Facts. Since we are warned against the Impositions of *false* Miracles, we have certainly a Right to enquire what are *true*, and whether any? And therefore we should be *most careful* of trusting those that are *most capable* of

deceiving. Not only the *Histories of Miracles* should be cautiously received, but the Performer of them; for as a Man possessed of uncontrollable Power is not a proper Person to be trusted with my *Property*, neither is such a Person proper to be *the Director of my Judgment*, who can by his *Power* play upon my *Weakness*, by his *Art* impose upon my *Understanding*, and by his *Tricks* deceive my *Senses*. A Miracle Worker has it in his Power to do all these Things. Men are often deceived *without a Wonder*, but *Wonders* are very capable of deceiving; and therefore a wonder-working Man may be a powerful Deceiver. He that can *alter Things*, or the *Nature* of them in any Case, can also alter the *Appearances* of Things, by either of which the Rules of *Truth* and *Certainty* are destroyed; because either *the Observer is deceived*, or there is no *Tract* left for his *Judgment*; for what *confounds* the Order of Nature must *confound* Man's Judgment. When a Point is to be proved by *Miracle*, we give up *Reason* to *Authority*, and by the same Means, if it can be done, it may raise any Sort of *Deity*, or establish any *Doctrine*. Suppose but the *Power* and *Possibility* of Deception in a *miraculous Operator*, which I think may be reasonably supposed, and then there is not the same Reason to believe a *Miracle*, as in Cases, where no *Possibility* of such Power is; for the *Appearances* of Things are more easily changed, than the *Reality* of them? Therefore Miracles are not capable of the *same* Evidence, nor have an *equal Right* to be believed as other historical Facts, let the Evidence be reput-
ed

ed ever so credible. Both a *Miracle-worker* and the *Reporters of Miracles*, are of all Mankind the *least* fit to put Confidence in, and the *most* to be guarded against; because we ought always to be on our Guard against the *Appearance* and *Possibility of Deception*; therefore the *Miracle-worker*, the *Work*, and *Reporter* have not an *equal* Right to be believed, nor are as credible as other common Facts, by those that would neither be imposed upon, nor impose on others. Common Sense teaches us, that Stories *probable* and *improbable* are not on the *same* Foundation, nor have or deserve *equal Credit*. Besides, an easy Belief upon *Hearsay*, a *Surprise*, *incurious Enquiry*, the *Fondness of Novelty*, and of telling a *surprizing Tale*, loving that others should believe as we do; add to these downright *Fibbing for Pleasure or Profit*, render the Stories of *Miracles*, not so credible as other *historical Facts*. It is certain, that nothing has been more pernicious and deadly to the Reason, Freedom and Happiness of Mankind, than Men's giving up their Understandings to the Faith of wonderful Stories. It has introduced and established spiritual *Tyranny* in *Teachers*, and *Slavery* in *Believers*.

C. But how do Miracles destroy the Foundations of Truth and Certainty?

D. Miracles having been shewn to be Operations *contrary* to the Course of Nature; if that Course has been *confounded* once, we know not how often it may be done, nor where the *Confusion* may end; and then there can be no Dependence on the Course of Nature; which are the only Laws to Man of Truth and Certainty; and if what is *invariable* fail, and give us the Lye,

what can be depended on? Those Laws that are *certain* to all Men, are the *same* in all Ages; but a miraculous Power breaks thro' those otherwise immutable Laws; consequently, by manifesting it's own Power, manifestly destroys all other Powers, that without such controlling Force are certain and invariable; but if subject thereto, a *precarious Power* governs all, and *precarious Evidence* must direct all, which clearly destroys the Rules of Truth and Certainty. Since *inconstant* miraculous Interpositions do not agree with the *constant* Course of Nature, that the *Senses* and *Reason* of Man are directed by; they are destructive of *rational Principles*, that are founded thereon; therefore *Miracles* destroy all natural Rules of Truth and Certainty. If then all Certainty consists in natural Rules, what Certainty or Foundation have *supernatural*? And what the Superstructures, when the Foundation does not exist, or ceases to be? Therefore Miracles should exist as long as the Doctrines founded thereon.

C. (Page 23.) But it is thought
' very unreasonable to alledge
' that Miracles must be always
' necessary to convince Men of
' God's Will, which they were at
' first wrought to make known.'

D. What in the Nature of Things cannot be, cannot by the Nature of Things be proved; and being so, Miracles are *always* necessary to prove themselves; they being *no Links of the great Chain of Nature*, should have a Chain of their own; for nothing can prove a Miracle but a Miracle. Before the *Reality* of them be admitted by History, the *Possibility* of them should

should be proved by demonstrative Facts of the *like Kind*; for I cannot see they admit of any other Proof. The *uncertain Accounts of fallible Tradition* can be none: Such a Foundation many different Religions have laid Claim to, but the Miracles of *one Party* are never owned by those of *another*; therefore *past* Miracles require *present* to confirm them; nothing else can prove their *Possibility*; they, being *supernatural Acts*, surpass all *natural Reason and Credit*; consequently require a Confirmation of the same Kind. If then they were *ever*, they are *always* necessary. Are they not as necessary *now* to propagate the Gospel in *America*, as they were *once* in *Asia*? Is not the *Reason* the same in *one Place* as in *another*, when the *End* is the same; to produce Faith among those that know not the Gospel? The *Spaniards* are of that Church which still makes Pretension to Miracles; were these Pretensions right, they might have made as many *Converts* in *America*, as their *Cannons* destroyed; but this shews their *Imposture*, because they made no Use of this pretended Power, *when and where* it was most wanted. And, as for us, we do nothing to convert them, our Missionaries leaving their miraculous Power behind them, and not carrying Reasons sufficient to repel their Objections. But what think you? are Miracles productive of Faith, or does Faith produce Miracles?

C. They strengthen each other; we read, *these Things were done that you might believe*: Thus Miracles produce Faith; and Faith is said to be productive of Miracles; *all Things are possible to him that believeth.*

D. An evangelical Circle! *Faith* and *Miracles* hang together; so where there is no *Faith*, there are no *Miracles*; and if where there are no *Miracles* there is no *Faith*; this infidel Generation is not to be wondered at. If *Faith* attends the Power of working *Miracles*, and *Miracles* attend on *Faith*: If there be *Faith* now, there must be *Miracles* now; for if *Faith* be the same it *used to be*, it may do what it *used to do*; and Believers may work *Miracles* as well *now*, as they did in *former Times*. If they cannot *now*, why should we believe they *ever* did; for if the *same Faith* remains, the *same Power* remains; if it do not, *Faith* is become impotent and vain. If *Faith* is the *same* it ever was, it *never* did work *Miracles*, because it cannot *now*. If *Faith* *now* is not the *same* it *was*, it is not the *true Faith*. If it does not produce the *Works* of *Faith*, it is dead; and surely it may be said to such, *your Faith is vain, and ye are yet in your Sins*. *Faith* founded on *Supernaturals* should be attended by *supernatural Evidence*. Therefore there is always the same Necessity for their being; and there is as much Reason to expect them *now*, as to believe they were *formerly*; otherwise if *Faith* could perform Wonders *once*, and can or cannot produce the same Sort of Fruits *now*, it is a *Miracle* there is no *Miracle*; because if it naturally can, yet cannot, because it does not; and if it cannot, the *same Faith* yet is, and is not. If one should from hence conclude, that there is not the least Grain of *true Faith* existing, one would think it is enough to make *Believers* look about them. --Hence it appears, that the Histo-

ry of Miracles require an Evidence of the *same Kind* to render the Credibility of them reasonable.

C. You will never persuade *Believers* to this.

D. And *Unbelievers* will never be persuaded otherwise.

C. Then there is no *reconciling* them : What have you been doing all this while ?

D. Only shewing the *Difference* there is between them.

C. And that is as great as the *Gulf* that is between *Heaven* and *Hell*.

D. But the *Gulph* is navigable from C. to D. if *Reason* be the Pilot.

C. Then you cannot *ascend* to us.

D. Because we want the *Top-sail* of *Imagination*. It is in vain to strive against the Stream of common Sense, to believe contrary to *Reason*, and attempt to act contrary to *Nature* ; could we do *that* we should work Miracles.

C. Well then I would have you endeavour to fetch it up with a wet Sail : A few Glasses will help *Imagination*, and sometimes do Wonders. But *Nature* and *Reason* teach that there should be no Difference between Friends.

D. The Doctrine is good, let us confirm it. Come on ; a lasting Establishment to true Friendship.

C. I will plight you my Troth.

D. Kiss Glasses, and join Hands.

C. And the Bargain is sealed.

D. I deliver this as my Act and Deed.

C. It is good in Law.

D. And both Parties are agreed.

DISCOURSE V.

D. **N**OW let us proceed and enquire, *whether the*

Disbelief of Miracles be Irreligion and Atheism ?

C. Mr. Jackson thinks it is ; and says, (page 14.) ‘ This Author, I suppose, is not aware, that what he hath said against Miracles is not pleading the Cause of *Deism*, but of *Atheism*. ’

D. What I have said against Miracles, is in Vindication of the *Divine Attributes*, and Sentiments drawn from the *Perfections of the Deity* ; which though they destroy the *Possibility* of Miracles, is not pleading the Cause of *Atheism*.

C. (Page 15.) He says, ‘ To suppose that God cannot alter the settled Laws of Nature, which he himself formed is a direct and evident Contradiction ; for if he cannot alter them, it must be because they are essentially necessary and independent of him ; and then he did not form them, or is the Author of Nature, which is *Atheism*. ’

D. Mr. Jackson might as well argue, that if God cannot change his own Will, he is not possessed of Almighty Power. To suppose that God can alter the Laws of Nature, formed by his Wisdom and settled by his Power, I conceive to be a *direct* and *evident* Contradiction ; because they are immutable Attributes ; therefore am far from saying God is *not the Author of Nature*, or being guilty of *Atheism* : But to say God’s Power and Wisdom may be so far defeated, so as to make it necessary for God to alter his Measures, makes him *defective* in both *Power* and *Wisdom*.

C. (Page 16.) ‘ Surely, (says he) this Author never considered, ‘ or

or well considered, that the providential Government of God is that of a moral Government over free Agents; to deny this, is direct and evident *Atheism*, which I would not suspect him guilty of.

D. Surely Mr. Jackson never well considered, that several Sorts of Christians deny Man's free Agency; and that it is too severe to charge them all upon that Account with direct and evident *Atheism*: this I would not suspect him to intend. How far Man is, or is not free; as it is not the Subject of my present Enquiry, and has been the Contest of Ages, I will not now take upon me to determine; nor do I presume to be infallible.

C. He adds (page 16, 17.) that your Reasoning by necessary Consequence infers either *absolute Fatality*, and necessary fixed Course of Things, without a Deity operating and presiding in the World; or that there are no such Agents as Man in it, but that the Whole of our Being is *meer passive Matter and Motion*, either of which ends in *Atheism*. And again (page 30.) 'All this Author's Reasoning against the Possibility of Miracles, is not only weak and unphilosophical, but in Consequence supposes a *Fatality*, and necessary Connection of Causes and Effects, independent of God's Power and Will, to be the Laws of Nature, which is manifest *Atheism*.'

D. It is evident from my foregoing Discourse, that the Laws of Nature are dependent on God's Power and Will; nor does the Consequence of denying Miracles infer an *absolute Fatality*, without a Deity co-operating and presiding in

the World. I have granted all along, and reasoned from Mr. Jackson's own Principles, that the Course of Nature is the immediate incessant Operation or Agency of God himself in the whole Creation; and unless *Atheism* be inferred from hence, I think I cannot be found guilty of it.

C. This Gentleman concludes, (p. 23.) that "he who does not believe that God can, or does, interpose in the Affairs of Men, in the public Concerns of States and Kingdoms, and in more private and particular Cases also, must consequently think all Prayer insignificant and useless, and all religious Worship to be vain; which is not to be a *Deist*, but an *Atheist*."

D. I have been used to think, that nothing is *Atheism*, but the Disbelief of a God, or an intelligent Cause; but, according to this Gentleman's Opinion, the not believing Miracles, or that God cannot alter his settled Laws, or that Man is not a free Agent, or the Disbelief of the Force of Prayer, and the Interposition of a particular Providence; and, I fear, was he to proceed, he will call it *Atheism*, not to believe every Thing that he thinks to be a necessary Point in Religion.

C. Well then, I find you are not pleased to be thought an *Atheist*: But what say you to prayer?

D. It is a tender Point.

C. I find then it touches you, and fear you are guilty. Can you lay your Hand upon your Heart, and say, *Not Guilty, upon my Honour*?

D. Ay, pass over this Subject, and let us talk of Honour.

C. It is going from the Point ; no, no, you shall not ramble ; come, speak to the Accusation.

D. Pray, urge me not, I beg to be excused.

C. No excuse can be granted : Do you beg to be excused, because you embrace a Notion you cannot defend ? Or are you dastardly, and dare not ? Or are your Sentiments unjustifiable and wicked, and therefore you will not, being willing to indulge a vicious Mind ? One of these they will be thought to be, unless you plead in your own Defence ; which is manly and becoming, 'tis what you ought to do ; and the World expects you to be open in your Plea, as you have been all along on the Subject of Miracles. Is it not better you produce your Reasons, if you have any, than be condemned unheard ? You may possibly be in an Error, but by divulging it, you may be better advised. Your free Defence is therefore required, and your foolish Prayers must be rejected.

D. Just so it is with Man's Prayers to Almighty God. If we ask any Thing according to his Will, he heareth us, that is, he regards us, or answers our Prayers then, and then only : But he is not to be reasoned into it by Man, as I may be by you ; the Creature cannot direct the Creator. We ask and receive not, when we ask amiss, for God's Wisdom is not directed by ours ; nor is he, who is the Spring of all Motion, moved by our Sollicitations ; nor can he be prevailed upon to govern us according to our Wills, but his own. He is of one Mind, and who can change him ? Not the Prayers of Men : He must be the most changeable of

all Beings, if their Prayers could prevail. His Measures are not altered by our Supplications ; nor is his Conduct by our Entreaties. God requires not our best Informations, Directions, or Sollicitations, in any Point that concerns his governing the World, or us. I cannot believe we are wise enough to counsel him, or that we can by any Means, induce him to do, or refrain the doing, whatever his Will or Wisdom directs, whether we petition for or against it. It is not consistent with the Attributes of God, to regard the Prayers of all the Men in the World together, to suspend or supercede one Tittle of the Laws of Nature, the Production of his unalterable Wisdom and eternal Will, or to do any Thing contrary to his immutable Rule of Action. It is a higher Degree of Piety and Obedience, and the humblest Adoration of the Deity, to submit to his Judgment what is best for us, than to direct it by our Prayers.

C. Wisdom and Virtue are fit for Man to pray for, and for God, as a wise and good Being, to give. St. James says, If any Man want Wisdom, let him ask of God, who gives to all Men liberally, and upbraideth not. Surely it is laudable to pray for Things lawful.

D. It is a Sign of a good Mind to desire good Things, and as the Mind is ardently concerned to acquire those good Things it pants after, it will use its utmost Endeavours to obtain them by all the Means in its Power : What it is in Circumstances of attaining, it will attain, by making proper Use of its best Abilities rightly applied ; but these Things do not come by Prayer. Prayer is only the Disco-

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very, or rather the Overflowing of a pious Zeal to that good Thing thirsted after, if it be fervent and sincere; if not, it is no Prayer at all. Prayer shews the Powers of the Soul are set to work, and according to its Fervour and Power, it will seek all Ways to effect its End, and, if possible, do it some Way: But it is wrong to expect Things in a wrong Way. If Wisdom could be had by Prayer, at least by vocal Prayer, I think even all Men would be wise: But the *Ugly* may as well pray for *Beauty*, and have it, as those that have no natural Capacity for Wisdom, to obtain it by Prayer. *Wisdom* is not attainable but by much Labour of the Mind; *Reading, Experience, Observation, Conversation, Cogitation, and Care*, are the proper Means; without these, or some of these, it is impossible to be had; to which a natural Ability must be joined, or Faculty of Understanding. And *Virtue* is acquired by exerting, in a proper Manner, at proper Seasons, those useful Parts and Qualities, as alone can distinguish and display the friendly and benevolent, heroic and magnanimous Nature. To expect *Wisdom* or *Virtue* to be poured into the Soul by Prayer, is altogether as vain as for a Husbandman to expect his Ground should yield him a plentiful Harvest of Corn, without *Manuring, Cultivating, and Sowing*, because he devoutly prays for it; or, which will effect as much, the sacrificing some of his last Crop in the middle of his Field, or elsewhere.

C. We don't expect Things natural, but in a natural Way; but supernatural Grace we expect in a supernatural Way, by Prayer to God.

D. But if there be nothing supernatural, as 'tis reasonable to believe, if there be no supernatural Proof of it, then every Thing is to be expected in a natural Way. Such Prayers are the Effect of *Enthusiasm*, and only tend to promote it, by increasing this Fever of the Mind to keep up the Delirium; therefore, in this Case, the oftener they are repeated, and with the greater Ardour, 'tis so much the worse.

C. Is all Prayer then in vain, and none to be used?

D. When Prayer is well used, it is not in vain. It keeps up a Dependence on Deity in the Minds of the People, and so may be a Means to help to subdue the Mind to Virtue, and Submission to God's Will. It is a Custom that has nothing of Evil in it, if we let every one pray their own Way. In Affliction, it may give Ease to the Mind, to vent our Grievs in Cries and Tears. In Affluence, it may have a Tendency to keep the Mind from being too lofty. In a middle State, to keep us in the mean. For Favours received, it becomes Men to be thankful. For Kings, and those in Authority, that have a Right to demand our Prayers, and our Service, it is becoming to shew Obedience; and more prudent to join with those that expect or require it, than to suffer Injuries for too stiff a Non-conformity, or to resist a Power we cannot conquer. We may express our good Wishes, as well as wish for good Things, but with *Resignation* to the All-wise Director. When by Prayer Men are excited to just and proper Action, or to make use of right and proper Means,

Means, to obtain in a right Manner what they desire or pray for, without any Expectation of it merely by Prayer, then Prayer is not in vain. We should not expect to change God's Mind, but exert our own. What begins in Prayer, should end in right Action. Praying may be compared to Seamen casting Anchor on a Rock, which having done, they pull as if they would hale the Rock to them, but they hale themselves to the Rock.

C. I understand by this, that in your Opinion it may be fit for the public Devotion of People in Society; and if we pray for what is in the Power of our own Endeavours, and the concurrent Nature of Things to obtain, and make a proper Use of our own Abilities, to answer that End, we may have whatever we request; but if not, we ask and receive not, or pray in vain, as to obtaining any Thing from God, by that Means only.

D. You understand me right. In all other Cases, *Christians* may see how *impotent* is Prayer, in that of the beloved Son of God, with whom the Father was always well pleased, as the Gospel expresses it; who though he prayed to be delivered from an intolerable Torment and Ignominy, with the greatest Earnestness and Agonies that ever Man prayed, it was all in vain, he was forced to resign his Will to God's. Our best Devotion then is, *Resignation to God's Will*, using our best Endeavours to do what is best to be done; for (James i. 17.) *in God is no Variableness, nor Shadow of Change.* Job xxiii. 13. *He is of one Mind, and who can turn him?* Dan. iv. 5. *He does what he will in the Armies of*

Heaven, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth, and none can stop his Hand, or say unto him; What dost thou?

C. Why do you quote Scripture for this?

D. To enforce that Truth on your Mind, which to me is true without Scripture, and being so, Scripture makes it neither more nor less true.

C. But you have said little or nothing on Prophecy: How do you prove the Impossibility of that?

D. This is proved by the former Arguments; for Miracles and Prophecies both standing on a supernatural foundation, if that fall, so must all that is built upon it. If there be no supernatural Power, there can be no Foreknowledge of Things to come, beyond what the Powers and Prospect of Things in Nature afford. And if ever God did inspire Mankind with the Knowledge of future Things, to reclaim Sinners, and convince Unbelievers, the same Reasons remaining as before, Prophecies should still be, if ever they were; for the same Cause will produce the same Effects as well now as formerly; the same Power, Will, and Wisdom, will always have the same Operations in the same Circumstances. If any Thing has been ineffectual in its Consequences, to answer the Design that set it to work, and therefore it has not been repeated; it has been owing to the want of Wisdom, Foresight and Power, to render it effectual. Prophecies and Miracles, if they are natural Works, would have their Revolutions, as other natural Things have; if they are supernatural Works, as nothing can resist their Being, so

nothing can resist their Consequences; and whatever can certainly be fore-known, must certainly be, and cannot depend upon Things unknown, as the uncertain Events of Man's Free-will; for if it did, it might not be, and so could not be certainly fore-known; therefore, they that contend for the one, destroy the other. If any Man could be possessed of the Spirit of God, he must be possessed of all these Qualities the Spirit of God hath, but this is impossible; therefore no Man can have the Spirit of God, without which no Man can prophecy.

C. But may not a Man have the *Gifts* and *Graces* of it, in an eminent Degree, communicated to him by the *Spirit*; as we see one Man exceeds another in *natural* Wisdom, why not in *Spiritual*? And why may not God acquaint a Man with future Events, as well as one Man may tell another what he knows will be brought about some Time hence, by knowing that Design which the other is a Stranger to?

D. Doubtless, God may afford *Gifts* and *Graces* to one Man in an eminent Degree above another, in *spiritual* Wisdom, as well as *natural*, but then these have the *same Foundation*. In the Man 'tis *Ability*, which when applied to natural Things, 'tis called *natural* Wisdom (acquired is natural too, for 'tis only Nature improved) and 'tis called *spiritual* Wisdom, when Men's Abilities of Understanding are applied to Things that are called *Spiritual*. What is above Nature is above Man, he being a Part of Nature's Productions, therefore in Man can be nothing supernatural. All that

Man can conceive of God must be natural, for he can have no supernatural Conceptions; and all that Man can receive from God, must be in a natural Way, for out of that, neither God nor Man can find a Path, because there is no such Way cast up by the Wisdom or Power of God, as hath been proved. Every Ability in Man is a Gift of God's Spirit or Nature, yet all, as they are natural, come to him in a natural Way, nor can he receive them any other Ways; for his whole Existence and Subsistence depend constantly on natural Means, every Creature being a Link of the great Chain of Nature, and God any other way has no Relation to Creatures, nor they to him. There is, therefore, nothing can come between Nature and the Creature, or between God and Nature: The Creator is related to the Creature by his Power of Formation, and the Power by the Means, which are all natural and unalterable in the general Scheme and Operation. If there be a greater Power discoverable than what appears to be, and such Power be fit to be discovered, why is it not? If it be unfit, then to us it never can be discovered, and consequently there cannot appear, or be, any greater Power than is apparent; and so *almighty Power*, as it has to do with Man or Creatures, cannot be *supernatural*. Therefore Prophecies and Miracles have no Foundation in God, but have been created by Man's Imagination in their false Ideas of God, or have been made the Abilities of those false Gods that Men have set up, that their uncontrollable Power might strike profound Awe and
Terror

Terror in the distorted Conceptions of their abject Supplicants.

C. I expect your Conclusion.

D. And you shall have it. To conclude then ; it is clear that the Disbelief of Miracles and Prophecies is not Atheism, but better founded on the Attributes of Deity, than the Belief of them ; and that Reason, directed by the Evidence of our Senses, the Nature of God, and of the constant Course of Things, are better Rules to judge of them, than the idle Wanderings of luxuriant Fancy, the bold Presumptions of towering Faith, or the vain Pretensions of Men, that lead to *certain Delusion*, but no *certain Truth*. And whatever the Evidence for Miracles may be, or be supposed, I agree with Mr. Jackson, that *they are not equal to Reason and natural Truth*. Thus, after all, 'tis confessed, that Deism, or the Religion of Nature has no Equal, even by those that would set up something above it, which is repugnant to it.

C. I think the Church is but little obliged to you for these Sentiments.

D. The Church is not injured by them.

C. How so ?

D. That Church which is established by Law, will be so established as long as the Law remains ; and those Sentiments that are established by Reason and Evidence, will remain as long as the Reason and Evidence are clear, and may make their Appearance. Besides, People will generally adhere to Education and Custom, as they always did ; and if enquiring Men did not become *Deists*, they would be *Dissenters*, who, tho' nearer in Principle, make a greater

Rent ; for these set up their Altars, or Worship, against the Altars of the Church, but *Deists* set up none, they generally go to Church, and conform to the Devotion in Fashion. *Contemptible Schism* is scorned by *Infidelity*. I am sure the dissenting Meetings have been less filled since the Growth of *Deism*, than when the Contention was warm between the Church and Dissenters, in *Sacheverell's* Time.

C. The *Dissenters* then are little obliged to *Deists*, for thinning their Congregations.

D. They are very much for delivering them from the *Enthusiasm of Separation*, and suffering on that Account, as the Points in which they differ not being worthy of it, nor likely to produce the expected Reward, since their Errors are as great in Principles wherein they agree, as in those wherein they disagree ; therefore they are obliged to our informing them, that 'tis better to lay aside *Separation* and *Bigotry*, than suffer for rigorously opposing that *Superstition*, which they have not Power to stand against ; and if different Judgments offend the Church, the Church may, for its Support, seek and execute that Power which will destroy it. As Things go on in their present easy Situation, the Church thrives, and is filled without Compulsion.

C. *Deists* are but indifferent *Churchmen*.

D. Interest may make them as good as many of the Clergy. Every one, of whatever Religion he is, is so made by *Interest*, spiritual or temporal, real or imaginary. Separate Churches, or Sects, are joined by so many dis-

tinſt Interests. Give the Clergy their Dues, according to Law, and they may be easy, if they can let others be the same, whether many or few come to Church; for some will come always, and some will never come. As People are always differently made, and of different Minds, the Clergy cannot make them all of one Mind; therefore, for them to be so easy as not to molest others by any discommendable Methods, will render them more happy in themselves, more agreeable to others, and better promote the Church's Prosperity, while *Pride* and *Faction* render them contemptible.

C. I suppose you are now delivered of your Conception, which you believe to be Truth.

D. I am, and do so believe; therefore, if I err, it is through Faith and Ignorance, which generally go together.

C. Now you err, for it is thro' want of Faith.

D. I have the Faith to believe I do not err in this Point; but, Faith or no Faith, we are all liable to Error, and he is generally the most, that thinks himself least.

C. So that there is no Security in any State.

D. Because we find *Infallibility* no where; and since there is no infallible Judgment in Man, no Man ought to act the Part of an *infallible Judge*, to condemn any Principles, but as he is capable of proving them false by the Force of Reason; to *that* Authority I appeal, by *that* I desire to be tried.

C. And may you so be by the best and most impartial Judges, for I will be none in the Affair. Since every one believes what he conceives to be right, and Un-

certainly attends all human Concerns, I think all Men ought to be allowed the Freedom of disclosing their Opinions, and disputing for them; that mere Speculations cannot be of any damning Nature; and that not *Notions* of what is right or wrong, but right or wrong *Practice* only makes Men better or worse, and for that alone they should be valued or despised. It is my Opinion, that *Truth* and *Liberty* must stand and fall together; therefore, he that loves the *one*, cannot be an Enemy to the *other*. If your Sentiments are *right*, may they *prosper*; if they are *wrong*, may they be *damm'd*, but your Soul saved.

D. A Glass of Consolation e'er we part; and, dear Neighbour, let the Lips of Truth and Friendship kiss each other.

C. Like Bounty and Benevolence.

D. Philosophy and Wine refresh both Soul and Body.

C. Cheerful Subjects, when attended with Friendship, and carried on with Discretion. But, notwithstanding all your Reasoning on this Point, I believe you are certainly in an Error; and hope you will be convinced of it, if you are. Miracles have been attested by the *best* Men in all Ages, and the Possibility of them not denied by the *wisest*, to whom I leave the Judgment of these Things: Tho' mean Men may disclose neglected Truth; to the Discovery of which I wish Success, that Honesty may not be discountenanced. Though your Sentiments and mine do not agree, I sincerely respect you as a long and intimate Acquaintance, and therefore, dearest of dear Friends, adieu,
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SUPERNATURALS EXAMINED.

DISSERTATION III. REMARKS on PROPHECIES,

Occasioned by

Mr. Jackson's LETTER to DEISTS.

The INTRODUCTION.

MR. Jackson having finished what he has to say in Defence of Miracles, attempts to prove *Miracles* by *Prophecies*; but as neither afford any Proof of themselves, *i. e.* as one Prophecy cannot prove another, nor one Miracle another, so they can be no Proof for one another; Miracles do not prove Prophecies, nor Prophecies Miracles; nor shall I follow his laborious Path of Enquiry into the Truth of fulfilling certain Prophecies according to his Sense of them, which, whether true or false, as it has no *infallible Criterion*, I have no Need to quote what he says on this Subject, which would make it perplexed and laborious, since it may be discharged in a few Words.

But first indulge me a little on the *Lawfulness* of the Enquiry, tho' it be peeping into the *Holy of Holies*, examining the great *Arcanum* of *Enthusiasm*, and dis-

secting the very *Soul of Priestcraft*: 'Tis therefore a tender Point; yet, designing Brevity, I must not long apologize. In *common Affairs*, 'tis no Crime to doubt and enquire into the Certainty of our Dependencies, that we may not be deceived; Men are blamed that do it not: Is it less necessary in *uncommon Affairs*, which are said to be most material, and where the Deception is greater, and harder to explore?

If Things are *sacred* because they are *secret*, expose them, and the Witchcraft is at an End, the Spell is broke, and the Charm has no Force: It is but sacred Varnish that appears, they are but pompous Sepulchres in which is nothing but Rottenness. The *better* any Thing is, the *more* it will bear Enquiry. The Fraud and Fraudulent are the Fruits and Friends of Darkness, and the Religion that will not bear Examination,

nation, is the Kingdom of it. *Truth cometh to the Light that it may be manifest.* If Men should know *why* and *what* they believe, they should display both the *Bottom* and the *Building*. Plain Truth cannot be seen in the Obscurity of Mysteries. Like Wisdom, it delights to appear in Public, it loves Freedom, Openness, and plain Dealing. What are called *the Mysteries of the Spirit*, are known to none, for they that think they have it, have no Mark to know it by, but their own fond Imaginations; and its *supernatural Proofs* being lost, there can be no Proof in Nature given of it; therefore that *mysterious Spirit* is what every one's Faith or Fancy makes it, who thinks himself possessed of it. This *Mansion of Mystery* is the Pride of Ignorance, the Delusion of Madmen and Fools, where Enthusiasm is born, and future Events brought forth; where Bigots are trained; where the Voice of Reason is stopt, and Enquiry is confounded.

The better to methodize my Examination, I shall consider,

First, *Of the Difficulties attending the Credit of Prophecies, and their mysterious Predictions.*

Secondly, *Of the Prophets Predictions, Practices, and Illuminations.*

Thirdly, *The Conclusion.*

SECT. I.

Of the Difficulties attending the Credit of Prophecies, and their mysterious Productions.

IF the Sense of Prophecies, and the fulfilling them, were clear, it would redound much to their

Credit; but when both are *uncertain*, it must greatly lessen our Regard for them, and Dependence thereon. We have no Means whereby we can be satisfied, that some Things called Prophecies were not written *after* the Facts which they are said to prophesy of, as the Conquest of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, mentioned by *Mr. Jackson*, and *Dr. Sykes*; nor is there any Method of Satisfaction concerning the Sense of obscure Prophecies, that those in *Daniel*, and the *Revelations* predict what *Mr. Jackson* insinuates, or that he, or any Man, hath the right Understanding thereof, who have attempted to accommodate *Facts* to *Prophecies*. A vain Attempt! in which Interpreters have never agreed. He owns the great Difficulty of it; and indeed, the great Labour he has taken, shews it, if he had not owned it. Does it consist with the *Goodness* or *Wisdom* of God to deliver himself in such mysterious Terms, that the *wisest* and *most learned* Men, with all their Labour, can never be certain when they come at the Meaning, and most own that they cannot agree, because their Understandings are confounded in the *Darkness* of it; and where there is not sufficient Light to convince reasonable Men, their Understandings are unenlightened. In *obscure Prophecies* Men may everlastingly puzzle themselves and others, without any Certainty of ever being in the Right. This is the Case of all those Prophecies which *Mr. Jackson* has given himself so much Labour about, fetched from *Daniel* and the *Revelations*. If Prophecies are not *commonly* understood, or not understood by

common

common Readers, they were not designed for *common Good*. If those of the *Faculty* only understand them, they are then only learned Prescriptions to keep up the Craft and Dignity of the Faculty. If we know not certainly what a Prophecy signifies, of what Signification is it? *Common Sense* is sufficient for *common Honesty*, which is plain and open, and delights to shew itself clear and fair.

By what Means can we be sure of the certain Times when the particular Prophecies were written? and that we have their uncorrupted Writings? For it is well known that Corruptions have crept into the Text, and that it was the Work of *Exra* and others, after the *Jews* Captivity, to find out and correct them, as well as they could. If the *Word of God* has been corrupted, there can be little Dependance on the *Word of Man*, or on his Wisdom or Honesty to make it pure; for there are certain Degrees of *Prejudice*, *Partiality*, *Interest* and *Ignorance*, that Man cannot surmount. The Facts predicted should have been known to be fulfilled by those that knew the Prophets and their Prophecies; unless there can be demonstrative Proof, that the traditional Prophecy could not possibly be corrupted. *Oral Tradition* cannot be trusted to in the second or third Generation, scarce from a second or third Person: The natural Infirmities of Men, generally corrupt it without Intention. It is rare, that *two* or *three* Persons tell so much as the *Sense* of the Particulars of a Story exactly one after another.

A Prophecy, when delivered, should be such as no human Rea-

son could foresee, nor could possibly be any random Guess: Then the *Original* or *true Copy* of it should be well witnessed, and preserved by Men that had no Interest in deceiving the World; if possible, in such manner there could be *no Possibility* of corrupting or altering it. It should also be so clear and intelligible, as to admit of *no misunderstanding* it. The Circumstances that come after to pass, should so agree with the plain Prophecy, that it may be as well known to be the fulfilling thereof, as a Man may know his own Face in a Glass; or, *Deception* may creep in; the very *Possibility* of which therefore should be absolutely guarded against. The better the Chain holds together, the stronger it is, extraordinary Cases must have extraordinary Proofs: And after all, when the Thing predicted is past, the *Credit* of its Prediction naturally lessens, as *Time* increases; because it is well known, that the World is full of Impositions: And in the Things of God, there ought not to be the least *Shadow* of it.

Though it is endeavoured to be proved, that some of the Prophecies were literally fulfilled; yet if *all* were not, if *some* prove false, it is a Proof the Prophets were not under the Influence of an infallible Spirit, or not infallibly guided by it: And be the Case either Way, we cannot trust to them in *all* Cases; and if not in *all* we cannot in *any*, unless we can distinguish those Cases. If the Prophecies contain *some* good and true Things in them, can those recommend them that are not so?

It

It was observed, that there is the greatest Difficulties in applying Prophecies, which are not clear and explicit to their intended Purpose; or in knowing to what Intent or Purpose they were given: For Instance; what Prophecies some apply to the Redemption of the People of God by *Jesus Christ*, others have thought are only applicable to the Redemption of the Jews from the Power of the King of *Assyria*, and had Respect to the Times they were written in. And tho' some of the Prophecies are said to be in *Part* only accomplished; in either Case the *Parts* are a great way asunder.

If the Prophets did not prophesy *false* Things, they were sometimes misunderstood, and in the greatest Essentials. The Jews expected their Saviour to be a *temporal King*, so did the primitive Christians, before and after the Crucifixion of *Jesus*; for the *Millenarian Doctrine* of his coming again to reign on the Earth, is spoken of in several Places of the New Testament, which was to have been * *immediately after* the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and though the *Day and Hour* was not fixed, it was to be before *that Generation passed away*, the Disciples were bid to expect it, watch for it, and be ready, † not for the *Holy Ghost*, his Substitute; but for *Jesus* himself, and the Manner of his coming was described; therefore those were called the last Days and Times ‡. And though

we are told the *Gospel* was first to be preached to all Nations, we are also told, that so it had then been in the Apostles Time §. And *Christ's* temporal Reign on Earth, was the Opinion of the first Fathers of the Church, (*viz.*) *Cerinthus*, in the first Century, *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, had it from the Christians by oral Tradition. It was also embraced by *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Hippolitus*, *Lactantius*, *Theophilus of Antioch*, *Methodus*, *Victorinus*, and the most illustrious of the ancient Fathers, were Advocates for the *Millenium*. It was impossible to persuade the Jews or Jew Christians to the contrary. They expected *Christ* according to the Prophets, to sit on the Throne or Kingdom of *David*, which was a temporal Kingdom, and from *Jerusalem* he was to administer Judgment to all Nations ||. The wise Men that came to seek *Jesus* understood it so *†; so did the *Angel Gabriel*: Yet we are now told they were all mistaken, and that his Kingdom is *spiritual*; for tho' it was expected to be *worldly*, we are now sure *his Kingdom* is not of *this World*, unless the established Christian Churches are a Part of the World, having wordly Power and Grandeur, where his *Deputies* generally rule, as if they never expected King *Jesus* would come and call them to Account, except in this happy Age and Country: And they may always be trusted to rule in a tolerable Manner, when and where the *spiritual* Pow-

* Mat. xxiv. 29, 34, 42. Mark xiii. 24, 33, &c. Luke xxi. 31, 32, 36. John xxi. 22. Acts i. 11. † Acts iii. 20. ‡ 1 Thess. iv. 13, &c. Heb. x. 37. 1 Pet. iv. 7. 2 Peter iii. † 1 John ii. 18. James v. 7, 8. Jude v. 18. § Acts ii. 5. Col. i. 6, 23. Rom. x. 18.---xvi. 26. || Mat. ii. 2. *† Luke i. 32, 33.

er is subject to the *temporal*; and when and where the Savage Fierceness of Bigotry for the Gospel is muzzled by the Law.

Believers of Prophecies being puzzled to explain them, when the Letter of the Prophecy was not parallel to the Letter of the Story they applied it, have understood, what was wanting to be made out, in an *allegorical, figurative or mystical* manner; so they have made a *mysterious* Application to the Letter of the Prophecy, or some one *mystical* Prophecy to many very different Cases; or the *Mystery* of one, to the *Mystery* of the other; and by the *spiritual Wire-drawing* of one or all these Methods, they always may make out what they please. If by any of these Means the *Expositor* by Chance or hard Labour draws a tolerable good Parallel, the *Prophet* gets sure *Praise*; but if he fails, which is oftener the Case, the *Expositor* gets sure *Disgrace*. So difficult has the *Exposition* generally been, not only to common Understandings but to learned Men, that happy is he who has gone into the Battle, and come off without a Scar in his Intellects, or being crippled in his Understanding; and some have been affected with a Kind of *prophetic Delirium* all their Life-time after.

Wherefore should the *Word of God* be harder to understand than the *Word of Man*? Why should that be *mysterious*, which is most necessary to be *plain*? Why should not God's Word be understood in its natural Sense? How is *Revelation unrevealed* consistent with Divine Wisdom or Goodness, or the Marks or Evidence of either? Does God delight to

puzzle and distract human Minds; and purposely, as by a Wile, to deceive Men's Understandings? Is this consistent with the Character of Goodness and Truth? To what Purpose are unknowable Riddles, or inexplicable Predictions? What Knowledge does this convey? Or what Warning do they give us of Things to come, if the Meaning of the Expressions are not known? And what Occasion is there for such Prophecies? If the Trumpet give an uncertain Sound, who shall prepare himself for the Battle? So except Words are uttered easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? If no Prophecy of Scripture is of any private Interpretation, it can have no mystical Meaning. They that say one Thing, and mean another, are not to be depended on, nor regarded. Is it any Mark of Wisdom in a Teacher to utter himself in Words, which the Scholar with all his endeavours cannot understand: And if he by Labour or Chance hopes he has got the right Sense, yet can never be sure of it? That which is good and wise need not be ashamed nor afraid to appear, The Wisdom that is *hidden*, has not the Face of Wisdom; her Residence is founded on Knowledge; but Mystery or Secrecy prevents our coming at it. How is it consistent with the Wisdom of God to deliver Mysteries to the World, for Men to explain as they can or will, leaving them in the Dark to be eternally tossed about by their own giddy Conceits, and his Word to be to them an endless Fund of Deception, and Maze of Confusion, as well as an everlasting Bone of Contention? Where is the Difference between what is

unin-

unintelligible and Nonsense? When Mysteries prevail, Credulity is Insatiation. Any Writing may be deemed prophetic, if a *mystical* Interpretation be allowed. Whatever the Spirit teaches, the Letter says, *the Time will come when Men will turn their Ears from the Truth, and be turned into Fables.* To put a spiritual or mystical Interpretation to a Prophecy, is to make a *Fable* of it. Are not Assertions and Prevarications ever present where Truth is absent?—It seems as strange, that the *Jews* should not know the Meaning of their own Prophets, and we should; as that a Foreigner, in Tongue and Religion, should understand the Articles of our Church, and our Churchmen not understand them at all; and yet the Strangers Sense of these Articles should be *forced, foreign, and allegorical.* I (as a carnal Man) am apt to think the Knack of Understanding the Prophecies and Scriptures, *spiritually*, is that of putting what Sense Men please upon them, to preserve their Reputation: So if they can be fulfilled or understood in *any* Sense, the Prophets and Writers keep *their* Characters at the Expence of God's, who by this Means is represented *prevaricating* with Mankind, by saying one Thing, and meaning a different; or giving out his Oracles in such *dark Enigma's*, that neither Speakers nor Hearers know what is meant, nor have any certain Rule to direct them what is their proper Meaning. To all rational Minds it is apparent, that they who go beyond Things *natural* and *moral*, go beyond their Senses. This *spiritual Sense*, which is above the

Capacity of the *natural* Man, is *the all confounding Sense of Nature.* The *reasonable Relish* of Things spoils an *enthusiastical Appetite.*

If we consider the *Nature* of such Prophecy, as requires a *spiritual* or *mystical* Interpretation, we shall find, that were the Prophets honest Men, they did not understand what they themselves meant; for they that are honest, will not speak so as to *mislead* and *deceive* their Hearers. If they were not honest, they spoke one Thing and meant another, whereby they that believed in them were deceived, and punished for being deceived; that is, for their *Faith* and *Sincerity.* So the *Jews* were *deceived* by their own Prophets: None could be more than they. They thought that *believing* their Prophets was *Faith* in God; and this *Faith* deceived them, and they are cast off for being deceived! Unhappy People! to be so made by their *Faith*, by which they hope to be saved, as well as we! We plainly read, that the Prophets promised these People, in the Name of God, to send them a *Prince*, who should deliver them out of the Power of all their Enemies, and make them *everlastingly happy.* No Prophecy is more plain. The *Jews* believed these Prophets were directed by God thus to speak; and they are deceived by thus believing in God: They could understand these Prophecies no otherwise, than according to the *obvious* and *natural* Sense of the Words delivered. If they had put a *different* Sense upon them, it would have been easily proved they had been to blame; but because they understood and believed as they thought

thought in God by his Prophets, in the *most apparent Sense*, he, as we may say, has forsaken them! This is a miserable Reflection! If they are *wrong* in so believing, their Prophets were *wrong* in so deceiving them. If we ascribe it to God, it is fathering the *Deception* and the *Design* on him. Words that cannot be understood, are spoken to no Purpose; they contain no Revelation or Prophecy: Or if there is any Design or Purpose by such Utterance, it is a very *deceitful* one.

SECT. II.

Of the PROPHETS Predictions, Practices and Illuminations.

WHAT Confidence or Trust ought to be reposed in the Prophecies, will the more plainly appear, as the Enquiry is the more *soberly*, or *diligently* made. By the Understanding and Conduct of the Prophets, the Foundation of Men's Faith in them may be known.

The Writer of the *Pentateuch* tells us*, that God bade *Jacob* go down into *Egypt*, and promised that he would certainly *bring him up again*; but he never returned again alive.

Elisba sent *Hazael* to *Benbadad*, with a *Lye* in his Mouth. Say unto him, (said the Prophet †) *thou mayst certainly recover*, but he died; and to make the Prophet more knowing than honest, he is said to foreknow his Death, and that *Hazael* would take that Opportunity to make himself King: And it is suspicious, that he as well had, as

followed, the Prophet's Advice, for his own Advantage in deceiving *Benbadad*.

Huldab promised King *Josiah* in the Word of the Lord †, that he should *die in Peace*; yet he died in War §. Perhaps his Faith in the Prophets made him Foolhardy, which shews us the Folly of confiding in Prophecies.

When *Hezekiah* was sick, *Isaiah* told him ||, that he should *surely die, and not live*; but *Hezekiah* telling the Lord how good he had been, he so wrought upon the Lord, that he promised him, by *Isaiah*, fifteen Years longer Life; therefore it was not *Hezekiah*, but the Lord that repented; and how can future Events be foretold, when it may chance the Lord himself may change his Mind.

Ezekiel prophesied *†, that the Lord would bring a Sword upon *Egypt* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and cut off both Man and Beast, and that the Land should be desolate and waste, from the Tower of *Siene* to the Border of *Ethiopia*, so as to be utterly uninhabited by Man and Beast forty Years. But there is no Proof that this was ever done, since *Nebuchadnezzar* never conquered *Egypt*, as we are informed by any History.

When *Jeremiah* came to *Taphannes* in *Egypt*, where the King's Palace was, *Jeremiah* †† was commanded to take great Stones, and hide them in the Clay in the Brick-kiln, and prophesy, that *Nebuchadnezzar* should set his Throne upon those Stones, and spread his Royal Pavillion over them, and smite the Land of *Egypt*, which no History acquaints us ever came to pass.

* Gen. xlv. 3, 4. compared with Gen. xlix. 23.

† 2 Kings xxii. 20.

§ 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

2 Kings xx. 1.

*† Ezek. xxix. 19, 20.

† 2 Kings x. 10.

|| *Isaiah* xxxviii. 1. and

†† *Jerem.* xliii. 8, &c.

pass. Though great Pains have been taken by partial Historians, to attempt the historical fulfilling of Prophecies, by corrupting what remains of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* History, to be made agree with the *Hebrew* Prophets and Historians, and destroying the rest, yet it never can be proved, that *Nebuchadnezzar* conquered *Egypt* within its own Rivers, according to the Prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*; therefore there is Reason to believe, the Prophets were as much out in their other Particulars concerning the Destruction threatened to all the Nations round about them, as well as in that of their own future Prosperity, except some bold and lucky Guesses which sometimes saved their Credit. These deluded People seem now only reserved as a Mark to Mankind, to beware of such Delusions.

Not only Destruction against *Egypt*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, is also prophesied by *Isaiab*, but against her Rivers, (xix. 5, 6, 7, 8.) *Their Waters shall fail from the Sea, and the River shall be wasted and dried up, &c.* If the Prophet meant what he said, when did this happen? If he did not, what did he mean? If we cannot tell his Meaning, what does the Prophecy signify?

The xlvth Chapter of *Jeremiah* was written in *Egypt* against *Pharaoh Hophra*, and the xlvth Chapter passes for a Prophecy against *Pharaoh Necho*, the Grandfather of *Hophra*, concerning an Action done near twenty Years before the xlvth Chapter was written; so that either some Prophecies were written after the Facts prophesied of, or the Chapters are mis-

placed, and by Consequence, the Prophecies have been modelled and mangled.

Mr. *Jackson* and Dr. *Sykes* say, that *Isaiab* prophesied the downfall of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, in a very particular Manner, many Years before *Cyrus* took it. But this being more than can in this Age be known, if we cannot be sure the Words of the Text are the uncorrupted Words of *Isaiab*, how can this be a conclusive Evidence of the Truth of Revelation, and of the Antiquity of the Prophecies, sufficient to remove a just Suspicion of Error, either accidental, or worse?

It requires a peculiar Faith from a *Christian*, to believe that (great evangelical Prophet, as he is called) *Isaiab*, so long before the Empire of the *Medes*, prophesied of *Cyrus* by Name, but by Name knew not *Jesus*; nor foretold any Thing of the Religion that came by him; and to see that his Prophecies of *Cyrus* were plain and literal, and those concerning *Jesus*, forced and far-fetched from deep Allegories and figurative Speech. Besides, if all those Particulars concerning *Babylon*, mentioned by these Gentlemen, were truly foretold so long before, and so exactly came to pass; where is the Free-will of Man? Since the Result of one free human Action might have broke every Link of the Chain to Pieces, or frustrated every Particular of the Prophecies.

The xxxvth, xxxviith, and xxxixth Chapters of *Isaiab*, are almost Word for Word the same as the 2 *Kings* xviiiith, xixth, and xxth. Was the Prophet the same as the Historian? If so, to foretel and

and fulfil was easy; if not, there must have been some borrowing or blundering in the Case; if borrowing, it might be to accommodate *Facts* to *Prophecies*, or *Prophecies* to *Facts*; if blundering, there is no knowing how these Writings have been managed; consequently, there is the less Reason to depend on their being *correct* or *genuine*. 'Tis certain, the *Historian*, by his Spirit, was a *Prophet*, or one of that Party, and guilty of Errors and Partiality, as any impartial Man may see, which makes him a *bad Historian* and *Prophet*. There can be no greater Proof against the Value and Validity of any Writings, than that their intrinsic Purity and consistent Harmony is wanting; such stand self-condemned, and need no Evidence against their own Infallibility and Truth, but their own Contents.

It is natural to believe, that those whom *Deity* inspires should have juster Notions of him that inspires them, than those that are uninspired, or lay no Claim to such Pretensions; and that the Teachers of the Worship of the true God, should have better and brighter Notions of him than Priests of *false* Gods. It is asserted by our Divines, that the *heathen* Philosophers could never, by their human Abilities, attain to such refined Sentiments of *Deity*, as those that were taught by him; and indeed, if they could, of what *superior Excellence* is Inspiration? But in this we may find ourselves deceived. Inspiration scorns the Comparison, and very justly, for 'twill suffer very much by it, 'twill eclipse its pretended superior Glory. For if we take a

Survey of the Sentiments of the Prophets, we shall find, that if they were *good Men*, (which I will not now call in Question, since good Men may be mistaken) yet nothing was more common for them, than to set their God on the Stool of Repentance. One of the inspired Writers tells us, (*Gen. vi. 6.*) that *it repented the Lord he had made Man, and it grieved him to the Heart*; O poor Lord! therefore he destroyed all Mankind by a Flood, yet planted a new Race from the rebellious Root; as if it could be expected that the *same Tree* would not always bring forth the *same Manner of Fruit*, by which Means the World was nothing mended. God might, consistently with his repenting, have been represented as trying to mend his Hand, by making other Sort of Creatures; and if they had not answered his Expectations, he might have destroyed them again, and again tried to mend the Matter, by a Creation of other sort of Animals. But if God repented his making *Man*; why did he not repent the making *Serpents, Lions, Tygers, Wolves, Vultures*, and other voracious and carnivorous Creatures, whose Living and Happiness depends upon destroying the Lives and Happiness of others?

Again, we are told by the same Inspiration, *Exod. xxxi. 17.* that after God had made the World, *he rested, and was refreshed*. He could have done no more, if he had made it all in one Day, provided his Strength could have held out; for this represents him *tired*, and consequently *weakened* with the Fatigue. Did *Inspiration* dictate this? What could a Man say worse than was uninspired? What

Idea

Idea does this convey of *Omnipotence*, that it should require a Day to rest, and want Refreshment.

The Lord is said to make the *Israelites* groan for their Idolatry, and then their Groaning brought him to Repentance; and that tho' he brought them out of *Egypt* by his great Power, to make them a peculiar Nation; by his great Power he would have destroyed them in his great Wrath, if *Moses* had not pacified him, reasoned the Case with him, told him the Consequences of so rash an Action, and persuaded him better, (*Exod. xxxii. 9, to 14.*) According to *Moses's* Representation of Things, the Lord would have lost his Reputation among the *Egyptians*, and forswore himself, if he had acted according to the angry Mood he was then in. Let those Readers that think these Things little better than *Blasphemy* know, that the *Blasphemy* is the *Writer of the Pen-teleuch*, and not mine. I only set the *Writer* in a clear Light. These Things shew what the Prophet's Notions of God were.

We are entertained with more refined Notions of Deity by a *Heathen Priest*, (*Numbers xxiii. 19.*) *God is not a Man, that he should lye; nor the Son of Man, that he should repent: Hath he said, and shall he not do it? Or, hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? And tho' something like this is expressed by Samuel xv. 29. The Strength of Israel will not lye nor repent; for he is not a Man, that he should repent; it appears to mean no more, than that God would do what he then promised, and would not repent of what he then intended to do, but that he repented of what he had done;*

for we are, by the same Prophet, at the same Time, told, *ver. 11 and 35. It repented the Lord that he had made Saul King.* This is not to be wondered at, if we consider, that the Lord and the Prophet were one and the same, and that the Prophet gave the People a King with great Reluctancy; for it abridged his Power, therefore *Samuel* was resolved to plague both King and People, being stung with Envy, after *Saul's* and *Jonathan's* Success against the *Philistines*: And to shew the Power he was yet possessed of, and not willing to part with, he sends *Saul* on a bloody Message, to destroy a neighbouring People, against whom they had not so much as any Pretence of Quarrel; therefore, what they had done four hundred Years before, was alledged for a Reason, *1 Sam. xv. ver. 2. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts (said Samuel) I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, how he laid Wait for him in the Way, when he came up from Egypt: Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling, Ox and Sheep, Camel and Ass. A bloody Commission! What had Amalek done to the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt? We are told, Exod. xvii. when the Israelites came upon their Borders, they came out to drive them away, and fought with them, and there was a Battle 'till the going down of the Sun; and tho' the Israelites had the better of it, by the Inchantment of *Moses* holding up his Hand, they thought it best to get off in the Dark; and not having had sufficient Re-*

venge,

venge, (which looks as if they had the worst of it, for double Revenge is desperate Malice) the Lord is said to say to *Moses*, *Write this for a Memorial in a Book*; hence the Remembrance of it was continued; no Wonder then the Lord said, *I remember what Amalek did to Israel*. Well, what was to be written? *I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven*. No doubt but that Lord, or that Spirit, would have done it *then*, if it could; but being unable at that Time, *swore*, ver. 16. *he would have War with Amalek from Generation to Generation*. Therefore the Record stands in *Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19*. *Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the Way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the Way, and smote the Hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint, and weary, and he feared not God. Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee Rest from all thine Enemies round about, in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an Inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the Remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven, thou shalt not forget it. Why? what should Amalek have done? What, but met Israel with Bread and Water in the Way, when they came from Egypt, Deut. xxiii. 4.* Instead of doing so, when the *Israelites* came on their Borders, *Amalek* attacked them, drove them off, and fell upon their Rear; therefore, to comfort *Israel* after their Defeat, *Moses* tells them, they should destroy them as soon as they had Power. *Samuel* makes a Handle of this, to foment War, that the King and People might

be abhorred by their Neighbours, and plagued for clipping *his* Power, and that of the *Priesthood*, in desiring a kingly Government: Therefore the Faction of the Priests was on the Side of *Samuel* against *Saul*; and *Samuel* to sow Discord among the People, to vex the King; and keep up the Spirit of the *Ecclesiastic Faction*, and to give it such a Head as might bring in many of the People to their Party, who were for a kingly Government, he determines to encourage *Rebellion*, and set up a *Pretender*, which does not appear to have been contrived by the Prophet from a Love to *David*, but from an Enmity to *Saul*; therefore this *High Priest* goes and *sanctifies Treason* under the Colour of Religion, and excuses himself by laying his Lyes on God, after he had most cruelly hewed alive *Agag*, King of the *Amalekites*, *Saul's* Prisoner, and, in a most bloody and barbarous Manner, chopt him in Pieces; and as it is said to be done before the Lord in *Gilgal*, I suppose it to be upon an Altar there; this is an Expression to *sanctify Inhumanity*.

Can any Man read the Story, and be so stupid as to fancy he sees the Lord's Hand in it, and not rather the Devil's cloven Foot of Priestcraft? 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. And the Lord said unto Samuel, *How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, (Hypocrisy!) seeing I have rejected him from reigning over Israel; (why then did he suffer him to reign any longer?) fill thine Horn with Oil, (holy anointing Oil!) and go, I will send thee to Jesse the Bethlemite, for I have provided me a King among his Sons. And Samuel said, How can I go? if Saul hear it, he will kill me (and deservedly.)*

vedly.) *And the Lord said, Take an Heifer with thee, and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord, &c.* What an excellent Cover for *Treason, Rebellion, and Villainy*, is the *Hypocrisy of Religion!* and this of the *Lord's Contrivance* too! *Priests* always bring him or the *Church* (which is all one with them) into the Plot. If it had not been thought, at that Time, the *Lord* could have profaned his own Service by Commandment, the *Writer* could not have been so foolish, as to confess so much of the *Wickedness* of the *Priest*, and *Folly* of the *People!* To such a *Pitch of Power* was the one ascended, as to *persuade* any Thing! and to such a *Depth of Stupidity* were the *People* fallen, as to *believe* any Thing! But this artful Contrivance of *Samuel's*, and his Declaration, that *it repented the Lord he had made Saul King over Israel*, was to justify his *Treason* and *Rebellion* against his *lawful Sovereign*, chosen by God, or the Prophet lyed, anointed King by himself, confirmed by the Consent of the *People*, and established by his own Valour and Virtue.

The *Priests* and *Prophets* having been of *Samuel's* Faction, and *Samuel* having made *David* their Head, the Prophet being dead, they gave to *Saul*, enquiring of them about the Event of the War, no Answer at all; which affected him too much, because he believed too much; and having been plagued by *Samuel* and *David*, and their Faction, the greater Part of the Time he had been King, he grew melancholy, which is called in the History of him, an *Evil Spirit from the Lord*; (excellent Doctrine!) this Melancholy made

him credulous, low-spirited, and timorous; he seeks an Answer from a cunning old Woman called a *Witch*; the spiteful Answer she gave him (because he had spoiled her Trade of Fortune-telling, by banishing those Pretenders) rendered him so dejected and melancholy, that looking upon himself as forsaken of God, and destined to Death, he lost all Courage, and hastened his own End; without which, probably, the *Witch* might have proved a *Liar*, and his own *dumb Oracles* have been despised, as they deserved; but King *Saul* having always a Faction to contend against, of those that, in the Eyes of the *People*, were sanctified, (of which Party were the *Historians* of his Life) and the King dying unfortunately, it was said, *the Lord gave the People a King in his Anger, and took him away in his Displeasure.* Here is a Sample of the Righteousness of *Priests* and *Prophets*, who, whenever they wanted Power, were the *Incendiaries of Faction* and *Rebellion* in every State, or the *Tools of Tyranny*, and *Promoters of Slavery.*

David made such Interest with the *Priests* and *Prophets*, by doing all that was in his Power to oblige the former, and entering himself into the Club of the latter, that he and they published a Grant, sealed by the Oath of God, (if his bare Word had been sufficient, to swear had been needless) that the Throne of the Kingdom of *Israel* should be fixed in the Posterity of *David* to all Generations, to cut off *Saul's* Issue. The Prophet *David* says, *Psalms lxxxix.* that God had sworn to him by his Holiness, that he would not lye unto *David.*

David. One would think God need not *swear* that he would not *lye*; but the Prophets often accused God of *Lying*, which made this Thing necessary; yet in that Psalm *David* charges God with acting contrary to his *Promise* and *Oath*. It may be said, those Things discover *David*, at that Time, to be in a Fit of Despair; but if the Prophet had Sentiments of God's *Unchangeableness*, he would rather, at such Time, have questioned, whether that Promise really came from God. However, he thought it more political to charge God with *Lying*, than make that a Question. Accordingly, the better to establish this pretended Grant, *David* found out a Way to sanctify the Murder of the remaining Family of *Saul*, tho' they lived very submissively under him. *David*, indeed, spared *Mephibosheth*, a Son of *Jonathan*, because he had shewn him Favour before, to please those People that had a Respect for their late King, pretending a Regard to his Oath made to the late Prince his Friend, which being before confessed or known, rendered it difficult to get over. But tho' *David* did not put this Cripple to Death, and tho' *Ziba* his Servant's Plot against him was too bare-faced not to be detected, yet *David* withdrew his Favours from him, and made him too poor to rebel; his Friends too having no Share in the Government, and his Relations dead. Had *David* dared to trust to the Lord's pretended Oath, while any of *Saul's* Posterity was alive, he would never have made sure Work, to hang them all out of the Way, and treat *Michael*, *Saul's* Daughter, like a Concu-

bine, whom he had forced away from her loving Husband, to favour his Right of Succession.

It appears by this *Holy History*, that the Lord seldom or ever made a Person King for his Goodness, or foreknew how he would turn out. He first of all chose *Saul*, one would think, for his Tallness, and he soon repented of that; then *David* seemed to be chose for his fresh Colour and Courage; however, the Lord had, by good Luck, now gotten a Man after his own Heart, and was so fond of him, as to promise him upon Oath, he would fix the Crown upon his Seed for ever; and yet only a sixth Part of the Promise remained to his Grandson, and ever since the Captivity, all the Promise has been forgot.

Solomon arrived to such a degree of Power, that he kept the Priests and Prophets in Subjection, and therefore no Rebellion happened in his Reign, tho' it is plain the Disposition was not wanting; for the Prophet *Ahijah*, in the Name of God, excited *Jeroboam* thereto, who was one of the Malecontents of *Solomon's* Court; but *Jeroboam* was Politician enough to perceive, that there was no Prospect of Success in *Solomon's* Time; therefore he secured himself in *Egypt* till his Death, and after that, laid hold of the Opportunity that offered, to raise himself to the Kingdom; which when he had gained, he chose rather the *Israelites* should worship other Gods, than have another King; whereby it is plain he looked on all Prophecy as a Farce, tho' he sided with that Faction, 'till he obtained his Ends by them. This was he, who tho' said to be chosen of

the God of *Israel* by the Prophet, regarded that God less than he did a Calf: And the Spirit of the Prophet had as little Foresight of Futurity as a Calf, in chusing him King; for this was the Occasion of the Division of the Kingdom, of weakening the People by intestine Wars, and of their being, long after, carried into Captivity, if the Prophets may be believed, 1 *Kings* xiv. 16. Did *Jehu* behave any better, who was said to be chosen by the Lord? And if the Lord himself was in the Dark, as to Futurity, how should his Prophet see? and from whence could come the Light of Prophecy? or how does there appear to be any Light or Truth in it? and if these Things were not of the Lord, what then is Prophecy? So that, whether these Things are of God, or not, it appears there is no Light nor Truth in Prophecy. What Spirit inspired the Prophets, may be known by the Actions relating to their Prophecies, as a Tree is known by its Fruits.

A Prophet, by the Order of *Elisha*, anointed *Jehu*, in the Name of the Lord, King over *Israel*; the Conspiracy begun by the Prophets, was finished by the Soldiers; and when *Jehu* had pleased the Prophets that contrived to make him King, by murdering not only all the Family of *Ahab*, but *Abaziah* King of *Judah*, and forty-two of his Domestics, and all *Baal's* Priests, he established the Worship of *Jerobeam*, and made Calves of them all. Hence it's plain, the Prophets knew no more of Futurity than other Men; since by their pretended Inspiration, they never mended the Matter.

What should we think of a Prophet, who, to sanctify Treason and Rebellion, affirmed, that God had appointed a Person to be King of *England*, for the Good of the Church of *England*, who as soon as he was invested with the Power, should establish *Papery*, or *Mahometanism*? Can we think that God would make that Man his peculiar Choice, that chose not him? What Man would chuse or reject, without knowing the Consequence, and not rather take his Chance as Things fall out, than by making a blind or foolish Chance, to have his Judgment arraigned? Would any wise King on Earth make that Man his Viceroy, who alienated the Affections of his Subjects to their Sovereign, or suffer him to remain in his Office after he had forfeited that, and his Head, by his rebellious Conduct, if it were in the King's power to remove such Viceroy? Certainly, a good and wise King would not suffer his Subjects to be the Prey of a Tyrant, if he could hinder it.

If what we read of the Prophets be true, *James* v. 17. they did sometimes, by their miraculous Power, a great deal of Mischief: By a Prayer of *Elijah's*, there was no Rain for three Years and six Months, so that there was a most grievous Famine, 1 *Kings* xvii. The same Man, when he had tried to convince the Prophets of *Baal* that the God of *Israel* was God, without desiring their Conversion, he slew eight hundred and fifty of them, 1 *Kings* xviii. 18, 19, 20, 40. This Prophet also destroyed twice fifty Men by Fire, that only executed the King's

King's Orders, which they were obliged to do. By virtue of the Prophet *Elisha's* Curse, forty-two little Children were torn to pieces by two She-bears, for only calling him *bald Pate*. 'Tis said, indeed, that his dead Bones raised to Life a Man, as they were burying him; and that his Master *Elijah* restored the *Shunamite's* Son out of his Fit by Sneezing. It is possible to suppose a Person to be dead that is not, and that the *Jews* sometimes buried Persons before they were dead, as they bury them the same Day they are supposed to die; and 'tis possible for Time to bring a Person out of a Fit, that to all Appearance seems dead. But if these were dead, and restored to life; yet, like other bad Quacks, where they cured one, they killed an hundred. Therefore it appears to me, that the Prophets were as fallible and as faulty as other Men; and since they were every way as bad as other Men by Nature, there is but little Reason to believe they were, in any Respect, supernaturally better.

Jeremiah (iv. 10.) charges God with deceiving both him and the People, saying, *Ab! Lord God, surely, thou hast greatly deceived this People and Jerusalem, saying, ye shall have Peace, whereas the Sword reached unto the Soul*. At another Time he cries out to God, (xv. 18.) *Wilt thou be altogether to me as a Lyar, and as Waters that fail? that glide away, and leave the Channel dry*. I suppose he had prophesied something that came not to pass; therefore to save his own Credit, he impeached his Maker; says he, xx. 7. *O Lord thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived; thou art strong-*

er than I, and hast prevailed; as much as to say, thou art more powerful than just; and therefore hast exercised thy Power in deceiving me. It may be said, perhaps, the Prophet was out of Temper, but then he was inspired with an ill tempered Spirit. *Ezekiel* (xiv. 9.) represents God saying, *if a Prophet be deceived, I the Lord have deceived that Prophet, and I will stretch out my Hand upon him, and will destroy him; so that the Lord deceives a Prophet, and deceives him on Purpose to destroy him! One would think this is destroying him deceitfully*. What mean Sentiments does not pretended Inspiration convey to Man of God Almighty! In short the Prophets tell us, that God repented so often (*Jer.* xv. 6.) that at last he was weary of repenting.

St. Paul or some other supposed inspired Writer tells us, that God found Fault with the first Covenant, (when he had tried it) and therefore made a new one, and changed both the Law and the Priesthood, (*Heb.* vii. 12, 18.—viii. 8.) and well he might, if they were weak and unprofitable, as the Prophet says, (*Ezekiel* xx. 25.) *He gave them Statutes that were not good: A bad Gift! It seems as if God so often changed his Mind, that a Man could not depend on God's Word by the Prophets, or his Oath*.

Sometimes the Prophets to save their Credit said, that God had put a lying Spirit in their Mouths, 1 Kings xxii. 23, 24. that is, he made them prophecy Lyes, which he knew would not, or intended should never come to pass, as in the Case of *Chenaanah* and *Micaiah*: Both were equally positive and confident, that what each

Man said was true, though differently inspired; for when *Micaiab's* Prophecy contradicted *Che-naanab's*, the latter struck the former on the Cheek, and said, *Which Way went the Spirit of the Lord, from me to speak unto thee?* Therefore they both laid Claim to the same Spirit. Nor did *Micaiab* lay the Fault on a false God, but on his own God, that he had commissioned a lying Spirit to deceive him and the rest. Sometimes the Prophets are said to lye in the Name of God, and thereby not only deceive the People, but one another; as in the Case of the Prophets at *Bethel*, 1 Kings xiii. and Lying was so common a Practice, that they seem to have made a Trade of it. All was sanctified with the Name of God. And since the true God's Prophets prophesied false Things, it could not be known who were true Prophets, until the Event proved the Prediction, which seems to intimate that they prophesied at random, and some Things came to pass by Accident.

Now and then the Inspiration of their Cups passed for the Inspiration of God, and so they were inspired with a wrong Spirit, when they prophesied wrong. *Isaiah* (xxviii. 7.) says, *The Priests and the Prophets have erred thro' strong Drink, they are swallowed up with Wine, they are out of the Way, thro' strong Drink; they err in Vision, they stumble in Judgment.*

The Prophets to save their Credit, often fixed no Time to the Events predicted, and then it was easy to say, the Lord will perform it in his own Time: Or if they fixed a Time, it was put off; and

when the Prophecy came not to pass, the Time for its Accomplishment was prolonged. This was done so often, that it became a Proverb among the People, (*Ezek.* xii. 22, 23, 24, 25.) *The Days are prolonged and every Vision faileth.*

As a bold Assertion often passes for a Proof, it is not to be doubted, but a bold and lucky Guess has often passed for a Prophecy. And it is certain, that more are deceived by one lucky Prediction of any Sort, than undeceived by fifty that are false. When prophesying was in Fashion, the Prophets made a Penny of it*, and some of them got a good Living by it. The common Prophets were sometimes hackney Prostitutes, like common Whores; they prophesied any Way for Gain, and were hired by Rewards to prophesy as great Men would have them.

It is certain the Prophets died away after the Captivity, till they were no more to be found, tho' they swarmed before. The probable Reason is this. They had by false and uncertain Prophecies lost all their Reputation, and so the Fashion of being inspired, when it was no more creditable nor profitable, sunk; and when neither Credit nor Profit blew up the Fire of Enthusiasm, it went out. Some among the Jews at length looked upon them not much better than Madmen; (*Jer.* xxix. 26.) every Man that is mad maketh himself a Prophet, said they. It may be, many of them were like other Enthusiasts, they that had no Intention to deceive others, were themselves deceived; and because they meant well, and endeavoured to make Men holy and reli-

* 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8. 2 Kings viii. 8, 9. Nehemiah vi. 12, 13. Micah iii. 13,

religious, they thought themselves possessed of the *Holy Spirit*: And indeed I see no other Marks of the Holy Ghost among them or us.

The Conclusion, or Application.

THE *Jewish* Prophets appear to have been the Instigators and Promoters of many Factions and Rebellions in *Judea*, and to have caused more Calamities than they cured, and for that Reason it is likely many of them suffered Death. I presume, they did not expect such Wages for their Work when they took up their Calling. Those that think themselves *God's Ambassadors*, are generally very proud, and imperious, which sometimes brings them to the *Tree* or the *Block*. Whether does it argue more the Wickedness of the People that put the Prophets to Death, or the Weakness of the Power they served in protecting its Servants no better; which tho' said to be more than human, yet when put to the Test, fell under it? Where then is the *Proof* of it? Does it not rather prove, that the very Thing, *viz.* a supernatural Power, which they made the most Pretensions to, they were least possessed of? It seems unaccountable, that if a supernatural Power guided them, it should not protect them: Or that a good Master should take no more Care of his peculiar Servants! Does an Artificer, when he has done a Piece of Work, burn his Tools?

But if predicting Prophets are any Benefit to a Nation, why have we none? We have *Enthusiasts* enough. Is the Age not wicked enough? That is well. Is it too wicked? They are the more

wanted. The *twice-born Whitefield*, and his Followers that have large Effusions of the Spirit, in Conceit at least, know nothing of *Futurity*, nor even the Truth of Things *past*, which themselves believe. They fancy they have something within them which makes a *mighty Stir*, but they make a *mighty Stir* about nothing. Has this prophetic Spirit so ill defended his Servants formerly, that no Body dares to list into his Service now? Now they may prophesy safe enough, if they can do any Good, or say any Truth that will be serviceable to fore-know. I'll venture to affirm, no Prophet of God would suffer Death by the Government in KING GEORGE's Days, these glorious Days of Learning, Light, and Liberty. Should *Envy* say, that in this I abuse my *Sovereign*, it is only *Envy* can say so. The Truth is, this is a *knowing Age*; Knowledge is destructive of Superstition, which therefore Priests call an *Infidel Age*; and Prophets cannot stand the Shrift of these Days, fearing unbelieving Eyes should see through them. Now they may come with Freedom, they come not at all; for Freedom begets *Enquiry*, and produces *Knowledge*. Once there were Laws against Crimes that no Person ever did, or could commit; and many suffered Death in *Old* and *New England*, for doing what could not be done: But now the Law for the Punishment of *Witches*, *Vizards*, and *Conjurers*, is annulled, and the *Devil* is desired to do his worst, he can do nothing at all! There is no Fortune-telling regarded, but by the most silly deluded People, who want a

wise Education, and being young, are unexperienced. No *Prophecies* are uttered, no *Wonders* are wrought in our Days. What extraordinary Artist, Mathematician, Lawyer, or Physician, makes any vain Pretensions to a prophetic Spirit, or idly spends his golden Time, to set forth or interpret Prophecies? The *wise Men* of the World are not carried away with the *Gales* of the *Spirit*: It may blow where it lists for them; for they are not tossed about *with every Wind of Doctrine*, or Blast of Prophecy. Does it ever appear, that the Spirit which makes *Fools* its Favourites, ever makes them *wise*? I think that those among us who have pretended, by extraordinary Inspiration, to be adopted into the *Lord's Privy Council*, are generally Men of more extraordinary *Passions* than *Endowments*; and when it happens otherwise, their Parts are very ill applied; but thank God, since the *French Prophets*, there have been among us no Fools great enough to profess foretelling future Events.

Our common Notion is, that prophesying depends not upon the *Faculties* of the Prophets, but on *Divine Inspiration* only, which moves them to utter Things according to that Impulse: But the Rabbinical Notions of Prophets are, that it was *scientific*; for there were Schools, where Persons devoted themselves to the Study and Attainment of Prophecy. We read of the Schools of the Prophets, and we all know a School is a Place for Instruction and Learning. The *Sons of the Prophets* were the *Striplings* in Prophecy, the *Juniors*, the Scho-

lars; and prophesying signifies not only foretelling future Events, (that is the hardest Part) but Singing, Preaching, and Speaking something by a pretended or imaginary Divine Impulse or Inspiration, whether it respects Time past, present, or to come. But whatever Spirit the Prophets are conceived to be inspired by, let it be observed, that the Spirit of the Prophets were subject to the Prophets, unless when they heard Things unutterable, and knew not whether they were in the Body or no; but then they could never utter those Things.

The Truth is, that *extraordinary Inspiration* is only some extraordinary natural Gift; and therefore, a Man may as well be an inspired Mechanic, as an inspired Divine, and inspired Writings are known by their Nature, as Men are; as we read, or should read, 2 Tim. iii. 16. *All Scripture that is given by Inspiration, is profitable for Doctrine, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness*. What is, and what is not true, is known by Reason; what is, and what is not good and proper to be done, is known by the *Fitness and Nature of Things*: And the Degrees of Good or Evil in Actions is thus known; that which contributes to the Good or Evil of the greater Number, and the giving or neglecting seasonable Aid in the greater Need, is the greater Good or Evil. Necessities enhance the Value of Assistance; and as to the Knowledge of Futurity, or Mysteries, it is happiest not to desire any Thing that is out of our Power to attain, as all prophetic Knowledge is.

I shall conclude this Subject with

with that incomparable Passage Army, passing by the Temple of
from Row's *Lucan's Pharsalia*, *Jupiter Ammon*, in *Lybia*. Thus,
which describes *Cato* with his

Before the Temple's Entrance, at the Gate,
Attending Crouds of eastern Pilgrims wait :
These from the borned God expect Relief ;
But all gave Way before the Latian Chief.
His Host (as Crouds are superstitious still)
Curious of Fate, of future Good and Ill,
And fond to prove prophetic Ammon's Skill,
Intreat their Leader to the God would go,
And from his Oracle Rome's Fortune know :
But Labienus Chief the Thought approv'd,
And thus the common Suit to Cato mov'd.
Chance, and the Fortune of the Way, he said,
Have brought Jove's sacred Counsel to our Aid :
This greatest of the Gods, this mighty Chief,
In each Distress shall be a sure Relief ;
Shall point the distant Dangers from afar,
And teach the future Fortune of the War.
To thee, O Cato, pious, wise, and just,
Their dark Decrees the pious Gods shall trust ;
To thee their fore-determined Will shall tell :
Their Will has been thy Law, and thou hast kept it well.
Fate bids thee now the noble Thought improve ;
Fate brings thee here to meet and talk with Jove.
Inquire betimes what various Chance shall come
To impious Cesar, or thy native Rome ;
Try to avert, at least, thy Country's Doom.
Ask if these Arms our Freedom shall restore ?
Or else, if Laws and Right shall be no more ?
Be thy great Breast with sacred Knowledge fraught,
To lead us in the wand'ring Maze of Thought :
Thou that to Virtue ever wert inclin'd,
Learn what it is, how certainly defin'd,
And leave some perfect Rule to guide Mankind.
Full of the God that dwelt within his Breast,
The Hero thus his secret Mind express'd,
And inborn Truths reveal'd ; Truths which might well
Become ev'n Oracles themselves to tell.

Where would thy fond, thy vain Enquiry go ?
What mystic Fate, what Secret wouldst thou know ?
Is it a Doubt if Death should be my Doom,
Rather than live till Kings and Bondage come ;
Rather than see a Tyrant crown'd at Rome ?
Or wouldst thou know if, what we value here,
Life, be a Trifle, hardly worth our Care ?

What

*What by old Age, and Length of Days we gain,
 More than to lengthen out the Sense of Pain?
 Or if this World, with all its Forces join'd,
 The universal Malice of Mankind,
 Can shake or hurt the brave and honest Mind?
 If stable Virtue can her Ground maintain,
 While Fortune feebly frets and frowns in vain?
 If Truth and Justice with Uprightness dwell,
 And Honesty consists in meaning well?
 If Right be independent of Success;
 And Conquest cannot make it more or less?
 Are these, my Friend, the Secrets thou would'st know,
 Those Doubts for which to Oracles we go?
 'Tis known, 'tis plain, 'tis all already told,
 And horned Ammon can no more unfold.
 From God derived, to God by Nature join'd,
 We act the Dictates of his mighty Mind:
 And tho' the Priests are mute, and Temples still,
 God never wants a Voice to speak his Will.
 When first we from the teeming Womb were brought,
 With inborn Precepts then our Souls were fraught,
 And then the Maker his new Creatures taught.
 Then, when he form'd, and gave us to be Men,
 He gave us all our useful Knowledge then.
 Canst thou believe, the vast eternal Mind
 Was e'er to Syrts and Lybian Sands confin'd?
 That he would chuse this waste, this barren Ground,
 To teach the thin Inhabitants around,
 And leave his Truth in Wilds and Desarts drown'd?
 Is there a Place that God would chuse to leave
 Beyond this Earth, the Seas, yon Heav'n above,
 And virtuous Minds, the noblest Throne for Jove?
 Why seek we farther then? Behold around,
 How all thou seest does with the God abound;
 Jove is alike in all, and always to be found.
 Let those weak Minds, who live in Doubt and Fear,
 To juggling Priests for Oracles repair,
 One certain Hour of Death to each decreed,
 My fix'd, my certain Soul from Death has freed,
 The Coward and the Brave are doom'd to fall;
 And when Jove told this Truth, he told us all.
 So spoke the Hero, and to keep his Word,
 Nor Ammon, nor his Oracle explor'd;
 But left the Croud at Freedom to believe,
 And take such Answers as the Priest should give.*

SUPERNATURALS

EXAMINED.

DISSERTATION IV.

On the Defence of the peculiar Institutions and Doctrines of Christianity, in Answer to a late Pamphlet, entitled, Deism fairly stated, and fully vindicated from the gross Imputations and groundless Calumnies of modern Believers.
In a LETTER to the Author of the latter Tract.

S I R,

I Have read *that Treatise* which, of the many others written against your excellent Performance, *alone* deserves Regard: My love to Truth, and to you its Advocate, excites me to deliver my Sentiments thereon; for that Reason, I think neither the *Antagonists*, nor the *Subjects*, are unworthy special Notice. I shall endeavour to confine myself within the Bounds of *Truth* and *Decency*; and, in order to be brief, shall take Notice only of the more material Parts of your Opponent's Arguments. After observing to you, that the Controversialists should be distinguished by either the Names that themselves espouse, of *CHRISTIANS* and *DEISTS*, or of the Terms *CREDULOUS* and *INCRECULOUS*; Characters that are in the directest Opposition, and, I conceive, may, without Offence, be properly applied; *Believers* and *Infidels* being Terms improper; for, except in *Supernaturals*, both are, in general, *Believers* or *Infidels* alike.

The *Degrees* between these *positive Parties* may be accounted *Three*, viz. the *DOUBTER*, the *QUERIST*, and the *EXAMINER*. In the latter Class I put myself. These are the *Terms* or *Appellations* I intend to make use of thro' this Work, and therefore thought proper to premise this in the first Place.

To your Propositions, particularly the fifth, viz. that *NATURAL DUTIES* ARE ONLY PERCEIVED BY US TO BE DUTIES, your Antagonist Answers, that *Faith in God, and Obedience to his Commands, are natural Duties*. By a Duty I understand an Act of the Will, somewhat enjoined, as a Precept, which we appear able to do, or leave undone, or do the contrary. 'Tis wrong to propose Faith to the *Assent of the Will*, which ought to be a *Light to the Judgment*. If it is a natural Duty to believe a Proposition as soon as it is proposed, it makes Examination useless. What a Man does not see a Reason for, he cannot believe; unless that may be called Belief, which

is

is taken upon Trust *without Reason*, and even *contrary to Reason*. If this be a *Duty*, then Faith may be called a *Duty*; but Faith, which is founded on Evidence or Reason, unavoidably obeys, and a reasonable Faith cannot obey where Evidence or Reason is not; therefore *a true and reasonable Faith is no Duty at all*. The Duty lies in the Enquiry, not in the Consequence of it; for Examination is the Work of the Will, but the Success of it is not: Therefore Faith and Duty are two Things. It is a Man's Duty to use what Means appear proper to him to inform his Judgment, but the Success of the Means is not within the Compass of Duty; and if Faith be no Duty, there is no Righteousness in it. Though this may seem strange to some, yet if it be well considered, it will clearly appear, that to believe a Proposition without a reasonable Proof, is not in the Power of a reasonable Creature, nor is it in his Power to reject what has such Proof, as soon as he discerns it; he believes, or disbelieves, without being retarded by the Consent of the Will, for when sufficient Conviction appears, it irresistibly constrains the Will: Therefore *Faith in God is no more a Duty, than the Ability is to discern his Being, or the Properties of it*. As it is not a blind Man's Duty to see, so it is not a Man's Duty to believe a God, who cannot see the Evidences of it: And if Faith in God be not a Duty, Faith in Things of a much lower Degree, that have no Evidence in Nature, can be no natural Duty.

Therefore Obedience to the Commands of God (or what are

called so) is only due from us to such Precepts as we are convinced are his Commands: For if we must obey Commands said to be of God, without sufficient Conviction, or reasonable Evidence that they are so, our Obedience is blind, and instead of being good, may be prejudicial and mischievous to Mankind. Therefore 'tis evident, that upon the pretended Ground of Obedience to God's Commands, we are not obliged to receive the several Institutions of a Divine Revelation, if it don't appear to be Divine, nor the Institutions to be of God. In such Case it cannot be right to receive it by those who cannot perceive the Rectitude of it, for that is a false Ground. And not only (says this Author) in Matters of Religion, but even in the common Intercourses of Life, the Relation that subsists between the Parties concerned in them, often derives and confers an Obligation on particular Injunctions that are not in themselves natural Duties; but yet are clearly perceived and acknowledged to become Duties, merely because they are commanded. It had been better if said, merely because the Place, Station, and Circumstances the Servant is in, shew them to be Duties. Obedience of Inferiors to the Commands of their Superiors, in all Things lawful and just, appear to be Duties, not because of the Authority of the Commander, but of the Fitness of the Things commanded. The true Obligation of a just Command, arises from the Authority of that Justice which makes it the reasonable Motive of Obedience. This Gentleman, in an Exception, confesses as much, when he says, "excepting only when

it is something impious, or immoral, something prohibited by a superior Authority." This is still more evident in Things respecting the Service of God, for we do not obey God as a *Person*, nor have we any Mandates from him; for, as such, we know neither the one nor the other, but as the *reasonable Requirements of a Divine Nature*; not for the Benefit of God the Commander, but for our own obeying; hence we have a Rule to judge by. *All arbitrary Laws pretended to be from God, that do not by Nature tend to Man's Good, are Impositions, and not the Commands of God.* Positive Institutions, that do not appear to be naturally fit to promote human Happiness, do not appear to be of God; therefore your Rule holds good, INJUNCTIONS THAT ARE NOT IN THEMSELVES NATURAL DUTIES, CANNOT BE CLEARLY PERCEIVED AND ACKNOWLEDGED TO BECOME DUTIES MERELY BECAUSE THEY ARE COMMANDED. All that we know of God is, that he is a *Spirit*, that is, a *Divine Nature*, not a *Person*; he therefore that loves and obeys Truth, purity of Heart, love to Mankind; that has a benevolent Mind; that regulates his Conduct by Righteousness; loves and obeys God. Thus that is Love and Obedience to God, is easily known. *Wisdom and Goodness* is the Perfection of Nature, and of God's Nature, so far as it concerns our Service; therefore, all *Doctrines* and *Precepts* that are incompatible with *Wisdom and Goodness*, are not of God: And if they do not appear to be wise and good, they do not appear to be of him; and should

therefore (even though they may be wise and good) be rejected till they do so appear: For *Wisdom and Goodness* cannot require us to believe and do what does not appear to us to be wise and good; nor to judge *wiser* than we can, or act by *better* Motives than we have to act by: That would be to require us to do Things impossible to be done; for we must judge of Things by their *appearance*, unless our better Knowledge directs us otherwise, and we always judge according to *Knowledge*. 'Tis right to us that we should judge and act in the *best* Manner we can, and therefore, when we can know no better than by *Appearance*, that Appearance, tho' *wrong*, is the *best* Rule of our Judgment; and we can no more alter this Rule, and the Result of it, than we can alter our Frame and Constitution. Therefore, if divine Laws appear to us to be *wrong*, and this Appearance be according to the best of our Knowledge and Capacities, 'tis *wrong* in us to obey them; because 'tis directly acting against Conscience, against the best Light and Evidence that we have. 'Tis not *our* Fault that we do not see Truth, if we seek it, but that of the Circumstances we are in. Not seeing Things in a *true* Light, is often the Occasion of *wrong* Judgment and Action; yet if we follow the Truth without *seeing* it to be so, 'tis not following it for the Truth's Sake, and so doing destroys all Virtue in the Obedience: It is walking in the Dark, not knowing whether we are right or wrong, without any certain Rule to direct us. God cannot appear *just* to Man, if his Authority

rity enable him to give such positive Laws as have not the Appearance of *Justice* and *Fitness*; therefore, to impose such Laws on Man as the Commands of God, is to represent God an arbitrary and unjust Being.

There is a Necessity to prove these *positive Duties* insisted on to be God's *positive Commands*; upon this rests the whole Controversy. All positive Commands called Duties, not naturally and morally fit, or not appearing to arise from the plain Reason, and evident Nature and Fitness of Things, are Impositions; and imposing them on Men as the Law of God, confounds Mens Understandings of God's Law; 'tis transgressing the Commandments of God, instead of obeying them, and teaching for *Doctrines* and Duties the Traditions and Institutions of Men.

All reasonable Duties which are fit and proper, arising from the Nature of Things and Circumstances, are natural, tho' they may be called positive; and all positive Duties that are not of this Sort, are unnatural and unreasonable. *We contend for nothing more, than that a just Regard should be had to what are the Commands of God, and not to take for them the Commands of Men: for (as you have said) "whatever are not originally in their own Nature constituent Parts of Religion, can never have a divine Appointment and Authority to become such;"* because the original Nature and Reason of Things is always the same, God not being changeable and capricious: There is, therefore, good Reason to Question such positive Commands as are said to be given by the

universal God, which are not best fitted for the universal Nature of Mankind. That the *peculiar Institutions of the Gospel* have a natural Tendency to promote Purity of Heart and Rectitude of Manners, requires a *PECULIAR* Proof; if that be done, every sober Deist will approve of them; plain Proof of it is all that is wanted.

(P. 14.) After your Antagonist has cited you, intimating that "God only requires of Men a Conduct proportionate to the Abilities he has given them;" he adds, that yet, for all this, he may convey certain Instructions to our reasoning Powers and Faculties in the Way of Revelation; and the more limited and confined our Faculties are, in their present State, so much the more Occasion may there be for such special Assistance, and more extensive and perfect Knowledge of our Duty imparted by it. If our Creator require of us a Conduct but proportionate to our Abilities, those of the most limited and confined have no Occasion for special Assistance or Knowledge of their Duty more than others, since 'tis not fit in the Nature of Things, that all Men should be made equal; and since, by this Rule, there will be an equal Distribution of Justice to all, whether their Abilities are great or little. Besides, attempting to cure the Imperfections of Nature by the Plaster of Revelation, is beneath the Practice of the all-wise Physician; for whatever Deficiencies are in Nature, they are God's own Work: And besides this, the daubing with the holy Unction of Revelation, never yet made his Understanding straight, whom God by Nature made crooked; or ever conferred these

those Abilities which Nature denied; but, on the contrary, it has warped many from the Rectitude of Reason, and, like the Light of Enthusiasm, made Men as unwise as it found them, if not much more so. It is to all Men that depend upon its Light, as above that of natural Reason, an inextricable Maze, and a Wilderness of endless Embarrassment.

Seeing that natural and positive Duties arise from one Foundation, viz. the Relation and Fitness of Things, and appear alike conspicuous, as soon as they do appear, I see not the least seeming Contradiction (p. 15.) in your saying, "Natural Duties only are capable of being perceived by us to be Duties; and that the Reason on which a Duty is founded, necessarily results from the Relation the Person to perform it stands in to the Person to whom it is to be performed." The Duties naturally arising from those different Relations, are all natural Duties; and none can properly be said to be superinduced, that are properly Duties. As God is one, and his Will one, so are his Laws.

Therefore (p. 16.) the Gentleman has not proved what he says he has, *That the Practice of natural Duties only, is not the whole of true Religion, with regard to Practice.* How he will be able to prove, *that the Belief of natural Doctrines are not the whole of it in respect of Belief*, I shall examine. That Doctrines, as Things may have a real Foundation in Nature, though that Foundation does not appear, may be true; but 'till that Foundation does ap-

pear, there is no Reason in Nature that we should believe them.

The Gentleman argues, (p. 17.) *That since we are obliged to confess there may be, and are, many Things in Nature above our Reason; to deny the Possibility of any Degree of Information, concerning such Matters being imparted to us by divine Revelation, will be found, in the Issue, to prescribe Rules to God, and set Bounds to the Exercise of his Power, which natural, as well as revealed Religion, clearly teaches us is Infinite.* 'Tis not setting any other Bounds to God's Power, than such as the Gentleman has done, p. 11. *All possible Power and Authority belong to God.* To say, God does not teach us Things above our Reason, is only saying, he does not give more Light to Man's Nature than it can receive, and it is not possible he should.—Whatever is above Man's Understanding, is of no Concernment to Man's Happiness: Such Things, if they are divine, concern only the Divinity, or such Beings whose Capacities they suit.

Says the Gentleman, *Since we are sensible many Things have an actual Existence in Nature, tho' we know not how, or in what manner, he concludes, there can be no Absurdity in believing, that the same Method of conveying Information to us, may be followed in Revelation as in Nature, &c.* But this is a false Parallel; we are not sensible that any Revelation, superior to Nature, had any Existence at all, as the Works of Nature have; this ought to be proved before that be allowed; therefore like Consequences will not follow, because the Antecedents

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are unlike. The Building cannot be the same, when the Foundation and Materials are different, and *the Possibility of their being on a Level, is not yet sufficiently established by any Observations* the Gentleman has made. The HOW Things have Existence which we do not know, we do not believe; nor are we so much concerned how this Revelation sprouted, tho' we have weighty Objections against that, as of WHAT NATURE it is. Certainly, in Things prescribed us to take, 'tis lawful to enquire whether they be wholesome, or poison.

(P. 18, 19.) To say, that what God commands must not only *unquestionably be true*, but also *APPEAR* to be true, is most honourable of God; and is so far from *ascribing to him something in Words, but in Reality nothing at all*, that it is ascribing nothing but Reality to him. 'Tis most fit, that what God reveals to natural Beings, be in a natural Way, or it must be *unnatural* to them; and the Gentleman himself says, *an unnatural Revelation 'tis impious to expect*. Whatever is supernatural is not according to Nature, therefore unnatural; for there is no Medium.

The Gentleman hopes to shew, *that it is a very proper Ground of our Assent, and sufficient in itself alone, whenever it happens, that we see NO OTHER Reason for the Truth of a Proposition, but that GOD HAS REVEALED IT*. Let him shew but this Reason, that God has revealed what he calls Revelation, it will be sufficient in itself alone. Let him but do this, this single Point will determine the Controversy; to prove this by Reason

is all we require, and will be more convincing than Miracles; therefore we do not call for any Thing unreasonable or impossible, unless it be impossible to prove this by Reason. This is the Subject contested. The *Christians* affirm their Book contains a Revelation of God's Will; you *Deists* question the Truth of that Affirmation, and require them to prove it: This you think is a reasonable Request, if they have no mind to deceive you; especially, as you require but a *reasonable* Conviction, tho' they may give you a *miraculous* one, if they can; but if they can do neither, you judge it unreasonable and unjust to demand your Assent, without convincing you that you are wrong, and they are right. You declare yourselves to be *Lovers of TRUTH*; that let her Banners be displayed, and you will be *Voluntiers*, and fight under those Colours; that you cannot believe without Conviction, nor be convinced without Reason; but that, as soon as the TRUTH appears to you, you cannot withhold your Assent one Moment; that you will immediately cast down your Arms, and yourselves, and venerate that *God*, wherever she appears. This you profess, and this is a fair Declaration; the *wiser Christians* do the same.

To proceed then; I think it proper both Sides should be perfectly well satisfied in every Point wherein there may be *Deception*, and till then, *Doubting and Enquiring is your Duty*; and what is put upon Men for *credible and sufficient Testimony*, ought to be such as is *credible to other than Believers*, and such as carries its own *Sufficiency* with

with it. We should take Care of imputing those Things to God, which have been the Inventions of Men. God's Word must demonstrate God's Wisdom; which will be as clear and convincing to Man's Reason, by its own intrinsic Plainness and Purity, as the Splendor of the Sun is to their bodily Eyes.

In p. 20, 21. we have this Simile. *When an Eastern Prince was acquainted by an European of good Quality and Credit, that in these Parts of the Earth, the Water would at certain Times become solid and unnavigable, without any visible Cause to produce so surprizing an Alteration in it; was it reasonable for the Prince to disbelieve an Account which was well attested, merely because it did not appear to him to have its Foundation in Reason and Nature?* The giver of this Simile argues from hence, that since we are such unexperienced and incompetent Judges in natural Things, no Wonder we are not able to determine of Things supernatural; and therefore, that 'tis contrary to Truth and common Sense to disbelieve and reject these Supernaturals. But if natural Things puzzle us, why should God confound us with Supernaturals? Let us examine and compare the Simile to the Application and Subject. The Eastern Prince could not believe the European's Report, and what then? Was it his Duty to believe what he could not? The Quality and Credit of the Reporter was all the Evidence he had of the Truth of the Report, and this, as great as it was, was insufficient to convince him. Where did the Fault lay? The Thing

reported is true, but not believed by the Prince; Why? Was it a Prejudice received against the European? That could not be, if he knew his Person and Character; nor could it be against being informed; every Body is willing to come at Knowledge in an easy Manner: Could he believe without Conviction? Not unless his Faith run before his Reason. Could he refrain Believing, if convinced? Impossible! Where then was the Fault? It must be either in the Nature of the Evidence, or in the Prince, for wanting a rational Conviction. Now, one of these is supposed to be your Case; but the latter depends upon the former. You don't believe the Things commanded. Why? because you cannot: Why? because you want to be rationally convinced of those Things: Why? because the Evidence affords not sufficient Proof. After all then, the Fault is not in you, but in the Evidence; make that good, and the Work is done; but you say they cannot, therefore you cannot believe; then say they, *you must be damned.* Why? because you cannot believe Things to you incredible, nor do what to you is impossible! Is this just, say you? Does this look as if it came from God the Father of Truth? If this damnation Doctrine has nothing Good in it, could it proceed from any good Being? Damnation on such Terms no Man need fear; but of the Evil Spirit that delivers it, and of the stupid Nature that believes it, let every one beware. But why is this damning Clause? Why, but certainly to frighten poor Souls out of their Senses; that when their

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Senses are drove away, Faith may be drove in. A little more of this Illustration.

An Eastern Prince is acquainted by an European of good Quality and Credit. Are we acquainted by Persons of good Quality and Credit? They that acquaint us now with the Story, may be so; but they know no more the Truth of it, than we do; therefore I mean the first Story-tellers, who and what were they? They were, by the Confession of these Persons, of no Quality, and of but little Credit, even in their own Country; and we can have no other; therefore the Cases are not similar. The Eastern Prince might hear that Water congeals to Ice, by a thousand Men more, if he sought to know the Truth, and all of them living Witnesses; or, if so disposed, he might, by a Voyage to a colder Climate, see the Truth of the Story: But our Stories, what Man ever saw! Can our Assurance of the Truth of what is imposed upon us, be compared with the Assurance this Prince may have? There is, certainly, no Comparison.

The Eastern Prince is informed, what? why, that Water freezes; three Quarters of the World know this to be true, if he don't. But is there one Man in the World who knows the Truth of what we are required to believe on the Pains of Damnation? Strange Difference, which admits of no Comparison! Hard Meat! and bad Measure! And how does it become solid? says the Prince; Without any visible Cause, answers the European. Whoever, indeed, saw Cold? this Part of the Simile best agrees. 'Tis either an ignorant

or deceitful Answer. 'Tis certainly not intended to give Conviction or Satisfaction. He could not say, without any sensible Cause; for Frost is produced by an extreme cold Air. What though he could not sufficiently account for it, he should have accounted for it as well as he could; therefore the Cause of Unbelief is owing to the European, not the Prince. In my Judgment, the latter is justifiable in not believing, and the former is to be condemned for a Fool or a Knave, in requiring an Assent to what he could not, or would not deliver with sufficient Evidence in a reasonable and proper Manner. But he that thinks this Prince deserves to be condemned for not believing the Relation of this European, would think it very unreasonable for one to require his Assent to Things in Nature as surprizing to him, which were as wretchedly made out; and would imagine, that he is not obliged to believe till he is better informed, but thinks it reasonable to disbelieve an Account that to him seems unnatural: For what seems to be true or false, has the same Effect on us as if it was really so, unless we know it to be otherwise. And we can no more prevent this Manner of Judging, than we can the Manner of our own Existence, unless we can believe a Person better than we can our Senses; but then we must have Reason why we do so, and as this Reason is grounded, it shews the Measure of our Understanding at that Time. Suppose this Prince could have no other Proof of this Fact than this European's Report, which being so badly told, he could not believe it, tho' true; it argues the Prince

Prince was no Fool, only not willing to be imposed on; for Fools always believe fast enough, so that Folly and Belief generally go together. Suppose he could not believe the Story told him, it must be because he thought it reasonable to *disbelieve*; however, *believing* it, might appear reasonable to another; for we can no more be guided by another Man's Reason, 'till we make it our own, than we can see what another does, unless our Strength of Sight be equal, and we see it thro' the same Medium. Suppose again, he could not believe, tho' the Belief might have been of real Service to him, nor could see his Interest in Believing, it must be owing to some Defect in the Circumstances; for every one is willing to believe those Things that are true, and advantageous to him, if he can, and can see them so to be; and if he cannot, it is cruel and barbarous to the utmost Degree, to burn him alive for not being able to believe. This wicked Part, which makes it a most shocking Tragedy, is left out of the Simile.

Suppose a Man that lives between the Tropics, will not, or rather cannot believe, that Water is congealed to Stone near the Polar Circles: What then? What is it to him, whether it be true or false? 'Tis Matter of mere Speculation to him, and no more: Is this the Case of the Belief of the Gospel? It is not so represented. There are many Works of Nature we are unacquainted with, which, if known, might surprize us; but are we therefore to credit any romantic surprizing Story that is told us, which has no Foundation in Nature or Reason;

because he that reports it, affirms it to be of the utmost Importance, when we cannot perceive any Truth in the Story? Of the greater Consequence any Relation is, it should be attended with the greater Certainty; with the greater Blindness it appears, it has the more evident Demonstration of Folly or Knavery. Suppose it true, tho' a dark Truth, every Man cannot see Things alike, and at the same Distance, why should all Men be condemned for want of Sight, or have their Eyes put out, who do not come up to a certain Standard? If such a Law was made, every one must see the Injustice of it; and if said to be made by a good Lawgiver, every every one must know it to be a bold and barbarous Imposition ascribed to him.

(P. 21.) But we go on with Comparisons, tho' they are far from hitting the Mark, or illustrating the Point. A Man that is born blind, neither has, nor can form any Idea of Light and Colours; and yet, says this Author, the Blindness of his Understanding will be worse than that of his Eyes, if he will not believe there is or can be any such Thing in Nature, as Light and Colours, because he can form no Ideas what they are, nor how they are perceived and known. The Blindness of his Understanding is worse than that of a blind Man's Eyes, who does not see that the Want of Belief is not a Fault of the Will; for a Man can no more prevent believing what appears to him to be true, than he can prevent seeing what is before his open Eyes in Day-light. Besides, 'tis contrary to common Sense to think we can believe what we can

have no *Idea* of. *A blind Man* cannot believe what *Light and Colours* are: What does he believe then about them, when he is said to believe that *Light and Colours* are? What but the bare Terms, or such Properties of which he can form no *Idea*, by which other Men can distinguish he knows not what, nor how. Understanding enlightens our Conceptions, but the bare Belief of the Existence of Things we can have no Understanding of, can be of no Use or Benefit to us; and as it makes us in no Degree wiser, so it makes us in no Respect better.

(P. 21.) *If the want of Experience and Observation renders us incompetent Judges of the Nature of Things*, how can we judge of Things supernatural? And how can such Things be a Rule to us? And since under the Pretence of *supernatural Laws*, which we can by no Means judge of; if we yield to the receiving them, what *Impositions* and *Impositions* may not take Place? What Care then ought we to take, that we are not imposed on by too easy Belief; that we do not assent to Things beyond our Understanding, as necessary to direct our Faith and Practice, which is a slavish and blind Obedience; for by not waiting to examine and judge what is right, our Judgments become infirm, and cannot discriminate Things for want of Exercise; and in giving up this Director, Reason, the Rule of our Obedience, what Absurdities may not follow? What Folly or Infatuation may not take Place?

If a good and reasonable Being can require no other Obedience than according to the Ability and

Light he gives us, we ought not to follow we know not what in the Dark; and consequently, as you say, "what we neither have, nor can form any *Idea* of, after the closest Application, we must and OUGHT to reject, as what does not concern us." 'Tis unreasonable to require us to receive that for *Truth*, which does not appear at all, or not appear to be *Truth*; and 'tis wicked to pretend there is *Righteousness* in doing what is unreasonable. As a blind Man has nothing to do with *Lights* and *Colours*, which he can determine nothing about; so we have nothing to do with what we cannot know to be *Truth*, though it be *Truth*. As what does not come within the verge of Man's Knowledge, is not the Subject of it; so Principles above human Comprehension, are not Principles fit for human Faith: And because they naturally lead the Mind into a Maze of Confusion and Error, therefore they ought to be rejected; and with suitable Marks of Resentment and Indignation, when pressed upon Men with Penalties and Zeal.

Whatever God reveals as *Truth*, must necessarily appear to be *Truth*, because revealed. All *Doctrines*, and *Precepts*, therefore, coming from God, which are necessary for Man to believe and practise, must so appear; they must have the *Signatures* and *Characteristics* of *Divine Wisdom*: For *Light* and *Truth* bring their own Demonstration with them. If God command Man what he is to believe and do, without discovering the *Reasons* for his Obedience, he does not act as a wise and good Being, nor with Man as a reasonable

able Creature. Goodness and Wisdom delight to discover themselves what they are; for as they cannot appear better, they will not appear to be what they are not. If Reason in Man be not an Evidence of Wisdom in God, and if what he requires as our reasonable Service, be not correspondent to Goodness in him; we have no Evidence that God is wise or good, and consequently no Reason to believe he requires any Obedience of us.

The Doctrines, which are called the Revelation of God, that do not appear to have their Foundation in Reason and Nature (both which have God for their Foundation) do not appear to be of God. If he be a God of Understanding, he will not require Men to serve him without their Understandings; but so they must do, if they believe and act without knowing why or wherefore: Therefore if God reveals to Man his Duty, he reveals to him the apparent Reasons of his

Duty, which are the proper Motives to it, or God delights in Man's ignorant and stupid Obedience; and no wonder then he is so ignorantly and stupidly obeyed. And then, though Revelation says, Light is come into the World, yet it is such as puts out all human Light, and involves Men in Darkness. As God cannot speak, but it must be true; so the Truth of his Word must appear to them to whom he reveals it, or the Truth must be doubtful; and consequently it must be doubtful, whether it be his Word or no. And as that cannot be of the Light, which is not discoverable by it; so that cannot be the Revelation of Wisdom and Goodness, in which the apparent Marks of Wisdom and Goodness are not revealed.

Your Antagonist seems to triumph in your giving the rational Christian's Scheme, without being particular in your Answer to it; to shew what Cause he has of Triumph, I therefore attempt it.

THE SCHEME.

They argue, that as the Religion of Nature, absolutely considered, and in its full Extent, is only known to God, if he should be pleased to make a supernatural Revelation of such Parts of that Law to us, which our unassisted Reason could never have discovered, such a Revelation ought to be gratefully received, and readily acknowledged. For tho' no Doctrine that has not its Foundation in Reason and Nature, can be a religious Doctrine; yet Doctrines that have such a Foundation, though that does not appear, may, if God pleases, be communicated to us, either by himself immediately, or mediately by his Agents, without any Restriction on, or

THE ANSWER.

This Argument is founded on a wrong Hypothesis; for as the Religion of Nature arises from the natural Relation and Circumstances of Things, they only discover the necessary Duties those Relations and Circumstances require, which sets aside all supernatural Revelation, and the Need of it. Therefore there can be no Revelation from God, of Doctrines and Duties for Man's Belief and Obedience, but such as not only have, but appear to have their Foundation in Reason and Nature: For if we are to receive Things, not as what they appear to be to us, but as what they are in themselves,

or Repugnancy to any of his Attributes. And this, say they, is the Case of all supernatural Doctrines contained in the Scriptures which collectively compose the Christian Faith; these are so many Revelations of the Law of Nature, which unassisted Reason could not discover; and though they remain incomprehensible, and lie out of the Reach of Reason, yet when that which is imperfect is done away, and Faith is turned into Vision, they will then appear to us to be founded in Truth and Reason.

Let the Gentleman now behold this rational Christian Scheme, and see how formidable it is, how destructive of all your Objections; how easy is this stubborn Subject reduced! and by what plain Arguments is it answered and refuted? Thus it is reducible to your Question, "Whether those Doctrines that cannot be perceived to have their Foundation in the Reason and Nature of Things, are, notwithstanding, certainly thus founded;" and I think it evidently appears from what has been said, they are not: "Whether therefore they are to be so allowed, only because they are contained in the Scriptures," will scarce be made a Question by any reasonable Querist. Therefore, the Reasonableness and apparent Truth of every Doctrine respectively, is necessary to prove it right, or whether it be divinely inspired.

(P. 25.) If Christians do not agree about what Revelation reveals, 'tis evident they are in the dark, and it is no Wonder, if

then God requires of us a Conduct above the Abilities he has furnished us with, which is repugnant to all those moral Attributes we ascribe to Deity. And as the Foundation of such Religion does not appear to be in God, in Nature, or in Reason; therefore 'tis unnatural and irrational, without any Appearance of a Foundation at all; therefore, wherever it is contained, or whatever it is called, it is contrary to Truth and Virtue; and when that comes to pass, which will not, then Things will appear to be true, which are not.

Darkness causes Doubts. If the Nature of this Revelation does not clearly appear, it does not clearly appear whether it be from God, or is any Revelation at all; and if Believers themselves are not agreed about the Sense of it, how should Unbelievers be convinced by them?

(P. 28.) The Question, at length, agreed to is, *Whether all the Doctrines in Scripture are divinely revealed? Not whether they are apparently reasonable? And though we must not take the uncontrollable Liberty of substituting one Question in the room of the other, yet I will venture to say, and undertake to prove too, that if they are not the one, they are not the other: For whatever is not reasonable, is unreasonable; and whatever is unreasonable, cannot be divinely revealed.*

(P. 29.) He argues against supernatural Matters being incapable of Examination by natural Reason thus. *What can be more supernatural, more above the Comprehension of Reason, than the Manner*

ner of God's Existence; yet you will not infer, that because this is a supernatural Matter, therefore the Existence of such a Being is incapable of being apparently reasonable, &c. but the Manner of God's Existence, and the Existence of such a Being, are two distinct Things. Granting the Manner of God's Existence to be a supernatural Subject to Man, as being above the Comprehension of his Reason, therefore the Manner is incapable of Examination by us, because incomprehensible; but that God does exist, we judge to be not above human Reason to apprehend and examine, therefore not a supernatural Matter; the other which is, we can neither examine nor believe.

This Gentleman is not willing to grant, that natural and supernatural are contradictory Terms, therefore gives this Definition. *Whatever we call supernatural is as much comprehended within the immense System of Nature, and has its Foundation there, as those very Objects that are the most familiar to us, and esteemed most natural and common.* Then Nature comprehends all Things, and there is nothing supernatural. So all Miracles and Prophecies, but such as are within the Circle of Nature, are disbanded: And I believe, in this one Explanation, that *Revelation*, which is the Matter contested, is explained away; for this Definition will not comprehend the supernatural Works of Wonder, and wonderful Doctrines, delivered in the Scriptures; and is an Evasion, only for the Sake of a Retreat to more secure Defence: But Nature teaches nothing above Sense and Reason, and Reason knows no-

thing beyond Nature; but Supernaturals are set up to confound both.

Now to the former Question, which is the Point of Debate; *Whether the Scriptures are divinely revealed?* (P. 38.) Our Author says, *The Steps that are proper to be taken on this Occasion are, to shew that the Scriptures were written by Persons divinely inspired;—the several Writers inserted no Doctrines as grounded on Divine Authority, but such as were really so;—the original Scriptures have been faithfully transmitted down to us.*

First then, *the Scriptures were written by Persons divinely inspired.*

One Argument is, *that the Old-Testament-Writers were inspired, if the New were, because ratified by them.* There are many now that believe the Scriptures were inspired, and yet don't understand them, nor can agree about them, these then are not inspired with proper Understanding; so by the Application of Prophecies from the Old-Testament-Writers, by the New, it is plain they understood them not, and therefore were not inspired: The Proof of which is shewn by Mr. Collin's Scheme of literal Prophecy, and Mr. Parvis's Enquiry into the Jewish and Christian Revelation.

An Argument that the New-Testament-Writers were divinely inspired is, that *“they performed what all the Wisdom and Improvements of natural Reason, and the most inquisitive Philosophers were not able to perform: What? They inserted in their Writings a complete System of Morality, and all the Principles and Duties of natural Religion.* This is asserted, but how

is it proved? *All our Prophets, indeed, prophesy so*; but it seems to me, that God has put a *lying Spirit in the Mouth of all these our Prophets*. What Philosophers ever wrote upon Morals, that have not given as compleat a System? And why are *Scraps of Morality*, scattered here and there, called a *System*? And why a *compleat System*, when the *essential Part* of a *moral System* is wanting, *viz.* Rules for the well governing a Nation; and when the *Morals* want *mending* by Explanation, to give some a more *loose*, others a more *restrained* Sense? And when there are those that *no Art can mend*, and therefore are *explained away*? These Things are so easily proved, that they are too well known to need it: However, see some of them below*.

Another Proof given of the Inspiration of these Writers, is, that *they recovered and restored the true Light of Reason, at a Time when the wisest Men acknowledged it did no where appear*. I wish the Gentleman had informed us who those *wise Men* were; sure, they were not those that came out of the *East* to worship the Infant Jesus, the new-born God; for they, as far as I can examine, never had Existence, but in MATTHEW'S Gospel. I want to be informed, how the true Light of Reason disappeared? And how it has appeared since; and how by *their Means*? Were not Men the *same rational Beings* then, as now? Has the World been *wiser* since the inspired Age? Or were the Inspired themselves made *wiser* by

their Inspiration? Have Mankind, by their Means, thought or acted *more rationally*? Does the general Nature of Things change? If not, how came the human Nature to suffer such an Alteration? Was Mankind *ignorant* then, and is he not so now, and has been so ever since? Is he any *better* or *wiser* than before? Not a Jot. What wonderful Restoration have they then made of the *Light of Reason*? Hath the *Christian Part* of the World been *wiser* or *better* than the rest? Rather worse. Have they not committed all Manner of the most savage and inhuman Wickedness *for Christ's Sake*? How then have they *enlightened* and *mended* the World? And how does the Fruits of their Inspiration appear? That all human Kind lost the true Light of Reason, is romantic; and if ever it was the Case, one would be tempted, as you say, to think it *unavoidable*, and therefore *innocent*.

A third Argument given to prove these Writers inspired, is, *they delivered Rules and Instructions for the proper manner of worshipping God; a Point which Socrates dissuaded Alcibiades from attempting,—and likewise acknowledged to his Pupil, that this Matter was not discoverable by human Reason alone, tho' it was such an important Subject, so necessary to be known, that he foresaw the supreme Being would send an especial Messenger on Purpose to instruct Men in it*. 'Tis possible Socrates might say so, for aught I know of the Man, but 'tis more likely some *Chri-*

* Matth. v. 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 48. Ibid. vi. 14, 15, 19, 25, 26, &c. Ib. vii. 1, 6, 7, 8. Ib. viii. 22. Ib. x. 37, 38. Ib. xvi. 24. Ib. xviii. 22. Ib. xix. 21. Ib. xxiii. 9, 10.

Christian has made him say what he never said. But why did *Socrates* dissuade *Alcibiades* from delivering Rules and Instructions for the proper Manner of worshipping God? Why, because 'tis what the World are not likely ever to agree about; and what this boasted *Revelation* itself is unable to make even *Believers* do. The most sincere Followers of the *Charta Sacra*, have never agreed about what it teaches; so that notwithstanding this *enlightening Revelation*, they are all in the Dark, not a Soul can see by it to demonstrate its wondrous supernatural Light to another. And some think, 'tis highly necessary a new *Revelation* should be given to explain the Old; for though we give hundreds and thousands a Year to have it explained, that the whole World is not able to do it, that it might pass for heavenly Light, if there was no human Reason in the World; but that the latter puts the former out, and discovers its palpable Darkness. Alas! for the pitiful Inhabitants of that Part of the World who have miserably felt its Effects, as a Fire without Light, who have not been warmed, but burnt with it; not enlightened by the Wisdom of its *Doctrines*, but confounded and dazzled with the *Mysteries* of its *Godliness*! Ah! that the Fact was false which you have said, that "Millions of People" have fallen a Sacrifice to *Christian Piety*." Happy had it been for every *Christian Nation*, if this was a gross *Imputation of groundless Calumny*, as your Opponent calls it; but 'tis as certain a Truth, as 'tis a melancholy one. By this may be seen, of

what excellent *Servies* to Mankind their Rules and Instructions for worshipping God have been; and in what proper Manner they have been given, or brought down to us, understood, and practised all the Way. Certainly the Tree is known by its Fruits. It may be thought partial in me, as an Examiner, to say these Things; but they are the Fruits of my Examination.

Yet the Gentleman, exulting, says, as if he had proved his Points, when he has but named them, (p. 40.) *Had not the Deity immediately dictated to, and impressed upon the Mind of each Writer, the Matters specified above, (or before) by what natural Causes could it have happened, that this Collection of Writings (the New Testament) should be so vastly different from all others, and so greatly exceed them, as to comprehend in it a Republication of the true original Religion of Reason and Nature, exactly distinguished and separated from all the Corruptions which Polytheism, Idolatry, and Superstition, had introduced and mingled with it; and bring to Light primæval Truths, that had been hid from Ages and Generations. And yet the DEISTS, the only People in the World that adhere to the true original Religion of Reason and Nature, and are separated from all the Corruptions here mentioned, cannot find in it these primæval Truths boasted of, therefore this Boasting is not good, because it is the mere Compliment of his humble Devotion paid to his dear Paper Idol.*

Come on, my Friend, let us follow our Leader, to see if he follows Truth; his genteel Address makes even Error look like it,

it, as well as the *seeming Reason* with which he clothes his Arguments, which, without all doubt, appear cogent to the *Believer*; for they shew the *great Abilities* of the Man, in that he maintains a very bad Position, with very great Art. He has indeed the labouring Oar, who maintains Error against Truth, *hic labor hoc opus est*, whereas Reason and Nature render the Work easy, and the Steps that trace them are pleasant.

We are now to take for granted the *moral Characters* of unknown Persons, and upon this Foundation we are to allow that they inserted no Doctrines as grounded on Divine Authority, but such as were really so; and to suppose otherwise, is an ungenerous, unjust Suspicion. This is, I must own, a most complaisant Method of gaining a Point, and complimenting away a Man's Understanding. It displays extremely much the Gentleman, but not the Philosopher. Or, indeed, it looks like attempting to get that by Begging, which cannot be got by Labour. Let the Wisdom and Truth of the Doctrines speak for themselves, let their Nature and Tendency shew the Spirit that inspired them; nothing else can do it: To attempt any other Proof, is doing nothing to the Purpose.

A further Argument, and as fruitless as the former, your Opponent advances, is, that the *Consistency of all the Gospel Doctrines* is a weighty Argument, that the several Writers have not confounded their own private Conceptions with the Doctrines they received by Divine Inspiration. Was there any Weight in this Argument, it might be easily proved against

them, that neither the *History* nor *Doctrines* are consistent. I own that the *evangelical Physicians* with us have a Way of *Plastering* up old Sores, but they cannot heal them. Stories may be related, and Doctrines delivered so as to be very consistent, without any Truth in either; nay, though the one may appear to be *highly probable*, and the other *seemingly reasonable*, yet this is no Proof of the *Veracity* of either; but if *Inconsistencies* plainly appear, 'tis a weighty Argument against their being of Divine Authority.

The last remaining Circumstance he asserts, is, that the *original Scriptures* have been faithfully transmitted down to us. That is more than any Man alive can be sure of. How is this possible to be proved, when the original Copies, and writers are unknown. 'Tis not certainly known *where, when, by whom, and in what Language*, they were first written. All the Accounts we have of them is, by the most uncertain Traditions of a Church, notorious in every Age for Lies and Forgery, and through the Hands of Sects and Factions, that have ever, from the first Age of the Church, condemned each other for *Interpolations*, and forging evangelical Histories, apostolic Acts, Epistles, and Revelations, which were not separated till much later Ages; and all that has been received for canonical, has not been so made, till Time had worn out the Objections against them, and Power had destroyed those Objections. There is not remaining any one Book in the New Testament, but some *Christian Sect* has condemned. The uppermost Sect was always

always *Orthodox*, and have destroyed both *Books* and *Men*, that have been against them, when they have had them in their Power. It was *Authority*, and the *prevailing Opinion*, more than *Reason* or *Divine Inspiration*, were the Rules of determining what they since call the *True* from the *Spurious*. That the original Scriptures have not been faithfully transmitted down to us, I have elsewhere shewn. 'Twas more than a Century before the Gospels were made public; therefore 'tis a Question if they had any apostolic Original: And since 'tis confessed by Believers themselves, from the earliest Ages, that there have been Corruptions in the Text itself; and even with us, there are perpetually Objections to the Translations of it, that 'tis otherwise in the Original, and that the Originals (so called) have various Readings. The *Christians* reading in their Churches the Gospels and Epistles that we have, is no Proof of their being genuine; they also read those that are counted *spurious*, as well as those that Time and Authority have called genuine. When these Things, and a thousand more like these, have been insinuated and answered a thousand Times over, nothing can prove *Divine Inspiration* better than its own *Divine Nature*, and *intrinsic Worth*.

This Gentleman tells us, (p. 44.) that *Tertullian* seems to assert, that several Originals were remaining in his Time, which was in the third Century. I make no doubt of it, but doubt much if they had one Century of Existence before his Time.

Again, *The Sense of the Gospel*

has oftentimes been sadly perverted, but the Text has been transmitted pure and untainted to this Day; then it was impure and tainted in the Original, as appears by the *Inconsistencies* and *unintelligible Matters* therein contained. Indeed, a *Deist* will say, he thought as much, that what Alterations it has received, has been made to mend it; but that 'tis as much above human Learning to do, as its Birth was below its Production. But how has the Gospel Text been transmitted pure and untainted to the People, when some *Papists* and *Protestants* accuse each other of a corrupt Translation?

(P. 45.) Our *Christian Advocate* insinuates, that *St. Matthew*, and the other Evangelists, were equally qualified, and equally disposed to give a *punctual Account* of the Religion of *JESUS CHRIST*, as *Plato* and *Xenophon* were to give a true Representation of the Religion of their Master *Socrates*. Then the Evangelists were as learned and wise as *Plato* and *Xenophon*, or *Plato* and *Xenophon* were as unlearned and ignorant as they. The contrary we have been all along taught; but it seems we are taught any Thing that will establish the Credit of those that must be established, as it best suits the Argument and the Times; one Thing To-day, and another To-morrow.

He goes on; that the Substance of all *Christian Doctrines* and *Duties* originally contained in the New Testament, our present Copies correspond as exactly with their Originals, as those of the *Grecian Writers* above-mentioned do with theirs. What in Reason then can be expected

pected better than it is? If the *Original* be plain and pure, what need has it of *Explanations*? For can *Man's Learning* mend *God's Wisdom*? If it be not, that which is originally and naturally bad, no *Explanations* can make good, without changing its original Nature; which is destroying the *Original* by altering it. If it be divinely pure, or not, the World of learned *Gentlemen*, that take such infinite Study to explain it, at such an immense Charge, may save themselves the Pains, and other good People the Cost; for if it be, we need them not; and if it be not, let them leave us to the Guidance of *Dame Nature*, and the Government of good Laws.

Now it seems we are come to a Period in this Matter, because what follows is a new Subject, which concerns only the peculiar Doctrines of *Christianity*; one of which has been already considered, viz. THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS, which though you say affects but a PART, your *Christian Adversary* is of another Opinion; His Words to you are these; *What Part, I pray, what single Doctrine of Christianity does the Trial of the Wit-*

nesses affect? Nothing less than the *Resurrection of Jesus Christ*; a Doctrine which, by the plainest and most notorious Consequence, affects the WHOLE CAUSE; a Doctrine with which the Truth of all *Christianity* is so inseparably connected, that they must confessedly stand or fall together; therefore, I think I may be excused from meddling with any other Parts at this Time, till that is ACTUALLY answered; which I believe will not be, 'till he comes again in Glory; and then all our Objections will be perfectly answered; our human Reason be eternally baffled, and hide itself in everlasting Confusion. But we are advised to judge nothing before the Time, or before that Time come; but, in the mean Time, let us proceed to examine, in order to sift out Truth from Error, in every Thing necessary, that falls in our Way.

I am,

and desire always to remain,

a faithful Friend and Servant

to You and Truth.

POST-

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Have met with a *little Author*, written in Favour of the *Great Observer* on St. Paul, who says, *Deists do not examine*; but he expresses himself according to his *little Wit*, for it is Examination and Reason that makes Men sincerely *Deists* or *Moral Philosophers*. For my own Part, I can safely say, that if I had never *seriously thought*, and *strictly examined*, I had not been a *Disbeliever*. Men never render themselves more contemptible, than when they assert gross Falshoods. I think, he that has an honest Heart has the Root of the Matter in him. Let Men say what they will, and wrangle about Religion as they please, which they most shamefully do, who would have Men believe those Things to be true that has not the Appearance of Truth, nor can be so made to appear to an honest Heart and a discerning Eye, by all the Art of Man, the Art of evermore *new translating* and *new transforming* Scripture by different Words and Explications; which are only so many Shifts and Evasions, to avoid the Light that discovers their Darkness: And since every one hath their different

Expositions, and always find new ones, when newly pressed with the evident and apparent Sense. The same manner of dealing will vindicate as well the *Alcoran*, or any Book in the World, as the Bible: And that Scripture, or Book, which wants such Methods of Vindication, shews it wants mending, is defective and erroneous.

I have now said all that I desire to say on these Subjects, which will be Testimonies to After-times, of the *extensive, glorious, and happy Freedom* these Times enjoy, to the *eternal Honour* of that GOVERNMENT which gives it, and of his present MAJESTY, who is the *Protector* of all our civil and religious Rights and Liberties, never sufficiently to be valued by a grateful Heart, and a thankful Receiver; for nothing can render a People more passionately *fond of their Country*, nor more *dutiful to their Prince and Governors*, than the happy Enjoyment of *reasonable Liberty*, of all Things the most desirable, and the most valuable to all those that can taste and enjoy the Blessings and Benefits of it.

(4)

S O C I A L B L I S S

C O N S I D E R E D :

In MARRIAGE and DIVORCE; COHABITING
UNMARRIED, and PUBLIC WHORING.

C O N T A I N I N G,

Things necessary to be known by all that seek mutual
Felicity, and are ripe for the Enjoyment of it.

W I T H

The SPEECH of Miss POLLY BAKER ; and Notes thereon.

——— *Man when created,
At first alone, long wandered up and down,
Forlorn and silent as his Vassal Beast ;
But when a Heav'n-born Maid to him appear'd,
Strange Passion fill'd his Eyes, and fir'd his Heart,
Unloos'd his Tongue, and his first Talk was Love.*

O T W A Y.

L O N D O N :

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

THOSE that are worthy to know, and enjoy the Rights of human Nature, and the righteous Liberties of Mankind, will make a right Use of them: To those it is given to understand and believe Truths hid from them, whom Reason cannot set free from the Fetters of a false Faith.

There are Men of such unnatural gloomy Sects, who believe, that God and Nature take different Sides, that Piety consists in the Mortification of natural Appetites in Practice, and the Dictates of Reason in Matters of Belief, that maintain an everlasting War with themselves and Rebellion against Nature, *to mortify the Flesh with its Affections and Lusts*; hence reasonable Pleasure is condemned and prohibited; though God has given these natural Affections and Lusts to be gratified with Reason, to make Life sweet and agreeable, that Man may be better able to bear the Bitter and Sour that is in it, to keep his Mind chearful from Gloominess and Despondency, and render his Disposition chearful and easy. For the Sake of Rest, Man endures Labour; and for the Pleasures of Love, the Fatigue and Disquietudes of bringing up a Family. Since we are thrown into Life, and must accept of it so long as we are in it, *for better for worse*; let us enjoy the *better*, as well as the *worse*, as much as our Nature and Circumstances with Reason will permit, or else the Yoke of Life will not be very *easy*, nor the Burden *light*. If we have not a moderate Share of the Good, as well as of the Evil in Life, 'tis not worth our having.

If God is offended with Things that do, or do not offend Man, and cannot affect him, he must be the most unhappy of all Beings. We can therefore be only *said* to offend God, when we break his Laws; and Laws contrary to our Nature, our Reason and Fitness of Things for our Benefit and Satisfaction in general, are not those Laws that he has given us for our Conduct?

Yet such a moody Generation have many of the Religious been, as to imagine, they please God most, when they most displeased themselves; but they that deny themselves all the innocent Gratifications of Sense, what are they the better? Do they oblige or benefit God, or Man, or themselves, by their wayward Actions?

O

Religion

Religion has been made to consist in a denial of those Things most, that please the most, to make it *supernatural*; otherwise it is meer natural Religion, but if we were supernatural Beings, it might be good Reasoning. Notwithstanding all these mighty Pretensions, the Nature and Proneness of Men and Women to embrace each other, is so fitted and disposed as God will have it, and gratifying the Appetites and Desires they have in common, tends to their common Good; and notwithstanding what all Men can say, or do, Nature is invincible and will be obeyed. It is the Judge or Measure in Man, of what is Good and Evil to Man.

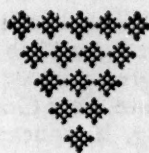
Love and Society, which are the greatest Felicities in human Life, unnatural Religion endeavours to destroy, by forbidding the mutual Harmony of the different Sex, and cloistering them up separate from Society and the World; so that Society and the World receive no Benefit from their Being which they can withhold; whereby *this* World is but little in their Debt, and 'twill be well for them if the *next* World be more in their Debt.

What is more natural to young People than to desire to be married, and what can be more commendable and for the good of Man, when it happens well? What worse when it happens ill? Why then ought not Marriage to be encouraged, and Divorce allowed? Yet Marriage is only permitted by St. Paul to prevent Fornication; or rather he permits married Persons to enjoy one another for that Reason. 1 Cor. vii. 1, 2. *It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman; nevertheless, to avoid Fornication, let every Man have his own Wife, and every Woman have her own Husband.* And verse 5. *Defraud not one another, except it be with Consent for a Time, that you may give yourselves to Fasting and to Prayer, and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your Incontinency.* Were it not for Satan's Temptations, the Defrauding one another would be no Fraud: 'Tis the Fear of him that makes Saints honest. That he recommends Celibacy rather than Matrimony, I think, cannot be denied, Ver. 7, 8, 9. *I would that all Men were even as I myself; but every one hath his proper Gift of God, one after this Manner and another after that. I say therefore to the Unmarried and Widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I; but if they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.* So, ver. 38. *He that giveth his Virgin in Marriage, doth well; but he that giveth her not, doth better.* You evidently see Celibacy is preferred to Matrimony. And ver. 39, 40. *The Wife is bound by the Law as long as the Husband liveth; but if her Husband be dead, she is at Liberty to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord. But she is happier, if she so abide after my Judgment, and I think also I have the Spirit of God,* 1 Tim. v. 11. *The younger Widows refuse, for when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ they will marry, having Damnation, because they cast off their first Faith.* So that according to the Doctrine of St. Paul, when People are ripened to the Sense of Feeling, and find the glowing Warmth of all inspiring Nature kindling them to Love and Procreation, it is notwithstanding Good, if they can possibly forbear,

not to touch each other. A Doctrine destructive of mutual Happiness, and if it could be practised by all, would depopulate Mankind, and finish human Race. Why then were the different Sex made? Why is Copulation sinful only in Man? Why have they such strong Propensities to it, that they run all Hazards for the Sake of Enjoyment? Why have they when mature and in the most perfect State of Health, such Impulse to it, as is next to invincible? If the Action be evil, why was there not another Way found out of producing the human Species? If it be proper to thank God for our Existence, is it proper to blame the Means or Instruments he makes use of to accomplish the End, for which we give Thanks. If it be evil to give Pain to, or take away Life from any of the human Kind; is not the contrary a Good, *viz.* to give Pleasure, produce Life, and maintain the Production. A Nature and Consequence opposite to Evil must be Good; for opposite Natures cannot both be evil, unless they are Extremes, and the Good consists in a Medium, but in the present Case, a Medium is Indolence, and consists in doing neither, or nothing. If therefore one be condemnabale, the other should be commendable. But though unmarried People's begetting and bringing up Children, is not a laudable Action by our Laws; yet is not the Charge and Trouble, which is the Consequence of the Action, Punishment enough? If such do no Injury to themselves, they do none to the Public. 'Tis not good to bring Children into Being, without taking Care of that Being: For Creatures had better never be, than be miserable. Therefore to beget Children in Wedlock, and not to provide for them, cannot be good; to produce and provide for them, though not in Wedlock, cannot be evil. What then is it sanctifies one more than the other, when both are equally good to their Offspring, but human Law? To be the Means of giving Existence, is with respect to Man a Thing of Chance; therefore what Good attends it, is in Parents taking Care of their Offspring, by educating them according to their Ability: What Duty is due from Children to their Parents is for this, not for their Existence. To beget a Child is neither a good nor evil Action in itself, the Means or meer Action is barely following the Impulse of Nature; but the Good or Evil of it is according to the Circumstances attending it. Life in itself is neither Good nor Evil; the Good that is in Being, is in Well-being; and the Evil of it, lies in being miserable. Marriage does not make the Begetters of Children Parents, more than Nature does; they that are properly so, discharge their Part to their Offspring, and deserve no Blame. Doctrines that prevent Marriage as much as possible, and when they cannot prevent, make it miserable, by refusing Redress to the Unhappy, are Doctrines of such Piety as consist in Rebellion against Nature, which must have very pernicious Effects: For Nature will be obeyed, and ought to be so under the Conduct of Reason.

I own myself pretty much indebted to that sublime Reasoner as well as Poet, Mr. JOHN MILTON, on the Subject of Divorce: And the Quotations which have no Author, are his; to which my own

Experience of happy and unhappy Wedlock hath been no small Incitement. The following feeling Arguments flow from one that has had a two-fold Experience in matrimonial Bonds of Bliss and Misery, Love and Envy, Honour and Contempt in States as contrary as Light and Darkneſs, and as wide as Heaven and Hell, that have been like the Years of Plenty and Famine in *Egypt*; ſo that the former Plenty was forgotten by the following Famine, or like the rich Man in Torment with a Retrospection of paſt Felicity, never more to return; the once joyous Days of Affection and Felicity, eclipsed by a ſullen Conſtellation of malignant Influence, bringing Confuſion within Doors and without. Let Silence conceal the reſt. *Tell it not in Gath, publiſh it not in Aſkelon, leſt the Daughters of Rebellion rejoice, and the Daughters of Wantonneſs and Ingratitude triumph.*



S O C I A L

S O C I A L B L I S S

C O N S I D E R E D :

THE Words to which we are referred by *Jesus Christ*, as the original Institution of Marriage, are in *Genesis ii.* where the Lord God is represented as having first made Adam to live by himself like a Batchelor, perhaps that he might know the Difference between that and a married State, and how the Addition of a social Mate heightened his Bliss. Whether it be true or not, as a History, it administers a very delicate Fable, or Parable; for from thence most excellent Lessons for matrimonial Comfort and Instruction may be collected.

The Passage affords proper Subject for Meditation, to all those that are already entered, or would enter into matrimonial Engagements: And this is sufficient for my present Purpose.

In *Genesis ii, 18, &c.* it is given us thus: *And the Lord God said, it is not good that Man should be alone; I will make an Help-meet for him.*

Ver. 21. *And the Lord God caused a deep Sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his Ribs, and closed up the Flesh instead thereof.*

22. *And the Rib which the Lord God had taken from Man made he a Woman, and brought her unto the Man.*

23. *And Adam said, this is now Bone of my Bones, and Flesh of my Flesh: She shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.*

24. *Therefore shall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and shall cleave unto his Wife: And they shall be one Flesh.*

25. *And they were both naked, the Man and his Wife, and were not ashamed.*

I have selected this Passage for my Meditation, not as a natural History, but as a divine Fable; the moral of which, I intend to shew, is fraught with the most useful Lessons for matrimonial Happiness.

It is well known that the Wisdom of the Ancients was delivered in Allegories, and the Wise only understood their Meaning. This was done, perhaps, to inform Men that the Fountain of Wisdom conceals itself under the Veil of created Objects, that constantly presenting themselves to their bodily Senses pass and repass before them, and are not reflected on with any Depth of Thought but by Men of Penetration and Insight; these only see the Lord in his Sanctuary: That is, God in his Creatures. Any other manner of seeing God we seek in vain, for a different or distinct Vision of him from this, no Man ever did or can see. It is adhering so strictly,

and contending so zealously, for what Men know nothing of, ~~the~~ the Truth of the Letter in all its Parts, which makes People formally religious and no more; and by this Means they lose what they contend for, Religion itself, or the true Spirit, Life and Essence of it. And by Reason of the Intricacy and Unusfulness of the Argument to answer this plain and useful End, in going about to convince biblical Infidels of the Veracity of the Letter which they call sacred, they make many more Infidels, and confirm those that are *; because the Reasonings and Circumstances that appear in this Age, can in no wise illustrate or corroborate Things of a different Kind; of which, no Tract of Proof remains in the present State of Things; and Men of no vulgar Inspection will not be deluded by distant Prospects and Representations, which being differently and closely perceived by their natural Light, must necessarily appear to them as fictitious, with Fig-leaf Coverings. I shall therefore take another Course, not to persuade Disbelievers out of their Senses, or differently than their common Sense persuades them and prevails with them to conceive; but to employ their Conceptions aright in an useful and proper Manner, without their being over-awed by Authority, or deluded by Enthu-

siasm, from making a true Judgment of Things, and drawing therefrom rational and useful Deductions.

We are not to suppose by the Passage of this antique Scripture before cited, because the God is represented saying, *It is not good for Man to be alone*, that the making of Woman was an Afterthought in God, when he had tried how Man would be in a lonely State, as might be suggested from the History; this is a Thought unbecoming us of Deity: But that Divine Wisdom gives the Preference of human Happiness to a matrimonial State, and has given Woman for the solace and delight of Man. She is to be a Remedy against Loneliness, to be chearful and gay, to comfort and delight him. This shews us, that the End and Design of Matrimony is to add to Man's Felicity; therefore when this End proves abortive, the Means are of no Value; and that Matrimony, which does not add to Man's Happiness, is not of a Divine Institution: There is nothing sacred nor moral, nor any good Policy in it. A moral Institution not effecting a moral End, is of no moral Validity; and therefore ought to be rectified to make it effective, or be esteemed (as it is) of no Force or Consequence.

It is not good that Man should be alone; therefore it was not the Design

* As the Apostle says of others; *In going about to establish their own Righteousness, they have not submitted to the Righteousness of God.* Where's the Necessity of making the Belief of human History a Part of Religion, if Men may be made virtuous and pious without such Belief? Is it not contending more for the Covering, than the Body; and neglecting the one Thing needful? Nay, it is despising or neglecting a Pearl, for a Barley-corn; and, by contending for the Shadow, like *Asep's* Dog in the Fable, the Substance is lost.

Design of Divine Wisdom that Man should live a lonely Life, without the friendly and comfortable Aid of Female Help: Therefore said God, *I will make a Help-meet, or fit for him.* This shews us what a true Wife is, or what a Wife ought to be, a *Help* fit for the Man she has: She must be a Help, and a proper Help, or she is no Wife, though she may bear the Name; and if she is no Wife, the Man is not married, he is not in the State of Matrimony; it is in the Nature of the Thing, and ought to be in Fact declared null and void; and consequently such a Man has a right to seek him a Wife, one that is a Help proper for him; for the former Bands are broke, the Covenant is void, because the Conditions are not performed: For *it is not good that Man should be alone*, and seeing he finds his Wants as great as before, and his Loneliness in formal Matrimony not cured in one, he has a Right to seek his own Good in another, by dissolving that which Nature had before dissolved, for that is by this declared invalid, and to have lost its Force, having not the intrinsic Goodness it ought to have. And *it is not good that Man should be alone*, but have a *Help-meet for him*: He that hath not a proper Help in a Female is alone, or in a lonely uncomfortable State, which it is not good for him to be in.

God made Woman for Man, and gave her to him, to be the Solace and Comfort of his Life: She therefore that is an Assistant, a fit and proper Aid and Comforter to a Man, is a Wife. I think it requires some peculiar Explanation to make these Words of

God, viz. *It is not good for Man to be alone*, and those of St. Paul to harmonize, *It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman.* But of this, and why Men generally find Misery in a matrimonial State designed by Nature for their Happiness, and what is the Remedy, I intend in the Sequel to shew.

And the Lord God caused a deep Sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept. The Production of Woman was not intended to give Man Pain, but to obtund his Pains with growing Pleasure. *And he slept*: Man being on the Brink of Matrimony becomes contemplative, he is thrown into a musing State. *And he took one of his Ribs*: All Nature is then at work within him. *And he closed up the Flesh instead thereof*: Love softens the Nature of Man. *And the Rib which the Lord God had taken from Man made he a Woman*: The Nature of Man and Woman is as nearly the same, as a Man's Rib is to his Body. This in general; but more particularly, this was to make Adam a Wife. A Man's Wife therefore, is to be considered as a Part of his own Body; but this cannot be in a natural and moral Sense, unless one Nature and Confederate moral Conduct be in both; if both love alike, both will agree to act alike. The Heart is defended with the Ribs, a Wife indeed is the Defender and Preserver of her Husband's Heart, not only by engrossing his whole Heart, and guarding the Avenues of his Love and Life, but by her softness and Pliableness; healing every Wound, or relieving every Pain that affects his Heart, *He closed up the Flesh in Room thereof.* Her soft

endearing Nature closes up every Breach, heals the most dangerous Discord, and mollifies the most pungent Affliction. *And brought her to the Man*: This double-refin'd human Nature, this charming Form of Complaisancy and Delight, the finish'd Piece of this Orb of Creatures, replete with every shining Grace and necessary Virtue yet wanting in Man to fill up the Measure of his Happiness, was given to Woman; and Woman for this End was given to Man. Nature could go no higher, could produce no greater Work, nor Man could more desire.

And Adam said, This is bone of my Bones, and Flesh of my Flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Adam knew her Original, by her Form and Nature, so like himself; and consequently her Behaviour was so pleasing, that he pronounced her to be his own. This appears to be all the simple Form of Ceremony, by which they were united. We do not read that God acted the Part of a Priest to join them together, only that of a Father to the young Woman, in giving her away. *For he brought her to the Man*: Therefore the Father's Consent with the Damsel, I conceive to be Ceremony sufficient to consecrate Matrimony. If a Man thus take a Woman, and declares her before God, or before good Witness, to be his Wife, is all I can find in the original Institution. But the present Circumstances of Things generally makes some particular Conditions or Covenants necessary.

A Woman who is a Meet-help to a Man, the Comfort and Solace of his Life, that is, *as Bone of his*

Bones, and Flesh of his Flesh; or as if she was taken out of him, that is as dear to him as his own Flesh and Blood and Bones, is a joining worthy of God: From such a Wife a Man would as soon break one of his Bones, as be divorced. One Flesh and Bone is one Body, and one Body will have one Soul; her Existence must seem to be from him, and his Life to be bound up in her.

Therefore shall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and shall cleave unto his Wife, and they shall be one Flesh. Such as are so united, are of God's joining. To such a Wife as has been described, a Man becomes nearer related in soul or Affection than to his Father or Mother, from whom his Body and Soul descended. By the Time Children come to a State of Maturity, the Affection between them and their Parents is much lessened; then a new Affection is raised and increased towards a Wife, with whom, when there is an union in Spirit, it is a Joining, fit to be ascribed to him who is a Spirit. There can be no nearer Relation, than such who are so joined. He that before was one Flesh of his Parents, is now become one Flesh with his Wife; as if all that is dear now centered in her, they are one Flesh in Likeness of Nature, in Fitness of Mind, and Disposition. The same Flesh must have the same Spirit; the same Soul must be in both, they cannot otherwise be united as one Flesh. "As the
"Unity of Minds is greater than
"that of Bodies, so the Dissimilitude is greater, the Difference
"and Distinction more unlike.
"The Likeness or Unlikeness in
"The

“ human Nature joins or disjoins
 “ the human Kind irresistibly.
 “ A Man cannot leave Father and
 “ Mother and cleave to a no-
 “ thing, to a worse than nothing,
 “ to an Adversary. Can any
 “ Law be so unreasonable or in-
 “ human to make Men cleave to
 “ Calamity, to Misery, to Ruin!”
 When the Parties joining are only
 of Man’s joining, that is, with-
 out the essential Property of a ce-
 menting Nature; as is too gene-
 rally the Case, when the Regard
 is had to Mammon, or to gender
 only, what is it better than Cove-
 touness or Whoredom?

I come now to consider the last
 Verse of the Passage before cited,
 which says, *And they were both
 naked, the Man and his Wife, and
 were not ashamed.* The Needless-
 ness of this Expression shews some
 deeper Sense is aimed at in this
 Matter than what is barely nar-
 rative; what need had the Wri-
 ter, as an Historian, to add these
 Words; for this must be neces-
 sarily understood, and known by
 every Reader, they were Husband
 and Wife, Mr. Adam and Mrs.
*Adam**, and there was neither
 Man nor Woman to see them na-
 ked as they were; of what then
 should they be ashamed? But the
 mystical, spiritual and internal
 Sense is, that they were both in-
 nocent before God, and knew no
 Evil in their Enjoyments, there-
 fore were not conscious of Guilt.
Adam was roused to Fruition at
 the great Call of Nature, and *Eve*
 spontaneously acquiesced without
 Offence. In this they obeyed the
 Command of the Lord God, *In-*

crease and multiply: Thus they an-
 swered the End of their Maker’s
 Will, and sinned not.

The Ceremonies of Marriage
 are various, among various Na-
 tions and People; but whatever
 they are, they are but Ceremo-
 nies, which Law and Custom on-
 ly make necessary, and are the
 least Part of Matrimony; there-
 fore those that act towards each
 other on the Principles of natural
 Honesty, without any Tie but
 that of Conscience and constant
 Affection, though they sin in-
 deed against the Custom of the
 Country, yet not to God, before
 whom *they walk naked and are not
 ashamed.* And though Men may
 endeavour to put those to Shame
 that transgress the Laws of Men,
 yet the Generality of those that
 submit to human Impositions, in-
 consistent with the Reason and
 Nature of the matrimonial State,
 are forced to own in the secret
 Sense and Sorrow of their Souls,
 if not in Words, that *it is a Yoke,*
which neither they nor their Fathers
were ever able to bear; that is to
 say, such is the ill-coupling of
 unfit Persons, who are neither
 paired in Bodies, nor matched in
 Minds, it is most barbarous con-
 fining them in a State worse than
Algerine Slavery during Life. All
 that I intend to plead for, is a
 reasonable Liberty of obeying the
 righteous Laws of God and Na-
 ture, that are consistent with hu-
 man Happiness, the great End
 designed in a matrimonial State:
 And whatever Customs do by
 their natural Consequence frustrate
 that End, do also make void the
 Insti-

* *Genesis v. 2. Male and Female created he them, and blessed them, and call-
 ed their name Adam, in the Day when they were created.*

Institution, which originally aiming at the Happiness of the contracting Parties is subverted, and consequently annulled, when, by vicious Law or Custom, it generally and naturally tends to their Unhappiness. But I intend not hereby to excite any to evil Practice, but to set in a clear Light what virtuous Freedom ought to be enjoyed, and what natural Liberty may be indulged, consistent with private Happiness and the public Tranquility. Virtuous Actions do not arise from Constraint, but from natural Instinct, pure Motives, and human Affections.

I have considered the original Institution of Matrimony, or what is recommended to us for such; and have found the true Nature of it in the Qualifications of a Wife, from what is given us as the History of the first Adam, the supposed Father of Mankind: I intend next to consider, what (as we are told) the second Adam (as he is called) has said on this Subject:

The Words I intend to consider, are in *Matthew* xix. v. 3. to the 12th.

3. *The Pharisees also came unto him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for every Cause?*

4. *And he answered and said unto them, have ye not read, that he which made them at the Beginning made them Male and Female?*

5. *And said, for this Cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife; and they Twain shall be one Flesh.*

6. *Wherefore they are no more Twain, but one Flesh; what there-*

fore God hath joined together let not Man put asunder.

7. *They say unto him, why did Moses then command to give a Writing of Divorcement, and put her away?*

8. *He saith unto him, Moses, because of the Hardness of your Hearts, suffered you to put away your Wives; but from the Beginning it was not so.*

9. *And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and shall marry another, committeth Adultery; and whoso marieth her, which is put away, doth commit Adultery.*

10. *His Disciples say unto him, If the Case of a Man be so with his Wife, it is not good to marry.*

11. *But he said unto them, all Men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.*

12. *For there are some Eunuchs, which were so born, from their Mother's Womb; and there are some Eunuchs which are made Eunuchs of Men; and there be Eunuchs which have made themselves Eunuchs, for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake: He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*

St. Mark, chap. x. relates it thus:

Ver. 2. And the Pharisees came to him, and asked him, Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife? Tempting him.

3. *And he answered and said unto them, what did Moses command you?*

4. *And they said, Moses suffered to write a Bill of Divorcement, and to put her away.*

5. *And Jesus answered and said*
unto

unto them, for the Hardness of your Heart he wrote you this Precept.

6. But from the Beginning of the Creation God made them Male and Female.

7. For this Cause shall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife.

8. And they Twain shall be one Flesh; so then they are no more Twain, but one Flesh.

9. What therefore God hath joined together let not Man put asunder.

10. And in the House the Disciples asked him again of the same Matter.

11. And he saith unto them, whosoever shall put away his Wife, and marry another, committeth Adultery against her.

12. And if a Woman shall put away her Husband, and be married to another, she committeth Adultery.

It is evident that these two Relations of the same Fact do not exactly agree. The Question put by the Pharisees, is not the same in one as in another; nor Christ's Answer to them the same; nor do the Words cited agree with those they refer to; therefore, whatever Error may be found in them, said to be spoken by Jesus Christ, is not to be attributed to him, but to the Writers: For the Disagreement of a Relation shews the Imperfection of the Relaters; and that they had not a critical Regard to Truth or Knowledge of it, as its professed Promulgators ought to have. But these, tho' Saints, were Men; and, as Men, were liable to err: Therefore they (or some others in their Name, which is still more likely) might possibly deliver to us, as the Words of Christ, such Words as were ne-

ver spoken by him. This I am necessitated to acknowledge, to clear our Lord of speaking such Words as never Man spake that were spake becoming a Man, which are ascribed in some of the foregoing Words to him, and which are not true, compared with the Original referred to, nor right in the Nature of Things.

It may be thought by some, that the Errors here complained of, are small, and therefore ought to have been softly passed over; or that, however, it does not deserve so severe a Censure. I would willingly make the best of it, even by spiritualizing the Letter away, if the Case would allow it; but this Discourse of Jesus Christ and the Pharisees is not of that Nature to bear such Usage, without committing Violence to the Text; and the Text is of such Sort, as will upon Examination appear to be given by the Spirit of the Church, a Spirit, that under a Pretence of extraordinary refin'd Sanctity, is destructive of human Happiness and human Existence; and therefore I cannot suppose Jesus Christ the Author of this Discourse, which in Matthew and Mark is ascribed to him.

The Question asked Jesus Christ by the Pharisees in Matthew and Mark, is not the same. In the former it is, *Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife, for EVERY Cause?* In the Latter, the Question seems to be, *Whether a Man may put away his Wife for ANY Cause?* As there is a vast Difference between these Questions, so they require a different Answer; the former a Negative, the latter a Positive one; because it is not fit to indulge a capricious Humour

Humour with too arbitrary a Power; but a reasonable Authority to punish incorrigible Offenders, is necessary in every Sort of Government: And as it is not fit a Man should gratify a peevish Temper for every slight Occasion, so it is not fit he should be obliged to bear all Abuses, Insults and constant Provocations from an implacable Spirit, without Ability to remedy his Condition. Nor is it more tolerable on the Woman's Side, that has the Misfortune to be daily abused by an unnatural Brute, falsely called a Husband.

St. Mark says, the Pharisees asked Jesus this Question, *tempting him*. I suppose, he means, to try or know his Judgment, he being, as 'tis said or supposed, of the Sect of the *Essenes*, who professed a Community of Goods, and shunned all Pleasures, even Marriage, and all carnal Copulation with Women; from whence, perhaps, the Christian Monkery took its rise. I must own, it is *tempting* the Reader to know what St. Mark means by the Words *tempting him*.

And, saith Matthew, *he answered and said unto them, have ye not read, that he which made them at the Beginning, made them Male and Female; and said, for this Cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife, and they Two shall be one Flesh?* Had I been one of the Pharisees, I should have replied, No certainly, we have not read any such Thing, that he who made Man at the Beginning said these Words, for where we have these Words in *Genesis* (which have been already considered) they either appear to be the Words of *Adam*, or of the

Writer; not of *Adam's Maker*. Its plain, the Writers of the New Testament were not well acquainted with the Old, by most Things they cite from thence.— This Citation is false, and falsely applied; therefore these are not the Words of the Lord Jesus, who knew all Things, but of the ignorant Writer, who knew not what he was writing about, and refer to a History that they did not understand.

Now, if the Foundation which the Argument is built on is wrong, then the Argument is false, and the Consequence drawn from it erroneous. Here it says, *because God made Man Male and Female, therefore Man shall leave his Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife*. In *Genesis* it says no such Thing: There we read, that *Adam* said, *This is now Bone of my Bones, and Flesh of my Flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and cleave unto his Wife, and they shall be one Flesh*. 'Tis not clear, whether the latter Verse contains the Words of *Adam*, or of the Historian; but 'tis very clear they are not the Words of *Adam's Maker*. In *Matthew* and *Mark*, 'tis said, *God created Man Male and Female, and for this Cause shall a Man leave his Father and Mother and cleave to his Wife*. Is the Difference of Gender then all that is necessary for Matrimony? And is it for *this Cause* that God has joined them together, and no Man must put them asunder? Are we admonished not to marry, merely for the Gratification of carnal Lust; and is this, notwithstanding, represented to be the sole Cause why a Man should leave Father and Mother, and cleave

cleave to his Wife? Why may he not, for the same Reason, cleave to a Harlot? If this be a sufficient Qualification for God's joining, these also are joined together by him: For St. Paul says, *he that is joined to a Harlot is one Flesh*. Therefore God's creating them Male and Female is not the true and sole Cause that constitutes Man and Wife; therefore the meer joining Male to Female, is not what is meant by God's joining, and therefore we are misinformed when we are told, that *he who made them in the Beginning, made them Male and Female, and said FOR THIS CAUSE shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife*. Nor does the Formality of joining, called the Ordinance, make it of God's joining; for is all that the Parson does, God's Doings? If ever it was esteemed so, it must have been when Parsons were esteemed as Gods: None but Idolaters esteem them so now. If the Ceremony that joins them, makes it God's joining, though done by Man, let it be proved that it was ordered and prescribed of God in any other Sense than what human Laws and Ceremonies may be said to be; or that God's joining can be understood in any other Light than the Moral of the Fable in *Genesis* directs us to, which has been explained, *viz. It is not good that Man should be alone, I will make an Help-meet for him*. But the Words contain no Prohibition, that Man may not put asunder what Man puts together.

Yet what is most surprising, *Jesus Christ* (as his Words are set forth to us) so far discountenances the joining of Male and Female,

as if he intended to abolish his Father's Law, *increase and multiply*; as well as the Law of *Moses*, for Divorce: For, to prevent Marriage and Multiplication, he is said to recommend Celibacy and Mutilation; too plainly, I fear, to be denied, and too grossly to be defended, as will hereafter appear.

If the Question of the Pharisees was, as in *Matthew*, *Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for every Cause?* Then the Answer given to it carries the Matter from one Extreme to another; and *Jesus Christ* by interpreting the Law of *Moses* concerning Divorce, condemns and annuls it, if the Answer means that those joined by Men, are of God's joining; for the following Words are, *What therefore God has joined together let not Man put asunder*: This interpreting the Law of *Moses* is, as we are obliged to interpret the Gospel to expound many of its Precepts and Doctrines away, to make them agree with Reason: But the Answer of *Jesus Christ* contains an Explanation contrary to the Reason and Fitness of the Thing, if the Sense of the Text be as is commonly understood. If it is to be otherwise taken, who can be certain he hits the Truth in explaining a Text, when the Text itself appears to be so far off from the Truth, that in order to find the one, we are obliged to explain away the other.

'Tis no Wonder the *Jews* believed *Jesus* not to be of God, because they believed *Moses* was, and that he had faithfully delivered to them the Laws of God; if *Jesus* therefore signified that God had given different Laws to Men, than

than *Moses* gave; this strongly implied to them that were prepossessed in their Opinions in Favour of *Moses*, that *Jesus* was not of God, because he in Contradiction to his own Declaration that he *came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*, destroyed the Law by explaining it away. And they might probably argue, that it was impossible that God having an immutable Will (as must be the Consequence of perfect Wisdom) should give different Laws to his People at different Times: And therefore perhaps, it is, that in the sacred Book, the Law or Custom of Sacrifices is as old as *Cain* and *Abel*. On this Consideration 'tis no Wonder I say, *they could not believe*, and that God himself had by this Means *hardened their Hearts*. What a Message then was the Messiah sent about!

The Pharisees objected their Law of Divorce given by *Moses*, to those Words, *what therefore God has joined together, let not Man put asunder*. No doubt but what God does is right, and we are not to blame his Doings; but then the great Difficulty is to know what God's Doings are, distinct from Man's in this Case, if they are not to be understood in a moral Sense. In this Sense, who those are that God joins together, we have seen in the Case of *Adam* and *Eve* referred to, and consequently what Marriages are properly of God's joining; and that such Persons who are as dear to each other as their own *Flesh and Blood and Bones*, as their own Souls, all Men must own that no Man ought to put asunder. And this also implies, that such are not so

joined, who are not proper Helps to each other, but the contrary, though Male and Female: If such come together, they are not Husband and Wife, and therefore *ought to be put asunder*. Every Command given with Reason binds our Obedience no otherwise than that Reason holds, and a Command without Reason is arbitrary; against Reason, is unjust; both these bind no longer than the Power binds. But that all who are married by the Priest, are of God's joining, and therefore ought never to be parted; or that their being Male and Female is all the necessary Qualification for that Institution, cannot be the Meaning though it be the Letter of the Expression; and therefore, if these were the Words of *Christ*, he spake a great deal more, which the Transcribers or Priests have curtailed and mangled, to give it a Jesuitical Explanation for the Service of the Church; the Sons of which always make him say what serves their Turn, and to reason as weakly as they are wicked.

If Man, because they are Male and Female, are to be joined together, this Reason will ever take Place; but this is carnal Reason: Nor, if this be all that joins them, Man need not put them asunder; for they will come asunder of themselves.

Because of the Hardness of your Hearts, *Moses* wrote you this Precept of Divorce, which runs thus: *Deut. xxiv. 1. When a Man hath taken a Wife, and married her, and it came to pass that she find no Favour in his Eyes, because he hath found some Uncleaness in her; then let him write her a Bill of Divorcement, and give it in her Hand, and send*

send her out of his House. The Meaning of which, I suppose to be, that when a Woman, which a Man has taken to be his Wife, is become a filthy Creature in his Eyes, and he cannot love her, let him put her away; for this is the only Remedy to make both Parties easy, since a Woman of any good and tender Disposition must be very unhappy to see herself contemned and despised by her Husband, and consequently much better pleased to be rid of such a Husband, and throw herself into the Arms of one that she can render herself agreeable to, and will treat her with Humanity and Tenderness. And a Man the more he is constrained to live with a Woman, that is disagreeable to him, will hate her the more. That the Husband might not use this Power capriciously, *Moses* does not permit him to take her again: Therefore wisely adds, *and when she is departed out of his House, she may go and be another Man's Wife. And if the latter Husband hate her, and write her a Bill of Divorcement, and giveth it into her Hand, and sendeth her out of his House; or if the latter Husband die, which took her to be his Wife, her former Husband which sent her away may not take her again to be his Wife, after that she is defiled; for that is an Abomination before the Lord, &c.* Now, if this permissive Law was given by *Moses*, so were the rest; for after this, and several others that follow, *Chap. xxvi. 16. Moses* tells them, saying, *This Day the Lord thy God hath commanded thee to do these Statutes and Judgments.* So that *Moses* had this Law from God, as much as he had others; and therefore, whatever may be sup-

posed or insinuated of one Law, may be supposed or insinuated of all the rest.

'Tis hard to know or understand what this Saying means. *Moses, because of the Hardness of your Heart, wrote you this Precept.* If this charges *Moses* with imposing bad Laws on his Nation, in the Name of God, then he gave them Laws to please them, rather than such as were good. If God gave Man a different Law from the Beginning than *Moses* afterwards gave, that Law of *Moses* was different from the Law of God; and there can be no better Pretence for repealing it: But how this appears to be true, the Bible no where discovers. *Adam* could not put away his Wife, nor she him, and marry another, if there was not another Man nor Woman in the World; and it would be a great Reflection on him that made *Adam*, that he could not, or would not make a Woman to please him; but, on the contrary we are told, God made a *Help-meet* for him, and made her out of such Stuff as *Adam* could not chuse but Love, if he loved himself: Therefore this Instance is not applicable to the Case of Divorce, nothing can justly be reasoned from it; and that which is, appears to be in the common Sense of it, a sophistical and unintelligible Expression, not well formed from the Premises, nor applicable to the Purpose. There are scarce any Precepts or Principles, said to be delivered by *Jesus Christ*, that are not either distant from Plainness, or from Truth, if taken according to the strict Letter Sense; hence it is, that Men learn and are never the better;

better; and hence it is, that such Instructions have done little good in the World; and that the Teachers themselves cannot agree, because they cannot understand. Therefore, hitherto the Sense of this boasted Revelation is unrevealed; and therefore hath not, because it could not bring *Peace on Earth, and Good-will to Men*; but, on the contrary, *Fire and Sword*, which was willed * to be kindled by the Revealer, and ever since has been, and is ever like to be, the *everlasting Fire that never can be quenched*. So true it is, that *without a Parable spake he not unto them*, that what are delivered to us for his Words want so much expounding, that one might be almost tempted to think them delivered so darkly, as if on Purpose to oblige the Expositors and Commentators, and keep up the spiritual Traffic of the Mysteries of the Kingdom, which create Factions, Schisms and Divisions. If you ask to what End, or for what Cause then *Christ* came, he is said himself to answer: *Suppose ye that I came to give Peace on Earth, I tell you nay, but rather Division, &c.* That this has been the Consequence of his coming, Believers are forced to own: Why then may we not believe him that he came for that Purpose, if the Letter be true, since himself confesses it? But, say Infidels, As scarce any Man that intends Mischief, publicly declares it, this is as strong a Proof of Enthusiasm as can be given; and what from another Man, would shock every Reader. Can any Thing worse, say they, be said of him, than he here is reported to say of himself?

I say *reported*, for I cannot believe *Jesus Christ* said these Words; which is the only Defence I can make, because to me they seem to be indefensible. For Infidels further argue, that though this Expression may, by Art and a lucky Thought, be made to put on a spiritual Meaning, who can prove that the Speaker's Meaning (or Writer's rather) was the same as the Expounder's; why then, say they, must it be wrapt up in the Spirit, and expounded away? And if it be literally true, 'tis terrible! I must confess I cannot Answer these Objections, and therefore I put forth the Riddle to them that assisted by the Grace of *Christ* can do it, and whose Business it is so to do, who are *Ambassadors in Christ's Stead*. I must own, that I think had *Christ* uttered such an Expression, it had been Wisdom to conceal it. Methinks it is Pity he in his great Humility chose *the Fools of this World*, as he did, to be the Historians of his Life; for it must be Matter of Concern to Believers, to read in so holy a Book what cannot possibly be productive of any Good, and gives the Enemies of our blessed Lord and his holy Gospel Occasion of Reproach and Triumph. This is an ill Recommendation of the Gospel and Character of *Jesus*. But these Things should be treated tenderly, lest the Profane have them in Derision, and the Enemy, exulting say, as of pious *David* and his Men of old, *Where is now their God?* Or, as *Pilate* said of *Christ*, when crowned with Thorns, *Behold the Man*. It must be confessed, that the Doctrines even of Truth,

* Luke xii. 49.

Truth, delivered in obscure Phrases, lead the Mind from the Path of Truth, and raise up Enemies against it.

The Law that is against Divorce, is against virtuous Nature; because it hinders Nature from taking its Course, when Virtue is the only Motive that it should do so to promote a Life of Love and Virtue, which a vicious Mate is destructive of. What Law soever prevents this, cannot be good, but is injurious to human Felicity, and destructive of moral Virtue, of Religion and Humanity. The Author of such Law cannot possibly be esteemed the Redeemer, but must necessarily be judged to be the Enslaver of Mankind. To make *Christ* therefore the Author of this Law, is blaspheming his Character as a Redeemer, and degrading his Divine Dignity. For as Matrimony now is, "If we do
"but err in our Choice (the most
"unblameable Error that can be,
"being blind to future Events)
"when the mighty conjoining
"Syllables are pronounced by
"those that take upon them to
"join Heaven and Hell together
"unpardonably till Death pardons, this that looked but now
"like a Divine Blessing with a
"graceful Smile and gentle Reason, straight vanishes like a fair
"Sky, and brings on such a
"Scene of Clouds and Tempelt
"as turns all to Shipwreck,
"without a Haven or Shore, but
"ransomless Captivity." We are allowed to procure and apply physical Remedies against Diseases of the Body, and why not against Diseases of the Mind, in, and arising from a matrimonial State? And why not against the

State of Matrimony as the State of the Public? For that which is of private Concern to every one, is of public Concern to all. Do not Grievances of the State and the Mind deserve and demand our Regard and Remedy, as much as those of the Body?

When Marriage does not mend a Man's State, it mars it; if it does not cure his Lonesomeness, it makes him more lonely than a single Life, wherein a Man naturally seeks the Comfort his Condition affords, or seeks with Hope to mend it. In an uncomfortable married Condition, the Man or Woman beholds the perpetual Scene of Disappointment always present, and perpetually feels the Sense of its anguish, which disposes the unhappy Wretch to Lonesomeness, Dejection of Mind and Melancholy, to a disagreeable State of Mind and dangerous Conduct; though Male and Female have been joined: This then is not Marriage, where the Harmony of Souls is wanting.

These Things being considered, the Question will be, Whether *Moses* gave the Law of Divorce to indulge *Hardness of Heart*, or whether it is not rather *Hardheartedness* to deny the Liberty of Separation to those who are miserably joined? Is this *God's* Work that must not be undone, though it had better never have been done at all? But being done, why must all natural Means of Relief be debarred? Sure this *Prohibition* is a Demonstration of *Hardness of Heart* with a Witness. It seems to me, that it had been equally reasonable, if this Precept had been given, whom God has made miserable by Pains, Poverty,

ty, Sickness, Disease, or Wretchedness of any Kind, let no Man help or relieve; because it is God's doing. This, I think, would have been just as good, right, humane and reasonable.

Did *Moses* write the Precept of Divorce to the *Jews*, because of the *Hardness of their Hearts*; and was this Precept the Cure for that Malady? Why then did *Jesus* forbid it? If it was no Cure, why did *Moses* give it? Or did God give it as a Trial for a Cure, as a Physician in an unknown and unaccountable Distemper gives Remedies by guess, and when he finds the Prescription ill applied, or not answering the End, forbids the taking it? Men must be very stupid to assert this. But if this was not the Case, or something like it, why did God command at one Time, what he forbid at another? This is making God a mere Empiric, whose Conduct is directed by Practice and Experience; and when his own Experiments are not signed with *probatum est*, he depends on that of others. When Men cannot see Things invisible within the human Body, they may be nonplused: But if God made Man's Frame and Constitution, he must needs know what Infirmities and Failings he has made him liable to, and how to apply a proper Remedy, if he is Almighty and All-wise.

This Precept of Divorce appears as much to be the Law of God by *Moses*, as any other Laws given by *Moses* were, (the Ten Commandments excepted;) for *Moses* does not appear to have been compelled to give this Precept as a Permission by the Obstinacy of

his Nation, against his own Judgment; and as there are not the least Appearances of Reason to ground this Conjecture on, so there is no Reason to believe, that any Thing like it was the Motive which induced him to grant this Indulgence; or, that he gave it by Connivance, as a Permission, rather than a Law.

This *Hardness of Heart* being constitutional from certain Causes, Why did the Physician of Souls forbid *hard Hearts to be mollified with this Mosaic Ointment of Divorce*? *Is there no Balm in Gilead, is there no Physician there? Why then is the Health of the Daughter of my People forbid to be recovered?*

The gracious Lord *Jesus* was no Enemy to the *Adulterers*, who was taken in the very act; for he pleaded her Cause in so friendly a Manner, as though it had been the least of all Sins; * *He that is without Sin among you* (said he) *let him first cast a Stone at her*. Probably *Christ* knew the Circumstances of her Adultery, and her Penitence and Humility to be such, as rendered her worthy his being her *Advocate*; and this might have been a Trap laid against her Life, seeing she was caught in the very Act; though the Historian don't acquaint us with the Circumstances. The evangelical Writers give very lame and imperfect Accounts of Things; which have given Room for many Alterations, Interpretations, and Interpolations: Tho', these Things considered, this Precedent is not to be taken as an Encouragement to *Adultery*, as though it was the least of all Sins; yet, I think, we may make this

Appli-

* *John* viii. 7.

Application of it, not to condemn those that are guilty of this *innocent Adultery* (if it must be called Adultery), of putting away a Tormentor, and taking a delightful Companion in room thereof.

Or do these Words, *for the Hardness of your Hearts* Moses wrote you this Precept, mean, that it was necessary Men should be indulged in this Liberty in putting away their Wives, lest if they were debarred they would be hard-hearted to them, and treat them very ill? If this be what these Words mean, the Reason remains good still; because Men are not changed, their Hearts are as hard as ever; the Gospel has not softened them at all: Then the Law is good still, and founded on good Reason. Divorces were allowed to prevent worse Consequences, which is the Intention of all good Laws, they are given to prevent the greater Evils, for the best cannot prevent ALL bad Consequences; because Good and Evil are so intermixt and interwoven into the Nature of Things, that Laws for a public or general Good, are productive of some particular Evils; and Laws enacting Things injurious to the Public, are productive of Good to some particular Persons. If *Moses* gave a Command that Men should put away the Wives they disliked, to prevent their being hard-hearted to them, and using them cruelly or unjustly; *Moses* enacted a good Law, which it is evil to annul; and then prohibiting Divorces, is a hard-hearted and cruel Prohibition, unjust in its Nature, and evil in its Consequences. And if Men are to be known, as a Tree by its Fruits, no good Man could bring forth such evil Fruits, as to

repeal this excellent Law, given to soften the hard Heart of Man.

Because of the Hardness of your Hearts Moses wrote you this Precept. Therefore it was a proper Means to soften hard Hearts, which would have been cruel had they been deprived of all Means of Cure: As with us, where the Poor have no Remedy but Death, which desperate Remedy makes the Disease desperate. "The Nature of Man is still as weak, and their Hearts are as hard as ever, and that Weakness and Hardness as unfit and untractable to be harshly used as ever: Seeing therefore that all the Causes of any Allowance that the *Jews* might have, remain as well to the Christians: This is a certain Rule, that as long as the Causes remain, the Allowance ought."

But from the Beginning it was not so. If this be a Rule to determine and distinguish, what are the Laws of God, and what of *Moses*, then 'tis a Rule to determine other Laws by, whether they are from God or no, by whomsoever they are given, viz. the Laws of God for the Government of human Nature existed with Man, and is imprinted in him, and then there is no other Law than natural Reason and Fitness, consequently all Laws are to be referred to this: If nothing can be the Law of God, which from the Beginning was not so. If the Laws of God are known by their being before *Moses*, and consequently independent of him; they are also before *Jesus*, and independent of him; the one could not make them, or make them known, which were not made or known before, nor

the other make them void : Then all the Laws of God are as irrevocable, as the general Course of Things and human Nature as unchangeable.

'Tis said in old Time, *the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, and took them Wives of all they liked*; and undoubtedly they put away all they did not like : For as their own liking was the Rule of their Choice, consequently their disliking was the Rule for their Refusal, both before chusing and after: For when Man is left at Liberty to act according to Nature, the liking and disliking will always be his distinguishing Rule of Choice and Refusal in all Things, but in nothing more so, than in embracing a Woman for a Wife; he cannot do otherwise, unless he is compelled by some greater Necessity, which destroying his free Power of Election and Rejection must consequently destroy his Happiness : Therefore to say concerning Divorce, *from the Beginning it was not so*, is not true ; for from the Beginning that it could be so, it was so.

And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and shall marry another committeth Adultery; and who so marieth her that is put away, doth commit Adultery. St. Mark adds, *if a Woman shall put away her Husband, and be married to another, she committeth Adultery.*

St. Mark tells us, that the Disciples at another Time asked him about this Matter, and received an absolute Answer, without a Reason to enforce or explain it, and they seemed to be content with it; for *Jesus taught them as one having Authority, and not as*

the Scribes : 'Tis likely therefore, that they reasoned, but his *ipse dixit* was sufficient, considering his Person, as it carried the more Authority with it. *I say unto you*, is an authoritative Expression. *Verily, verily*, were the two Witnesses to attest the Truth of what he said, and the Reasons to illustrate it.

Absolute Authority may command or pronounce what it pleases, but cannot make that wrong which in the Nature of Things is right, or that right which in the Face of Reason is wrong ; which is the Rule for all Men to judge of Right and Wrong by, but those who know not the Use of Reason, any Thing may be right or wrong, good or evil : For those that have not a right Rule to judge by, can never form a right Judgment of Men and Things. Arbitrary Power may be most proper to be exercised in governing mad Men and Fools, but rational Creatures can submit only to the Authority of Reason, in determining what are just and unjust Actions ; therefore with all such, a Mandate or Sentence void of Reason, is void of Authority ; and that to which none is joined, or can be understood, but the Will and Pleasure of the Speaker, will only be regarded or rejected as his peculiar Power or Wisdom is, or is conceived to be, to enforce it. But to a Man that judges reasonably of Things, a Command without Reason, is no Command at all ; and, contrary to Reason, is to be despised, and ought not to be obeyed.

Reason or common Sense is that Rule by which all Rules are to be tried ; the indelible Law of human

human Nature, prior and superior to all Laws, which whatever cannot stand the Test of, is evidently wrong. If arbitrary Law, without Reason, and even against Reason be right, any Imposition is right; and one bare Assertion is equal to another, when no Reason is given for either. That which does not carry its own Reason with it till the Reason be discovered, is no Law: It can bind no further than lawless Power binds it. 'Tis not the Person but the Reason makes the Law, for Law is always considered as founded on Reason, without this 'tis not properly Law or Justice, but Oppression and Injustice. This instead of healing the little Disorders in the body Politic, is such a quack Medicine as fixes it in the Blood, which makes a Cut a Gangrene, converts a slight Cold or Indigestion to a malignant Fever, or a slight Fever to a mortal Plague or deadly Infection; and all that make absolute irrational Laws, are political Quacks; who, to say the best that can be said of them, are evidently ignorant of human Nature. Is undivorceable Matrimony, when miserable, the *Yoke that is easy, and the Burden that is light*, which we are called upon to take on us? Or, can this Doctrine be recommended as such?

It is a Question what the Word *Fornication* in the Text means. Some think it signifies Uncleanliness, and refer to the Sense of the Law. *When a Man hath taken a Wife and married her, and it come to pass she find no Favour in his Eyes, because he hath found some Uncleanliness in her.* But if our spiritual Doctors and Dictators

take the Word *Fornication* in its right Sense, it is strange to me, that it is not rather called *Adultery*; for *Fornication* is explained to be the Act of Copulation of unmarried Persons: But if a married Woman be guilty of this Act with any other Man than her Husband, it is termed *Adultery*; so that according to the common Sense of the Word *Fornication*, a married Woman cannot be guilty of it, unless it mean the Action committed before Marriage. If this, and this only give Right to a Man to divorce his Wife, then every Man who marries one that has been tampering or trying with another beforehand, ought to have the Liberty of Divorce in his own Power; but if Mr. M——— could have obtained this, it might have saved him much trouble, and some thousands of Pounds Expence, by the Confession of his dear Fornicatress T——— a C——— a P———ps. He is an Instance, that the most religious Men when hampered with a Torment, will run any Hazard to obtain the much-desired Redemption, and chuse with *David*, rather to fall into the Hands of God, than of Man or Woman: And she is a Proof that some Wives will drive Men to Hell, though they are sure to follow them in, rather than be divorced from their Substance. And therefore the Reasonableness of this Liberty does most evidently appear in all such Cases wherein it is most ardently sought for.

If by the Word *Wife* here meant, is a Woman joined in Wedlock to a Man, to whom she is a Destroyer of his Peace, his Health and Happiness, of his Goods and good Name, not to

put away such a Wife, except for *Fornication* (and we know not what that means) has neither Reason nor Justice in it. This is not surely *Christ's coming into the World to redeem the World*, for it seems rather by this Law, as if he came to sentence the honest and suffering Part of it to Slavery and Bondage; as long as their Existence here lasts. This is *not to send Peace on Earth, but Fire* to be kindled in the Spirit of Man, that shall burn up all his Happiness. To sentence Persons to dwell together till Death, whose Tempers are as opposite as Light and Darkness, Heaven and Hell, is to sentence their Death and Darkness as disconsolate and dismal as Hell itself. Therefore if *Jesus Christ* was what he is said to have been, the Redeemer of Mankind, and to do what he is said to have done, *preach Deliverance to the Captives, and set at Liberty them that are bruised*; this Prohibition of Divorce, this Preachment of Slavery, and breaking the bruised Reed, never came from him, and is not his Doctrine.

We are at a Loss to know what the Sin of *Fornication* means. Mr. JOHN MILTON says, it has some mystical Meaning, and therefore conceives it to be that of *spiritual Fornication*, which he defines to be, the Wife's Affections being alienated from her Husband, and settled on another Man, not on the Man she has.

She that is thus divorced in Soul, is not united to her Husband mentally, and should be divorced bodily; for what is more contrary to the original Institution than this? A Disagreement in Mind, and Disobedience in Ac-

tion, much more breaks the marriage Bonds than Adultery. If a Woman prostitute her Body to her Husband, when her Soul is estranged from him, is this Marriage? Is it not rather intrinsically Whoredom in the worst Sense of it, and a greater Evil than Adultery? "For no wise Man but

" would sooner pardon the Act
" of Adultery committed once
" and again by a Person worth
" Pity and Forgiveness, than
" wear out his Spirits with one
" that is of an unsociable, unloving
" and a mischievous Disposition;
" who would commit Adultery too,
" but for Envy, least the unhappy Slave
" should obtain his Release. Things that
" cause an irreconcilable Offence,
" and are not capable of Amendment,
" annihilate the Bands of Marriage, which
" Adultery only breaks; for that
" once past and pardoned, where
" it can be pardoned, may be amended;
" but that which naturally
" Distastes, and finds no Favour
" in the Eyes of Matrimony, can
" never be concealed, never appeased,
" never intermitted, but proves a
" perpetual Nullity of Love and Content.
" Natural Hatred, whenever it
" arises, is a greater Evil to Marriage
" than the Accident of Adultery;
" a greater Defrauding, a greater Injustice.
" He that knows not the Truth of this,
" knows not what true Love is.
" A disobedient and disagreeable
" Temper and Behaviour much more
" breaks Matrimony than the Act
" of Adultery, though repeated;
" for this may be done, and not known,
" so not felt as a trouble; and being known,
" may

" may be repented of, and a-
 " mended, and redeemed, with
 " more ardent Love and Duty to
 " the forgiving Husband; but
 " the Fornication in Affection,
 " this Dereliction of Meetness
 " and Agreeableness of Temper
 " cannot be unknown, nor a-
 " mended if it be natural, nor
 " confessed or repented of. Be-
 " sides, an Adulteress may please
 " in all her Behaviour otherwise,
 " but the Behaviour of the other
 " can never please in all she does.
 " She defrauds him of all Con-
 " tentment, and Enjoyment; so
 " that she is less a Wife than an
 " Adulteress. Necessary and just
 " Causes have necessary and just
 " Consequences: What Error and
 " Disaster joined, Reason and E-
 " quity should disjoin."

I have been informed, that a
 Gentleman had a Wife who was
 an Adulteress, and the Husband
 was not unacquainted with her
 Transgressions; yet loved her,
 because she was, as he said, very
 pretty, and very obliging in eve-
 ry Thing else.

" He that putteth away his Wife,
 " except for Fornication, that is,
 " if it be this spiritual Fornica-
 " tion, the Alienation of her
 " Affections causes her to commit
 " Adultery, breaks off her Af-
 " fections to fix them on another
 " Man. Carnal Adultery is but
 " transient Injury compared with
 " natural Hatred, which is such
 " an unspeakable Offence and
 " Grief, as admits of no Amends,
 " no Cure, no Ceasing, but by
 " Divorce; this, like the Divine
 " Fiat, in one Moment gives
 " Life and Harmony to the crude
 " and discordant Chaos, it hush-
 " es outrageous Tempests into
 " sudden Stillness and peaceful

" Calm. He that binds toge-
 " ther the Disunions of complain-
 " ing Nature in Chains invinci-
 " ble, commits the Adultery, not
 " he that would separate them."

The utmost Rigour of the lite-
 ral Sense does not forbid Divor-
 ce, but *he that divorces and marries an-
 other committeth Adultery.* Here's
 no Prohibition not to put away a
 Wife, there's no Adultery in that.
 The *Essenes* were great Admirers
 of a single Life, so that it was no
 Crime to put away a Wife and
 and live single; but all the Sin
 and all the Devil was in marry-
 ing, and he that finds the Devil
 in that State is willing to get rid
 of it at any Rate, even on Con-
 dition of not to marry again;
 therefore Divorces ought to be
 freely allowed. It is not much
 to be wondered at, if a Man in
 Defence of his Birth be no Friend
 to Marriage, whose Mother that
 bare him was not married to his
 Father that begat him. *She that
 putteth away her Husband* (so call-
 ed), *and marrieth again, commit-
 teth Adultery; and he that mar-
 rieth her that is put away, commit-
 teth Adultery;* but suppose the
 Woman is cruelly used, or wrong-
 fully divorced, and accepts the
 Refuge and Protection of an ho-
 nester Man, who would marry her,
 love her, and use her tenderly,
 how does she commit Adultery,
 or he that marries her? Is *Adultery*
 to be committed every Way
 by the Light as well as the dark
 Parts, by Humanity as well as In-
 humanity, by soft Hearts as well
 as by hard Hearts; Adultery then
 is every Thing committed by *Ad-
 ults.* Don't mistake me, I am
 far from encouraging Adultery,
 either Spiritual or Carnal; either
 in Mr. MILTON's virtuous Sense,

or Mr. *Rake's* vicious one; but *Adultery*, in any Sense, which to me is absurd and ridiculous, cannot be approved of by my Understanding. If the Text be not strictly true in the plain literal Sense, without the twisting Art of a crafty Expositor, it must be understood in a discretional, moral and parabolical Sense; but to be discretionally understood, this with a little *moralizing* the Text, or *mending* it, seems consistent with Reason, *viz.* He that putteth away his Wife, without any just Cause, but merely to marry another, committeth Adultery; and the Man that putteth them asunder, or is the Cause of it, that he may marry her that is put away, being thus accessory thereto, committeth Adultery. This seems reasonable and therefore right, "The Conditions not being expressed, yet wanting in Reason, are to be understood."

No Man's Character, perhaps, has ever suffered such Excess of Contempt and Honour, as that of *Jesus Christ*; some in his Lifetime esteemed him a *Devil*, and a *Mad-man*; for they said, * *He is a Devil and is mad, why bear ye him?* Other Men, at other Times, have esteemed him a God, and set him in the Throne of the Most High. The true Character of such a Person, 'tis very hard to know. Had he wrote his Doctrines himself, we might have had some Rule whereby to judge of them and him; but instead of this, we have only bad Collections of some Things reported to be said and done by him, of doubtful Original; the Sentences are often without Coherence or Connexion;

and for the most Part so very ambiguous, that his sincerest Followers are everlastingly puzzled how to understand them; though they educate Men in Learning, and keep them in Pay, on Purpose to expound those mysterious Writings. And as little efficacious is the Illumination of the *Spirit* to those that think they *see* its Light, and *feel* its Operations; therefore the sincerest Followers of *Christ* are everlastingly divided into Sects, and rent into Factions. The more literally absurd or dark the Matter is, so much more are their Understandings clouded and confounded about them; and by how much more necessary they apprehend the true Understanding of them to be, by so much the more are they in desperate earnest, and Daggers draw about them. I think, the giving Doctrines and Precepts to the common People for their common Information and Conduct, that are out of the Reach of common Sense, highly reflects on the Wisdom and Goodness of the Giver: But this Discourse seems not to be of that Sort, though the more it be examined, the less just and reasonable it appears.

His Disciples say unto him, If the Case of a Man be so with his Wife, it is not good to marry. This, in my Opinion, is true; and so (as we read) *Christ* acknowledged it to be; for *He saith unto them, All Men cannot receive this Saying, save they to whom it is given:* But if all Men cannot receive this Saying, surely it was not given to be received by all Men; and therefore ought never to pass into a Law for all to obey. The Truth
of

* *John* x. 20.

of this Story is incredible, because he had *Women Disciples*, that he should be so much against marrying, as to recommend by the following Words *Mutilation* rather, that he whom Nature has not qualified to live in an unmarried State, should qualify himself by the Knife, and cut out his Way to the Kingdom of Heaven, which, if this Admonition or Advice leads to, *suffers Violence, and the Violent take it by Force.*

The Goodness of the Lawgiver does not make the Law good, but rather shews how good the Lawgiver is; even respecting the great Lawgiver God himself, it may be said, Laws are not good because God commands them; but God commands them, because they are good. Otherwise Authority, not Goodness, are the Motives of his Law. He commands us to regulate our Dispositions for our own Good, but not to destroy ourselves, or mutilate our Members, which would make Religion worthy of Abhorrence, a Detestation and Plague to Mankind, and the sanctified Destruction of all human Happiness.

In *Genesis*, the Father says, *It is not good that Man should be alone.* In *Matthew*, the Son seems to say, *It is best for Man to be alone.* God says, *I will make a Help-meet for him.* By his Son's Doctrine, *It is better for a Man to dismember himself than accept of her.*

For there are some Eunuchs, which were so born from their Mother's Womb; and there are some Eunuchs which are made Eunuchs of Men; and there be Eunuchs which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake: He that is able to

receive it, let him receive it. These Words have been thought by some to have a different Meaning, than what they seem to have in the Letter; but 'tis probable, the Reason why some think so, is, because the old Maxims seems by this to be reviv'd: *Ezek. xx. 25. I gave them also Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live.* What Doctrine can be more destructive of human Happiness and human Kind, than this? Though if 'tis to be differently understood, no Man can be certain what is the certain Meaning of these Words. This Doctrine, that *it is good for a Man not to marry*, is such as *all Men cannot receive.* Eunuchs may, else why are they named? And in order that Men may receive it, they are recommended to make themselves *Eunuchs*, if they are not so made by Nature, nor by Men; else what mean these Words that are subjoined, *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it?* If the Words have some spiritual Meaning, how shall we know what that Meaning is? The Disciples never asked him, they seemed to have been credulous and un-enquiring Souls, and to have received almost all Things implicitly; for when they knew they could not understand what their Master said to them, they were afraid to ask him*. So they were like to profit much by his teaching, and we by theirs.

Suppose there are some Men born *Eunuchs*, and others so made, and cannot commit Adultery; what then, are they ever the better for this Imbecility? And if some Men have been Fools enough to make themselves so, for the King-

* Mark ix. 32.

Kingdom of Heaven's Sake, are they ever the nearer the Kingdom of Heaven for so doing? If they are not, why is the Exhortation annexed, *He that can receive it, let him receive it?* But, alas! the *Women!* What must they do, is it proper for them to be spaded? The Popish Priests however, that pretend not to defile themselves with Women, let them be made Geldings of, that they defile not Women. Surely it is not improper to practise this upon them, that those who teach the Way to Heaven may not miss of it themselves, for the good of their own Souls, and the Souls of their female Penitents. If this Law was made and put in Execution, it might do well to prevent the Spirit of Popery and Rebellion from exerting itself, and to preserve Protestant Liberty among us.

If the *Letter-sense* is unjustifiable, I fear it is too palpable for the *Spirit* to hide, nor can I see that it will bear a *spiritual* Sense, without making it Matter of Ridicule: Forasmuch as there is not the Appearance of *such* a Meaning in it; for if *Part* of this Answer of *Christ* to the Pharisees be *spiritual*, why not the *Whole*? If *Part* be, then Men ask a natural Question, and receive a spiritual Answer, which if it be *History*, and not all a *Parable*, is absurd. If *Christ's* Answer be mystical to the Pharisees plain Question; is it not like the Nonsense or cross Purposes in *Erasinus*, where one talks of a *Wedding*, and the other of *Shipwreck*? Alas! for Believers, all their Refuge is in Mystery, and all their Safety lies in Obscurity: If these Words of *Christ* are to be *mystically* understood,

be ye in Labour ye *spiritual Mothers* of the Church, bring forth and reveal the Mystery, and defend it by Reason, or your spiritual *Wisdom* and *Power* will be meanly thought of. If the *whole* be *mysterious*, the Letter is no Law; and if it pass into a Law, it is unjust; for if the Letter is to be differently understood, if it want explaining or amending, so must the Law do that is founded upon it.

He that can, or thinks he can, explain the Sense, or vindicate the *Humanity* of the Expression, so as to prove the Doctrine righteous, and the Precept good, let him do it; and all due Regard shall be paid to the Reasons that are given. Let him display his Abilities in explaining or vindicating this spiritualizing Precept; and deliver us from the Dilemma it involves us in. If none can be found that can do this; but if he that bravely attempts, shamefully fails in his Endeavours; let him lay his Hand upon his Mouth, or his Mouth in the Dust, and confess that he cannot order his Speech by Reason of Darknes.

For my Part, I own, that the best Method I can perceive to justify *Jesus Christ*, is, by confessing there are Errors in *St. Matthew's Gospel*, especially such *Parts* of it are faulty, as are indefensible by plain and honest Reasoning, and are not confirmed by the other Gospels. To be too stiff in this Point, in Defence of the Whole, is to destroy the Whole, which according to what we read, is not Gospel Policy. *Mark ix. If thine Hand or Foot offend thee, cut it off; or if thine Eye offend thee, pluck it out; it is better for thee to enter*

enter into Life maimed, or halt, or with one Eye; than having two Hands, two Feet, or two Eyes, to be cast into Hell. As such like Expressions in this Place are Sentences independent of what goes before and after; so they are capable of being explained in whatever Sense the Church pleases. But if the Subject going before and after such Words in St. Matthew, are to direct us to their Meaning, it seems to point to this Doctrine of Castration. *Matth. v. ver. 27 to 32. Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old Time, Thou shalt not commit Adultery. But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart. And if thy right Eye offend thee, pluck it out, or Hand, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee, that one of thy Members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell. It hath been said, whosoever will put away his Wife, let him give her a Bill of Divorcement. But I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his Wife, saving for the Cause of Fornication, causeth her to commit Adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth Adultery.* Concerning the first Part of these Words, I think, unless a Man look on a married Woman to lust after her, he does not commit Adultery in his Heart. Besides, a Man may look on a Woman to lust after her in an honourable Manner, as the Law allows, or natural Reason permits; and he cannot for so doing be properly said to commit Adultery in his Heart.

Concerning that Part of advis-

ing to *dismember the Body*, if it has not an Eye to *Eunuchism*, I know not what it means; nor can the preceding and subsequent Words direct us to the Meaning of it. And as to the latter Part of these Words concerning *Divorce*, the Exceptions against it are neither *small* nor *few*. But my present Business is with the *Amputation* Part, to be executed on the *Parts of Generation*, which naturally Causes these unhappy Questions, or Reflections, permit me the Freedom of mentioning some of them.

“ Advising Men to make them-
“ selves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of
“ Heaven’s Sake, is as scandalous
“ a Doctrine, and as ill-judged
“ Sanctity, as ever was preached
“ to the World. An Atheist dis-
“ believes a God, because he
“ finds Fault with the Order of
“ Nature; if an Author of Reli-
“ gion does the same, he sows
“ the Seeds of Atheism. He
“ grants the Causes of Atheism
“ who proposes an unnatural Re-
“ medy to rectify Nature; and
“ the Consequence that the World
“ is not the Production of Wis-
“ dom, naturally and necessarily
“ follow.”

If this be the Way to enter into LIFE, to cut off the Members, or Means of it, it is no Wonder that *strait is the Gate, and narrow is the Way, and few there be that find it*. Is the Practice of this Doctrine, *eating the Bread of Life*, which cuts off all Life? Or, does he *give Life to the World*, whose Doctrines, if put in Practice, cuts off the Life of the World? Is not this like Men’s devouring their Offspring, after the Example of the old Heathen God *Saturn*? May not his own Question to the Pharisees

Pharisees be retorted on him, *Is it lawful to save Life, or to destroy it?* Is not recommending the *Piety* of this Practice, like recommending * the *Wisdom* of the *unjust Steward*? Is there any natural *Piety* or *Wisdom* in it? If it be supernatural, is not supernatural *Piety*, *Impiety*, or impracticable? And supernatural *Wisdom*, incomprehensible or Nonsense? Is this a Doctrine or Precept becoming the *Saviour of the World* to teach? Is the Way to *destroy* the World, the Way to *save* it? Is not this the most *unmanly* Advice that ever was taught Mankind? Which, if all Men practised, would end the World as to the human Species? What a *Lover of Mankind* must he be thought to be, that teaches to extirpate all human Race? If *Christ* spoke without Dissimulation, not teaching one Thing, and meaning another; or, if the contrary, what a mean Opinion will Men conceive of him, if this Expression be his? *Some have made themselves Eunuchs, for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake: He that can receive it, let him receive it?* For in any Sense to ascribe it to *Jesus Christ*, brings dishonour to his Name. *Women* must by this appear to be, or be looked upon, as the greatest Evils in Nature, and this must induce them to hate and abhor *Men*: For to be married to their Saviour, will not satisfy their Wants. No Person preaching such Morals, can so *sanctify* them, as such Morals can *unsanctify* his Person. *Good and Evil*, are founded in the Nature of Man, and Man's *Wisdom* finds and applies them by the Fitness or Unfitness of Things, and regu-

lates his Actions by their Tendency; but *Folly* runs counter to the Course of Nature, and directs Men to act contrary to it. If a single Life be so holy a Thing, that Men are recommended for the *Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*, to make themselves *Eunuchs*, rather than marry; why then, if married, ought they not to be divorced for the *Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*, when for the Sake of all Happiness on Earth they earnestly desire it? Or is it *then* only good, when it is so bad, that it cannot be borne, because *then* it is the most mortifying State? Or, is Divorce absolutely forbidden (in all Cases but Fornication) to make the married State the more grievous to be endured, to deter Men from entering into it?

I see but one Way to remove these Objections, and get over these Difficulties, and that Way seems natural and easy, where it is not barred up by Bigotry and Prejudice against natural Reason, which informs me, that as *St. Mark* has not mentioned this Expression, who relates the Discourse, it stands upon the single Credit of *St. Matthew*, and consequently the Reason for believing it, is rendered the weaker. And as *Jesus Christ* did not write it himself, to believe it came not from him, is not disbelieving him, nor any Thing dishonourable of him, who tells us in a Parable, *Mat. xxiii.* that *after the Seed of the Word was sown, the Enemy would sow Tears among it*: And it seems to me that nothing is more apparent, than that many Christians, have from the Beginning of Christianity to this Day, fathered their

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* *Luke xvi. 8.*

own wild stupid Opinions on *Christ*, of which he was not the Author; and that this Expression at least, if not the whole Discourse, is an *Interpolation of the Monks*, who have had the secret Management of these Books; this Doctrine being fitted to recommend their kind of Life; the Gospels being kept in a private Manner for more than *three hundred Years*, will allow of this Conjecture. If the Historians, who-

ever they were, said that they were Eye or Ear Witnesses, we have only their own *unknown Evidence*, to support their Testimony. But the *Doctrines* and *Precepts* delivered in the Gospels are better known how Divine they are, by their own Clearness, natural Tendency, and Usefulness, than by any Thing that can be said about them. Light and Truth display themselves.

Of DIVORCE, and COHABITING UNMARRIED.

IT makes Misery, which would be tolerable if curable, to be intolerable if incurable; at least it adds Misery to Misery, to think it cannot end but with Life, or at the Pleasure of another, who inflexibly pursues that Pleasure, which is my Pain, and I cannot prevent it. This may be the too late Reflections of a Man distressed by Wedlock: My Wife *Demonia* (cries he) vindicates her Honour at the Expence of mine, she has a Tongue formed for Deceit, without its being perceived; and by this inscrutable Art, can blast even the Character of an Angel. There appears to be no Hypocrisy in her, because it is so natural, that it seems to be artless. If I grant her not all she requires, she will privately obtain it, both for Pleasure and Expence; and this secret Management is my sure Ruin. I am determined to oppose it Might and Main; now my House is filled with eternal Brawl and Clamour! and through all my Neighbourhood, with whom I had once Reputation and Respect,

Infamy and Scandal attend me! My dear Name, my sacred Character is sacrificed, and I am looked upon to be the guilty Person, wherever her Malice finds Admittance, or her Report flies. What shall I do? My once joyous Hours are fled, which I found in *Celestia's* Arms; Happiness is no more; a fullen Star threatens the Remainder of my wretched Life with Distress, not to be remedied by Complaint or Action: A dismal Gloom and melancholy View is all around me: She that ought to be both by Interest and Gratitude, my truest Comfort in Distress, and like a good Conscience my chief Support and Solace in Affliction, is my only Grief and Calamity! O remediless State! Whither shall I fly? What shall I do? If I go, she, like a *malus Genius*, having no Support but from me, will find me out and follow, and spread the invenomed Slander of her Lies and Malice beyond my Flight; and whether can I go from the Means of my Subsistence? I may as well finish at
once

once a wretched Life, as attempt to fly the Wretchedness of it; the dismal Consequences of endeavouring to mend it, shew me to be compleatly wretched, and plunged, for ever plunged, as into the Gulph of gloomy *Tartarus*, where falling, I must fall for ever! O *Celestia*, when I think of thee, I behold Happiness at an unapproachable Distance, like *Dives* in Hell, with an unpassable Gulph between me and that, doubly damned with the Loss of sensible Happiness, and a pungent Sense of never-ceasing Pain, but with Life itself. Adieu all the Pleasures that I once embraced in embracing *Celestia*, and any Death is welcome. Is this the Reward of my Virtue? O ye cruel Gods, could ye not lengthen out my Tranquility to the End of a short transitory Life; or at least abate so much of your undeserved Vengeance, as not to have given me this Torture for mistaken Pleasure, which only the Integrity of Life, and Sincerity of my Soul, has made permanent? Much could I say, but much rather would I conceal her Shame, who is the Cause of my Lamentation: When Nature can no longer bear Restraint, she breaks through all Opposition. Though some Time since kind Fate has removed the Painfulness of the Sting by a much desired, but little expected and absolutely necessary Separation, the *third* Time; so that *Demonia*, though living yet, her Nature desperately inimical to mine, offends me not; yet these past Reflections I remember still, my former *Affliction and Misery, the Wormwood and the Gall* *.

These melancholy Reflections may be supposed, made to warn others, as the Criminal with the Gibbet in view presents the Spectators with his last dying Speech. *Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

The want of Liberty and Redress in just Causes of matrimonial Complaints, changes the State of Marriage designed for a Blessing, into a Curse and Captivity. However holy Matrimony may be called, it is when unhappy much more unholy than Whoredom, being productive of greater Sin and Misery; because this wretched State, hateful in its Nature, and dismal in its Consequences, is like the Laws of the *Medes and Persians*, unalterable but by Death; and not to be abrogated like the Laws of *Moses*, though *they* are said to have been by God's Appointment, as well as Matrimony. This unmerciful Restraint, without Refuge or Redemption, is the tyrannical Effect of religious Superstition. When once the sacred Knot is tied, and the matrimonial Rites consummated, let the married Persons find themselves ever so much mistaken in their Dispositions and Constitutions of Body and Mind, by Reason of any Matters misunderstood, or not before known or expected, or in Embrio, and impossible to have been foreseen, though a Cloud of Gloominess gathers thick, and Veils all Prospect of succeeding Happiness, though perpetual Discord breaks in like an overflowing Deluge; though malignant Jealousy infect the Mind, and concealed Leprosy or *lues* the Body of either Party; though

* *Lamentat. iii. 19.*

though Envy possess the Heart, Venom and Slander the Tongue, distorted Rage and Fury the Face; though Drunkenness beset the Head of the Man or Woman, or Extravagance foreboding sure Ruin be his or her fatal Conduct, or a Multitude of Vexations and Plagues besides, too dreadful to name, too numerous to recount; though all or some of these, for all Woes cannot find Place to wound one Person, disorder and torment the married State; tho' nothing remains but an unspeakable Dissatisfaction and Despair of every social Delight, the Law, the terrible Law of Judgment without Mercy, and without End, has consigned the married, the married, the miserable Wretches over as to a State of Reprobation insupportable and irredeemable; so that the Ideas of Hell eternal, and Vengeance everlasting, does not make such a sensible Impression in human Minds, as the Sensation of this present calamitous Condition: For, as that is the greater Pain which is the most felt, so it is most regarded; and makes the Impression so large, that it effaces in a great Measure, if not entirely, all lesser Impressions; when, let a Man turn which Way he will, he sees Pain and Vexation, Ruin and Destruction tread every Way before him that he can turn; so that the Goads of unjust Calumny and Reproach torment his Life, with despicable Poverty in View, and a Jail, a Halter, or Starving, bid fair to end an uncomfortable Life; though terrible be the Way to it, yet the Word *andtho'* with *Life*, is the only Comfort and Consolation.

Good God! That ever Man or

Woman should oblige themselves by Law to do what is not in their own Power, *viz.* to love, when Reason, Nature and Necessity oblige them to hate, is such a State of complaisant Conformity and abject Slavery, as one would think a rational Soul would not be guilty of; but what will not tyrant Custom on one Hand, with a Prospect of the Joys of Love on the other, oblige a Man to do? However easy or tolerable the Chains may appear to be at a distant Prospect, they that have dragged them with an unmerciful Clog, or rather Load of Woe, at the End, (which when felt exceeds all their former Conceptions) find no State to be more dismal, no Condition more wretched, being doubly cursed like the Damned in Hell, with the Sight of Happiness at a Distance enjoyed by others, and once hoped for by them, which fair Sky being overclouded they are now deprived of Happiness even in Expectation, so that there remains not even *Hope* (that bubble Comfort) left, and in room of the once expected social Enjoyment, they feel lasting Torment and substantial Woe. No tender Pity is shewn, no Bowels of Compassion extended to them that have unwarily or unfortunately plunged themselves into this inextricable Misery. Matrimony, like Death, is a great Leap in the Dark; only the one renders us sensible of our Misery, the other terminates our Misery in Insensibility; at least in *Body* till the Son of Man comes, *the Day and Hour whereof no Man knows*; nor that it is yet, or ever will be fixed; at least he appears not likely to come till Christianity be gone, for *when*
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the Son of Man comes shall he find Faith on the Earth? And if he finds no Faith on Earth, he will not find Christianity there; for this is built on that.

If it be objected, that for Adultery and Impotency the Law has provided a Remedy; this Law is so severe, and so difficult to obtain Justice by, that many who even by the Tenor of that Law have a Right to Freedom, cannot find the Means to attain the End, it being attended with excessive Charges; and those whose Abilities prevent them not, chuse rather from the Humanity of their Tempers, and the Modesty of their Dispositions, to submit to an uncomfortable Life in Misery all their Days, than bring themselves or their Partners to lasting Shame, and be recorded with Disgrace, by having the Matter litigated before a public Court, to the Scandal of both Parties. The Law should relieve the Oppressed, by Means within the Power of the Oppressed to find; and Religion should not contribute to add a Weight to Oppression, and make it durable as Life; but both should unite their Instructions and Authority, to make the Yoke of Life easy, and the Burden light.

I shall now give you the Substance of Mr. JOHN MILTON's Arguments for Divorce, who was as excellent a Reasoner as a Poet. —He says, that they who bring Liberty to the much-wronged and grieved State of Matrimony, deserve to be reckoned among the public Benefactors of civil and human Life above the Inventors of Wine and Oil; they shall raise many helpless Christians from the Depth of Sadness and Distress,

utterly unfitted as they are to serve God or Man; they shall set free many Daughters of *Israhel*, not wanting much of her sad Plight, whom Satan had bound eighteen Years. Man they shall restore to his just Dignity and Prerogative of Nature, preferring the Soul's free Peace before the promiscuous Draining of a carnal Rage: Marriage from a perilous Hazard and Snare, they shall redeem to a more certain Haven and Retirement of happy Society. When the grave and pious Reasons of this Law of Divorce hath been amply discoursed, I doubt not (*says he*) but with one gentle Stroking to wipe off ten thousand Tears out of the Life of Man.

He adds, That maintaining the Reasonableness of Divorce is attempting the Cure of an inveterate Disease, crept into the best Part of human Society, which tends to the redeeming and restoring of none, but such as are the Objects of Compassion, having in an ill Hour hampered themselves to the Loss of all Quiet and Repose during Life: That useful Life might not be lost and waste away under a secret Affliction of an unconscionable Size to human Strength, the Mercy of the *Mosaic* Law was graciously exhibited: That this prudent Law of Divorce by *Moses* is full of moral Equity, agreeable to the Laws of the wisest Men, and most civilized Nations; that many bad Men have made bad Use of this Law, it is easy to believe, yet *Moses* knew it was better to suffer the accidental Evils, which would arise from hard-hearted Men by this Precept, than that good Men should lose their just and lawful Privilege

Privilege of Remedy. That if this Overture of Ease and Recovery be obstinately disliked, what remains but to deplore a hopeless, helpless Condition! That if the Knot of Matrimony may in no Case be dissolved, except for Adultery, all the Burdens of the Law of *Moses* are not so intolerable: That no Laws can bind against the Design of its Institution, which was to be an Help-meet for Man, his Solace and Delight.

He Reasons, That no Law can justly engage a blameless Creature to its own mistaken perpetual Sorrow: That the Satisfaction of the Mind in Marriage should be more regarded and provided for, than the sensitive pleasing the Body; for without the former, the latter soon becomes unfavourable and contemptible: That though the Liturgy expressly says, We must not marry to satisfy the fleshly Appetite, like brute Beasts that have no Understanding; yet the Cannon so runs, as if it dreamt of no other Matter than such an Appetite, to be satisfied: That those, who in Marriage are disappointed of the better Part, *i. e.* of agreeable Conversation and Solace, and rather than live in Sadness think it better to part, are moved to Divorce by a Motive equal to the best of those that marry, and has not the least Grain of Sin in it: That 'tis above the Strength of human Weakness to find Satisfaction in the lonely State which they are fallen into by the Means they attempted to shun. That the more sober a Person in such Case is, the greater Melancholy and Despair it brings upon him; therefore it is, that many wedded Persons are deject-

ed; though they pretend other Causes to conceal it, because they know no Remedy. That an unfociable Consort sometimes destroys the other by Grief: By this Means many a one consumes away in a joyless and disconsolate Condition; therefore here Charity should interpose, and proclaim the most desired and acceptable Freedom. What is Life without the Vigour of it in private or public Enjoyment? Since Life is to be preferred to Marriage, and constraint to remain in unsuitable Marriage may shorten or endanger Life, the Preservation of Life demands a Separation.

He urges, That the very being of the Marriage-covenant is unfeigned Love and Peace, without which the Marriage is Hypocrisy. That since St. Paul says, *1 Cor. vii. God has called us to Peace, not to Bondage*, he who cannot love let him divorce. And since *Love is the fulfilling of the Law*; where Love is wanting, the Law of the Marriage-covenant cannot be fulfilled. That when the chief End of an Ordinance is frustrated for which it is ordained, it is annulled and invalidated, and ceases of course, unless it be otherwise renewed and restored to its primitive Institution. That an Overstrictness in Discipline causes it to be broken and brought into Contempt. That Man, by unhappy Marriage, is rendered unfit for the Service of God, and all the Duties of social Life. That the Children of such ill-joined Wedlock may be called *the Children of Wrath*; unhappy Marriage as little conduces to sanctify them, as if they had been Bastards.

That those who having discern-

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ed each other's Disposition, which oft-times cannot be known till after Matrimony, shall then find a powerful Reluctance and Recoil of Nature on either Side, blasting all the Content of mutual Society, are not lawfully married. If all that is fair, all that is possible has been tried in vain, to accommodate the matrimonial Discords of those, who by some false Bait have been drawn together, that the sleeping Enmities of Nature might awake to Agony and Strife later than Prevention could have wished; what Folly is it still to stand combating and battering against invincible Causes and Effects with Evil upon Evil, till either the best of our Days be lingred out, or ended with wasting Sorrow. A Person may mistake in fixing Love without Experience, but cannot err, that finds just Cause to hate by woeful Experience. Hatred is Division, and when natural Hatred (which is of God) separates, let no Man, let no Law force them to live together. No Laws can unite those whom Aversion loaths and avoids. No Laws can oblige to love, whom Nature compels to hate; Affection cannot be forced: A reasonable and natural Dislike no Laws can Remedy. That if a disagreeable Body be no Incitement to Wedlock, a disagreeable Mind is an Enemy to it. That Nature teaches to divide any Limb from the Body to save the rest, though it be to the Maiming and Deforming of the Whole; and to sever any Member by Incision, that is gangrene, and tends to the mortifying the Body; what if Man and Wife then are one Flesh, they ought to

be separated when Necessity requires it.

He proceeds, That the Law was never designed to protect Baseness and Injury, yet indissoluble Matrimony but by Death does this very Thing, and maintains a Contract in direct Violation to the Design of the Law, the Dignity of Man, the Honour of Matrimony, and the inflexible Motives of tender Nature and loving Disposition: A most unjust Contract maintained by Violence usurping over Humanity. That if the *Sabbath* was made for Man, not Man for the Sabbath, much more may it be said of *Marriage*: God never sets the Ordinance above the Man for whom it is ordained. What was ever more made for Man alone, and less for God, than *Marriage*; and shall we load it with a cruel and senseless Bondage utterly against the Good of Man?

He shews, That Jarring and Discord continually grating in harsh Tune together, oft end in Rancor and Spite. That it would be less Scandal, to divorce a natural Disparity, than to link them together inevitably to kindle one another with Hatred; who, if dissevered, would be Friends in any other Relation. That there is as much Cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as not to marry. Is the Confinement for the Trial of our Patience; but what if it subvert our Patience, and Faith too? This is tempting God, by putting a Yoke upon the Neck of Men; which neither former Ages, nor the present are able to bear. That many marry or accept of an offer by the Persuasion of Friends, which proving a mistaken State
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of Confinement and Misery, both Parties are thereby rendered unhappy: And forced Marriages are such savage Inhumanity, that 'tis next to Assassination; Pity as well as Piety therefore pleads for their Redress by Divorce.

That the Apostle Paul says, *What Communion hath Light with Darkness, or he that believes with an Infidel?* Matrimony is, or should be a State of the nearest and dearest Communion; those then that have no more Communion with each other, than Light and Darkness, from whatever Cause it be, have broke the Bonds of Matrimony, or they were never in that State of Communion; and if either Way, the Bonds are dissolved of course. If there be so little Communion between a Believer and an Infidel, that if the one has a Mind to separate, a Separation is granted: *If the Unbelieving depart, let him depart:* Surely a Believer is to have the same Privilege as an Unbeliever, if there be no Communion between them; and if this Liberty be granted where one is an Infidel, *because God has called us to Peace, and a Brother or Sister is not under Bondage in such a Case;* suppose the Case worse, that the Man is *worse than an Infidel*, one that *takes no Care to provide for his Family*, is not the Bondage greater? May not the Woman have the Liberty to be delivered from so worthless a Man? Or, must she ever drag the Chain of Slavery and miserable Servitude? And, instead of receiving any Help from him, endure to be starved and robbed, and abused, without Remedy or Redress during Life? *He that cares not for his own House,*

and *she* that does the same, who is regardless of performing those social Duties which the matrimonial State require, whether he or she goes from it, or stays in it, is no Part of it, and as such ought to have no Place in it. Is this Doctrine of passive Slavery on one Side, and unmerciful Tyranny on the other, that Persons should be wedlockt together to their utter Ruin and Undoing, the Doctrine of the Gospel? Does this bring *Glory to God, Peace on Earth, and Good-will to Men?* Is this *the Liberty in which Christ has made us free*, that we are advised to *stand fast in?* A Liberty to tyrannize, and a Freedom to Slavery! Can any Thing be so ridiculous and contrary to common Sense?

By this delicate Reasoning of Mr. MILTON, it is evident, that a Man and Woman who are fitly disposed in harmonious Unity, as if conducted by one Soul to the Helps and Comforts of domestic Life, are the proper Subjects only of conjugal State, for these, and only these can be happy, if their outward Circumstances permit them to be so: But if, upon Experience their Natures are contrary or widely different to each other, they are differently constituted, and not made for each other, nor can Men make that to agree which God has made to disagree; therefore such joining is not of him. When Men and Women therefore are joined together by Law, they ought to be joined lawfully, that is according to Equity; by allowing a *Proviso*. Disunion or Divorce, when Evil arises, which blasts all expected Comforts. When the Law does not provide a Remedy for what is

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remediable, it is not as it ought to be, adapted to the Exigency of Cases, or the Fitness of Things; it is not so well designed as it should be; therefore in such Cases it is not, it cannot be kept, nor is it fit it should, being an unfit Law. If when the Benefit of Divorce to unhappy Marriages is denied, *it is not good for a Man to marry*; then on the contrary, if it be good for a Man to marry, 'tis just and right that the Benefit of Divorce should be freely allowed to all unhappy Marriages.

I shall now Answer all such Questions and Objections that I know of, which are made against Divorces: Most of which rather shew the Ignorance of Men how to do right, who are long accustomed to do wrong, than any Arguments against the Reasonableness and Rectitude of Divorce.

'Tis queried, *What are the proper Causes of Divorce?*

Answer. Whatever makes the married State miserable; for Marriage was, and should be designed for the mutual Happiness of Man and Woman; if one of them is rendered unhappy by it, the Means fails of the End, the Institution is perverted, and ought to be annulled.

'Tis demanded, *Who ought to have the Power of procuring a Divorce, the Man or the Woman?*

A. The oppressed or unhappy Party; for Law and Justice consists in relieving the Injured, and supporting the Helpless. The Person that feels the Misery, is the proper Person to seek Redress.

'Tis asked, *To whom should they seek it? Should we have a Court of Judicature on Purpose? Or may*

married People divorce themselves whenever they please, or think themselves unhappy?

A. They that think themselves unhappy are so; for the Seat of Happiness lies in the Sensation of it. There is Liberty for single Persons to marry when they please; and seeing the Divorce of unhappy Marriage is as necessary for the Well-being of Man, as Marriage is; why should not the same Freedom be allowed for one as the other?

Obj. *At this Rate, a Man may turn away his Wife, or a Woman may go away from her Husband, whenever either of them pleases; which will only change the Scene of Misery. And if done by a Course of Law, the Trouble and Charge will make it ruinous to their Characters and Fortunes. Therefore 'tis better that no Divorce be allowed.*

A. I am not proposing a Divorce so easy as the one, nor so difficult as the other; but, as I said before, to part, ought to be as easy as to come together; therefore let it be done in the very same Manner, and with the same Solemnity to make it legal, and give a Sanction to the Act. Let them that are divorced be severely punished if ever they come together again (as the Law of Moses forbids) which will prevent parting for every slight Occasion. Let the Divorce be obtained by being published three Times in the Parish Church, where the Parties live, or by a Licence from the Commons, to be registered at the said Church. Let the Charge be the same as marrying. Let rascally Fleet Marriages be prohibited, and let them be declared null and void; and whoever is so married,

married, let it be esteemed as Adultery or Whoredom: Then this Shop for clandestine Marriages will be shut up; and People will not be every Day marrying and unmarrying. There cannot be then so much Vice in Matrimony, as there is now. "If Nature's resistless Sway in Love or Hate be once compelled, it grows careless of itself, vicious, useless to Friends; unserviceable and spiritless to the Common wealth. This Moses rightly foresaw, and all Lawgivers that ever knew Man. When the Reason and Persuasion of the married Friends to reconcile them fail, all Constraint by Law against Nature renders them but the more miserable." By the married Persons being published in Church, in order to be divorced, as they are or should be in order to be married; their Friends and Neighbours will be apprised of it, and may endeavour a Reconciliation; by this Means many a Divorce may be prevented.

If a Man deserts his Wife, or a Woman her Husband, has not the Deserter broke the matrimonial Covenant? Why may not the Place by such Desertion be declared vacant, or be esteemed a good Reason for obtaining a Divorce, as well in a married as in a political State? The Desertion leaves the Deserted in a State of Freedom, to take another in the Room of the Deserter. These are Revolution-principles; and the Reasons that justify the one, will also justify the other. 'Tis no more Adultery for the Deserted to marry another, than it was Rebellion in the State to elect another King in the Room of him,

by whose Desertion the Throne was wisely declared vacant; tho' it was more vacant from his Unfitness to reign, than from his Absence. The Nation by Experience found *James the Second* an unfit Person to be King, therefore made a proper Use of a proper Opportunity to discard him, and Place one more worthy in his Room; so should a Man or a Woman do, who is deserted by, or obliged to, desert a domestic Plague, and abandon Home because of the Tyranny, Oppression and Misery that reigns there. When the Causes and Reasons are alike, the Verdict and Justice should be executed alike. Such like Cases ought to be a sufficient Reason for Divorce, without any officious or impertinent Enquiry, and canvassing private Affairs by a public Court of Justice into the Causes that produce the Resolutions for Divorce, out of a sacred Regard to the Reputation of either or both Parties. Themselves are the best Judges of their own Grievances, and as fit to judge for themselves why they dislike, and so part, as they were to judge for themselves why they liked, and so were joined together: And much more, because the latter is often founded on Fancy; but the former is the Result of Experience. Therefore the Parties concerned are fitter Judges for themselves than a Court of Judicature; because oft-times the Causes are secret: And 'tis not fit that the unaccountable and secret Reasons of Dissatisfaction between Man and Wife should be tossed about and judged by a judicial Court. As the Mysteries of Marriage should be always preserved with

Chastity; the Causes of private Differences should not be divulged to public Town-talk, to please every giddy Gossip or prating Fool, who love to be ever meddling with other People's Affairs that never concern them, and never by so doing mend them, but often make them worse. "The Differences that arise in private Life should be cured and put an End to, but not published; they are often so deeply rooted in natural Affections, as are not within the Verge of Law to tamper with. *Paulus Emilius* being asked, why he put away his Wife, for no visible Reason? Said, holding out his Shoe on his Foot, This Shoe is a *new* Shoe, and a *neat* Shoe; and yet none of you know where it wrings me. In Cases wherein a Man's own Happiness is concerned, he alone is his own judge, no other can judge for him; what he approves or disapproves, what is agreeable or disagreeable, lovely or hateful to his Nature and Constitution. To desire to redress a Grievance, is natural; but to be obliged to expose what Good-nature and Prudence would secrete, is barbarous. Though it may be just to expose an Adulteress, by public Proceeding against her at Law; yet 'tis a Benefit to the guilty Wife, to be discharged without having her Honour impeached, as many a Husband would chuse rather to do, by a silent Dismission. 'Tis much better to discharge her thus, than to have her Faults scrutinized and exposed, and made the Jest of a bawdy

"Trial." But the Differences in Divorce about Dowries, Jointures, Estates, &c. should be determined by Law, or as the contracting Parties shall judge meet, or agree to before Marriage. People generally know how to make their own Bargains, the Law is only necessary to make them perform the Covenants they enter into, or determine what shall be right when none are made, as when a Person dies without making his Will. When the Parties are so divorced, it is as reasonable and as necessary they should marry again, as it was before, if to them it appear so; when a Possibility or Prospect is before them of living happier with other Mates, whose Dispositions and Circumstances are better suited to the Temper of each. And the Person that is most able, should keep the Children after parting, if there are any; or, as they otherwise agree about it: For, I think, the Father and Mother have equal Right to the Children of their own begetting. If a Man leaves a Woman as wealthy as he found her; and if she be as healthy, I see no just Reason she has to complain for his parting with her. Since Money gives Power, and the Management of Affairs is an Indication of Wisdom, and 'tis Power and Wisdom that govern the World (and 'tis fit it should); therefore that Person, be it the Husband or Wife, that was before Marriage possessed of the Right of Substance, and to whom the Business after Marriage most properly belongs, should have the Right of Divorce, that the Substance may be preserved, and the Family maintained. She that brings

brings a Man a Fortune who had none, should have a Power to divorce the Man that she has taken for a Husband, who is spending it as fast as he can, that she may save as much as she can of it. And he or she that is careful of the Family, should have Power to divorce the other Party that takes no care of it, who is therefore an unfit Member of it. Understanding and Circumspection denote Wisdom, and Wealth gives Power, they that have these have the supreme Right, and 'tis an ill Government where these are divided or disagree.

From a good Wife and a wise Manager of Affairs, none but a Fool or a Madman would desire to be divorced; and from a Fool or a Madman it can bring no Sorrow for a Woman to be separated. Let them that cannot agree together part, then it may be seen on whose Side the Fault lies; the World often misunderstands and misjudges Things. The Power of Divorce would keep many in tolerable Behaviour, both Men and Women, whose Behaviour is now intolerable.

An ingenious Author has these three Objections to Divorce*.
1. "What must become of the Children upon the Separation of the Parents, must they be committed to the Care of a Stepmother, and instead of the fond Care and Concern of a Mother feel all the Indifference or Hatred of a Stranger or an Enemy? These Inconveniencies are sufficiently felt where Nature has made the Divorce by the Doom inevitable to all Mortals: And shall we seek to multiply these Inconveniencies

by multiplying Divorces, and putting it in the Power of Parents upon every Caprice to render their Posterity miserable?"

A. We often follow vulgar Errors, think and speak as others do without Judgment and without Knowledge. Not every Stepmother proves unnatural, nor every Mother has natural Tenderness to her own, and some have too much Partiality; which tends as much to the spoiling of Children, as too little. A Stepmother cannot be easily supposed an *Enemy* to a Man's Children, if she loves the Man. Every Mother is not fit to bring up a Child, because she is Mother of it; for she may have Fondness without Prudence, as Mothers too generally have, but Prudence without Fondness is better for the Education of Children, which a Stepmother may have; and if she have not, if she treats them as an *Enemy*, the Father of the Children has the same Remedy against her, as against their Mother, a *Divorce*, which will tend to dispose her to Prudence and Regulation of her Conduct; therefore *Posterity will not be rendered miserable*, but rather better brought up by this Means; nor are *Inconveniencies multiplied by Divorce*, but very much lessened, though they cannot by any Means in all Cases be absolutely done away. Jangling and contentious Parents are certainly less fit to educate Children, though their natural Offspring, than those that, being freed from the Distraction and Confusion of jarring Tempers, can regulate and govern themselves, their Affairs and their

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* Mr. Hume, in his Essays moral and political.

their Family, with an even Temper of Mind.

Again he argues, 2. "If it be true on the one Hand, that the Heart of Man naturally delights in Liberty, and hates every Thing to which it is confined; 'tis also true on the other Hand, that the Heart of Man naturally submits to Necessity, and soon loses an Inclination, when there appears an absolute Impossibility of satisfying it. These Principles of human Nature you will say, are contradictory: But what is Man but a Heap of Contradictions. Tho' 'tis remarkable, that where Principles are after this manner, contrary in their Operation, they do not always destroy each other; but the one or the other may predominate on any particular Occasion, according as Circumstances are more or less favourable to it. For Instance, Love is a restless and impatient Passion, full of Caprice and Variations; arising from a Feature, from an Air, from nothing, and suddenly extinguishing after the same manner. Such a Passion requires Liberty above all Things; and therefore *Eloisa* had Reason, when, in order to preserve this Passion, she refused to marry her beloved *Abe-lard*.

*How oft when prest to Marriage,
have I said,
Curse on all Laws, but those that
Love has made:
Love, free as Air, at Sight of human
Ties,
Spreads her light Wings, and in a
Moment flies.*

But *Friendship* is a calm and sedate Affection, conducted by Rea-

son and cemented by Habit; springing from long Acquaintance, and mutual Obligations; without Jealousies or Fears, and without those feverish Fits of Heat and Cold, which cause such an agreeable Torment in the amorous Passion. So sober an Affection therefore as Friendship, rather thrives under Constraint, and never rises to such a Height, as when any strong Interest or Necessity binds two Persons together, and gives them some common Object of Pursuit. Let us consider then, whether Love or Friendship should most predominate in Marriage? And we shall soon determine, whether Liberty or Constraint be most favourable to it. The happiest Marriages to be sure are found, where Love by long Acquaintance is consolidated into Friendship. Whoever dreams of Raptures and Extasies beyond the Honey-moon, is a Fool. Even Romances themselves, with all their Liberty of Fiction, are obliged to drop their Lovers the very Day of their Marriage; and find it easier to support the Passion for a Dozen of Years under Coldness, Disdain and Difficulties, than a Week under Possession and Security. We need not therefore be afraid of drawing the Marriage Knot the closest possible. The Friendship betwixt the Persons, where it is solid and sincere, will rather gain by it; and where it is wavering and uncertain, this is the best Expedient for fixing it. How many frivolous Quarrels and Disgusts are there, which people of common Prudence endeavour to forget, when they lie under the Necessity of passing their Lives together; but which would soon inflame

inflame into the most deadly Hatred, were they pursued to the utmost under the Prospect of an easy Separation."

A. If the Heart of Man naturally delights in Liberty, when the Heart of Man has what it delights in, Man will be best pleased, and consequently retain the most agreeable Temper of Mind. It ruffles his Temper to take that from him which his Heart naturally delights in; this is the direct Way therefore to make him a bad Husband, and this is the Reason that many Men's Love grow cold to their Wives, as soon as they consider their Loss of Liberty; that alone changes their Temper, and by this Means they curse their Fate, which they would otherwise bless. Love is the freest Principle in Nature, and is an Enemy to Confinement; therefore Confinement is an Enemy to Love. It is no Wonder then, that married People are generally miserable; the Reason is plain, Love and Liberty go together. Love cannot be confined, no Laws can fix it; therefore *Eloisa's* Virtue is worthy the Example of all Women. She that would confine her Husband by Law, does not seek his Love, but something else; she has the Man, and perhaps his Means, but rarely his Love, for that no Laws can bind; Love cannot submit to any such Necessity, though Man may; nor does Necessity to endure what Man would avoid, alter the Nature or Inclination of Man in Reality, only in Appearance. Suppose a Man is in Prison, and greatly desires Liberty, but being well informed, that his State is such as it must be for Life, and that

there's no Reason to expect the Remedy he longs for; what then, is a Prison best for him? Or, does he grow pleased and delighted with his Confinement? Not at all. But when he finds that he cannot have the only Relief that his Soul wishes for, as the only suitable and agreeable one, he endeavours to seek some other palliating Remedy to mollify the Severity of his Confinement, by taking to Drink, or Play, or Conversation, or some other Thing, whereby he *seems* to be sometimes delighted in his Station, but he is never truly delighted *with* it; and he never loses the Inclination to Liberty, but to Appearance; but if it may be supposed, that long Time and Custom has brought Confinement to be more agreeable to him than Freedom, it must be, because his Spirits having been so really subdued by long Bondage, he wants the Power of *enjoying* Liberty if he had it; he is now despirited, and unfit for what he was before fit for in the State of Freedom he before so earnestly longed for; so Confinement to Wedlock may in Time make a Man seem easy concerning his State, but he rather seems than is so, or he becomes careless and enervated, not affectionate and vigorous. A Man that has a Wound when he knows it admits no cure, if he has Courage enough to support himself under the melancholy Reflection, takes what pleasure he can in Life as long as it lasts, knowing it will end his Days, and uses some mollifying Ointment or Plaister to it; but the Wound is still a Wound, and in his Opinion too; nor can his Cheerfulness cure it, or prevent his feeling the Anguish, tho' he

he regards it as little as may be, that he may make his Life as happy as it can be, Man is therefore not a *Heap of Contradictions* to himself, though Men are to one another, but his Mind moves as regularly as other Things; certain Causes have certain Effects therein, and as the Motives are, and his Passions are capable of being moved by them, so his Thoughts and Actions are always naturally correspondent. Therefore, tho' Love may arise from an Air, or a Fancy, it cannot arise from *nothing*; this is to burn without Fire, or be moved without a Motive.

Nor does Friendship, or any other Quality or Thing thrive under any Sort of Necessity, but such as is agreeable to its own Nature. Constraint can neither procure Friendship, nor preserve it. Friendship I take to be a settled Love, arising from a Harmony of Tempers and agreeable Conduct; now what Constraint of any foreign Nature can be beneficial to this? Two Persons living together, so as in Time to become intimately acquainted with one another, may be a Means to Friendship; but if they know each other, and find no Disposition to it, forcing them to dwell together will not procure it. Persons already jaded with each other's Conversation, have but little Lust to Friendship by being forced to live together; therefore, even on this Score, Confinement can do no good. Nature chuses rather to seek a Help near at Hand, than far off; and therefore makes the most it can of what it has Opportunity of doing, and that is all that's in it; but Confinement to

Enjoyment damps the Sense and Feeling of it, and contracts a Honey-sun to a Honey-moon. This Way therefore of drawing the Marriage-knot close, strains and often breaks it. Friendship where it is solid and sincere, undoubtedly gains by Friends living together, but such never chuse to part. Where 'tis wavering and uncertain, it may as well go as stay, since 'tis a Thing indifferent, and being so, there's no Damage done, whether it does the one or the other; but a Load of hateful Constraint lying upon it, is more likely to crush it to Death, than to wedge it into the Parties who feel the Uneasiness of the Load that oppresses them.

People of *common Prudence* will act as common Prudence directs them in all common Affairs; but prudent or not they must be under one common Confinement, and from this is expected to arise a common Good! The same Argument will as well prove that, in a Kingdom where the Subjects are made Slaves by superior Power, and impoverished by the Authority of Law, their rebellious Tempers will subside, and they will become easy in Thralldom, which otherwise would enflame into the most deadly Rebellion, were they indulged or under the Prospect of an easy Success: Therefore Slavery is rather to be chosen than Liberty, as the more happy State.

If the common Consequence of Marriage be only a *Honey-moon*, followed with a Number of *Years under Coldness, Disdain, and Difficulties*, none but Fools would marry, all Persons of common Prudence would dread the drawing

ing that Knot close, which ties a Month's Delight to an Age of Disquietudes and Mourning. Love is doubtless a *restless and impatient Passion*, when unsatisfied; but, if satisfied, does it prove the same also? Our Passions will be restless and impatient to dissolve the Bands of such Love, as the Destroyer of its Rest: For the God of Love labours six Days to enjoy his Sabbath on the seventh.

Obj. In the third Place (*says my Author*) we must consider, that nothing is more dangerous, than to unite two Persons so close in all their Interests and Concerns, as Man and Wife, without rendering the Union entire and total. The least Possibility of a separate Interest must be the Source of endless Quarrels and Jealousies. What Dr. Parnel calls *the little pilfering Temper of a Wife*, will be doubly ruinous; and the Husband's Selfishness, being accompanied with more Power, may be still more dangerous.

A. Where can the Danger be to any one of having Power to relieve one's self from Misfortunes when they come? Whatever Evil may accidentally arise from it, I believe it is what every one had rather chuse, than lie at the Mercy of another's Power, which is what all Mankind dread. As this Scheme is as good for one Party or Sex as the other, so none can dislike it with Prudence, or disapprove it with Reason. If a Man does not conceive it dangerous to himself, to disunite one that is, or rather ought to be closely united to his Interests, and unite another that he has Reason to believe will be so, who is to judge for him? Every Man should know his own

Interest best; and what makes it necessary for him to part with his Wife. Quarrels and Jealousies, separate Interests and a pilfering Temper are some of the Things complained of, that a Divorce, or even the Fear of a Divorce may remedy.

Obj. Should these Reasons against voluntary Divorces be esteemed insufficient, I hope nobody will pretend to refuse the Testimony of Experience. At the Time that Divorces were most frequent among the Romans, Marriages were most rare; and Augustus was obliged by penal Laws to force the Men of Fashion in Rome into the married State.

A. The Gentleman answers himself—"A Circumstance which is scarce to be found in any other Age or Nation;"—and therefore not the natural Consequence of the Liberty of Divorce. But does Experience tell us, that we live happier in a married State, than those have done and do where this Liberty has been and is allowed? Could the Enquiry and Comparison be made, it would no doubt confirm the Argument in Favour of Liberty.

It remains then, that those who intend to enter into a social State in Expectation of Felicity, should take Care not to plunge themselves into such a one, as becoming unhappy, is incurable; nor be drawn by bad Customs into bad Consequences; nor be deluded into a State of real Sorrow, irremediable. to avoid an imaginary State of Sin: But be assured, that honest Minds cannot Sin; and what does not injure others, Men have or ought to have nothing to do with. At all Times indeed

indeed a prudential Conduct is necessary, and a good Character is valuable; yet a Conformity to some Customs to preserve the latter, is sometimes the Occasion of its being sacrificed, Experience has told me so. Though a good Name is better than Life, in vain we expect to preserve it in Misery from Infamy, be it thrown upon us ever so undeservedly. Avoiding the Means of irretrievable Misfortune, is the best Means to avoid the Slander of the Multitude, which is generally rash and wrong.

Since it is confessed, that without the Liberty of Divorce, *It is not good for a Man to marry, tho' it is declared, that it is not good for a Man to be alone*; then it is good for a Man not to give up the Liberty he naturally has, to stand the very unequal Chance of being miserable without Redemption, to prevent him from committing Adultery. Though Misery is only said to be the Effect of Sin, yet in this Case Men and Women are made miserable, to prevent them from Sinning, like whipping a Boy to prevent him from robbing an Orchard; which he either has no Disposition of doing, or whipping him prompts him to do. I cannot think it is a Man's Duty to run the Hazard of being miserable, if he can prevent it; therefore I cannot think it a Man's Duty to bring it on himself by Matrimony, or mutilate himself to avoid it; yet, in my Opinion, an honest and constant Nature finds the most real and durable Happiness.

The Society of chosen Mates by mutual Agreement, is preferable to any other State, as natural Honesty is to that of Honesty

by Constraint. Till the Liberty of Divorce is granted by Law, if you are in a State of Life which enables you to bear the Charge of a Family, where's the Crime to take the Woman you love upon such Conditions as you both agree to. If both agree to meet or part, what has the Law to do with it? The Ceremony may join, and often has joined those not fit to be joined, whom neither God nor Nature joins. The Form of Marriage may be, where the Spirit is not; but such are *dead Works*: 'Tis like *the Dead burying their Dead, or the Form of Godliness without the Power of it, from which we are commanded to turn away*. Where the Spirit of Love and Sincerity is, there is truer Marriage without the Form, than the Form without the Spirit; the one are alive to Enjoyment, the other dead to it while they live. But those that Nature joins in constant Affection, God joins; and whether with Form or without, no Man ought to separate them. Though these are Man and Wife with the Form, or without, yet better without, than no evil Restraint be laid on good Nature, but what the Nature of Things make necessary, that Man's meddling spoil not God's joining: For if God, or Love, forsake those that are gone astray from him, and an evil Spirit from the Lord seize the Man or Woman, as it did King *Saul*; so that their Nature now changed, alters their Condition from Felicity to Infelicity, from Good to Evil, let the Bands of Evil be broken; for living together in Sin, is living in Adultery, or worse: For now only Force joins them, and sometimes Lust, not Love. If

Lust

Lust be the only joining Cause, they are no more one Flesh, than a Man and his Harlot is, who are joined by the same Cause; and when the Cause is the same, the Consequence will be the same. Therefore these ought to part, and seek elsewhere in a separate State the Blessing that both being together cannot possess and enjoy.

That Man and Woman were made for the Enjoyment of each other, in suitable Circumstances, the Reason and Fitness of Things sensibly discover; but not any Man for any Woman, is also plain; because if all were equal, there could be no Choice of one, nor exception against another, none could be particularly affected or disaffected with one more than with another; and then all must be made alike both in Body and Mind: But seeing there is infinite Variety, there are infinite Causes of Concord and Discord in the general Nature of the human Kind and Sex; therefore Love teaches a Man to distinguish one from many, and to know the Pleasure of fixing his Affections on a single Object, which he that does on one worthy to be beloved, enjoys in her the Delights of the whole Sex.

Happiness is found to take up its abode only with those, whose agreeable Dispositions, Regularity of Conduct, Constancy of Temper, and Ability of Circumstances are fitly prepared for its Reception and Entertainment; which is expected, but rarely found, in an only Death-dissolving married State.

The Essence of Matrimony lies in the End, *viz.* the good of Society and Care of Posterity, not

in the Means that are ill adapted thereto. 'Tis the good Intent of the Action well conducted to its End that sanctifies it. Those Laws of Man that generally produce Misery or Infelicity, are not the Laws of Equity, which ought to be understood in every Covenant or Contract, even tho' the Terms are not expressed.

If two Persons are married according to Law, however unequal their Fortunes or Rank in Life were before Marriage, it throws them so much on a Level, that all Gratitude soon vanishes from the Meaner, whose Circumstances are raised thereby, though obliged as much as one Person can oblige another; for generally the needy Party treats the other with Ingratitude and Indignity for the Favour received, though it was all that one could desire, or the other give. I cannot conceive that Marriage ought to annul the Laws of Gratitude. Ingratitude on either Side must needs be productive of Misery. But if ever so miserable, the Law affords them no Mercy; 'tis best therefore for a Person to have the Power in his or her own Hands, by not formally doing what can never be undone. This is as good for the Woman, as the Man. Many a Man spends a Woman's Fortune lavishly and in debauchery too, only because the Law gives him Possession, and it is not in the Wife's Power to restrain him. I was acquainted with a Youth, a seeming Saint, who had no Substance, that by the Solicitation of his Relations got the Favour of a young Widow of three thousand Pounds Fortune, and not long after he was possessed of her and all

all her Effects, which she generously yielded to him, took to Drinking, Gaming and Whoring, till he soon brought himself and the young Gentlewoman to Poverty; from which she had the good Fortune to be removed by Death. Without the Ceremony, both Parties possess their own Fortune. A Woman's Property, unless she give it away by Marriage, is her own; her Man has a right to spend no more of it than she pleases; but when married, she must spend no more than he pleases. Suppose a Man and Woman, after some Time living together, find Reason to part, which they may do when the Power is in their own Hands, not having parted with their natural Right by ceremonious Complaisancy; what is the Woman afterwards worse than a Widow? If she is in good Circumstances, she may more easily procure for herself a Man to her liking; than a poor Widow, and more easily too preserve her Substance and her Person from Ruin and ill Usage, than if she gave the Man all she had by ceremonious Condescension, for fear she should be guilty of living in Adultery. I knew a Man and Women who cohabited together, and were thought to be legally married. The Substance with which they traded, was the Woman's, the Man proved extravagant, and of ill Conduct in Business; so that they were in a fair Way to Ruin, when Necessity obliged the Woman to declare herself unmarried: She turned off her Man, and saved the Remainder of her Substance, with which she carried on Business with Success, and soon after got another Mate, who is a

prudent Man, and whether married or no they live happily together. A Woman's Dependence upon what is her own when it is sufficient, is better than a Dependence on the precarious Pleasure of a Man who is a sanctified Husband, and for that Reason may if he pleases be a sanctified Villain. Many are the Cases which shew the Parties had better cohabit unbound, that the Party aggrieved may be able to redress the Condition by a Separation, than submit to a Condition that admits of no Redress. Nature teaches us that an unconscionable Yoke, which cannot be rectified by Law, should be redressed by Prevention. If Law forbids the Cancelling of cruel Bonds, Nature directs us not to sign and seal them. Marriage, as it now is, is entering into Obligations to do or bear, what is oft impossible to be done or born by the contracting Parties on one Side, and sometimes on both Sides. However the Necessity of Circumstances may bind, Nature will still be the same. *Naturum expellas furca licet, usque recurret.*

Therefore we are not to take our standard Rule of Conduct from arbitrary Precepts or Practice, that receive their Sanction from Opinion, Authority or Custom; for the most rational Part of Mankind are now generally agreed, that the Reason and Fitness of Things is the fundamental Rule of Right, by which all human Judgment, Law and Conduct should be directed.

'Tis not Wisdom to barter away Freedom, at least without an equal Compensation (if an equal can be) and a reasonable happy Prospect. Where great Love or
great

great Interest tempts, let those that please try their Fortune: As to others, that have no such Temptations to Bondage, in my Opinion, neither the Ceremony, nor the Parson performing it, combines the Heart or sanctifies the Action, of those that sacrifice themselves at the Altar.

When the Ties of Reputation in a married Woman lose their Hold, and the Sense of forbidden Pleasure drowns the Sense of Guilt, the Ties of Conscience have no Force; and in such Case, how can a poor Husband insulted with Cuckoldom find Redress? 'Tis a Crime for him to be jealous; for though the Circumstances are strong, nothing can justify his Jealousy but the Proof of the Fact, which may more easily be a thousand Times committed, than once proved. And even then, O cruel Bonds! They cannot be so easily cancelled as made; whereas the Cord ought to be as easy to untie, as to tie; and in the same Manner, for which an honest Man would not grudge the Parson even double Fees, and also adore him as his Redeemer, if he did not his Master as such. Then indeed the Church would have the Power of binding and loosing; but because the Parsons only shut, and no Man can open, they lie open to the Contempt of all Men; for all Men hate and despise those that bring them into Misery, but can do nothing to help them out of it. Now, if the married Part, (for the Gates of Hell cannot confine some together, though in the Devil's Hour the Powers of Darkness joined them) the Husband must allow a Maintenance or something towards it, to her that

he has no longer any Thing to do with, (though I would have him put her away in rather better than worse Circumstances he took her in, if possible) she don't desire to dissolve the marriage Bonds, having the Liberty of Jilting at Pleasure, and the Satisfaction at the same Time of keeping her Cuckold in Confinement, by preventing his Happiness with a better Mate. I wish this be not one Cause why Women are generally against Divorce, or I know not why they should oppose it; for set the bad Consequences of both States, married and unmarried, against each other, and those that have not bartered away their Freedom will find the Benefit of it. Certainly 'tis as much the Advantage of a good Woman to be delivered from the Tyranny and ill Usage of a bad Man, as for a good Man to be freed from the Torments of a bad Woman; unless it is because the Female Party are conscious, that 'tis easier for them to captivate Men, than keep them; and if so, their charming Qualities are more superficial than real; they please the Fancy, but will not stand the Proof. But Men, say they, are fickle and inconstant Creatures, ever roving and delighted with Novelty; supposing this, are not Women the same? What Pleasure then can they take in Confinement more than Men? But the Truth is, all are not so of either Sex, though such are some of both. So volatile and inconstant a Humour cannot be bound; consequently cannot make a good Husband or Wife; and it is not desirable to be confined to a bad one.

“ If

“ If the Divorce be with the
 “ Woman’s Consent, what has
 “ the Law to do with it; if with-
 “ out her Consent, it is either
 “ *just*, and so ought to be, or
 “ *unjust*, and to be divorced from
 “ an unjust Man can be no Inju-
 “ ry: But suppose it is, and the
 “ Law returns her Back to him
 “ from whom she was *expelled*, or
 “ *intreated* to be gone, and she
 “ lives apart, a *married Widow*;
 “ is not this a miserable Redress?
 “ *But the Man is tired of his old,*
 “ *and wants to have a new Wife.*
 “ If he be tired let him go. It
 “ must be a much wished-for
 “ Life, for a Woman to live with
 “ a Husband that is tired of her!
 “ *The Man’s inconstant and de-*
 “ *lights in Change.* An in-
 “ constant Lover is not worth keep-
 “ ing, much less is an unconstant
 “ Husband.”

Let us look into the Custom of
 other Countries, Divorce is allow-
 ed and practised by most Nations
 in the World, except the Chris-
 tians, and even by some of them,
 particularly those of the Greek
 Church. And generally all o-
 thers that join one Woman to one
 Man only, permit an easy manner
 of Divorce to those that prove
 false to their conjugal Duty, and
 in Cases of great Offence or Dis-
 taste.

As to the indissoluble ceremo-
 nious Noose. “ In *Sicily*, after
 “ the Articles of Marriage are
 “ signed by the contracting Par-
 “ ties, the Bridegroom may con-
 “ verse freely with his Bride, and
 “ sometimes they cohabit many
 “ Years together without the Of-
 “ fice of the Church. Some of
 “ the *Hollanders* have also several
 “ Children before they pass thro’

“ those Formalities; and defer
 “ that Affair till near their
 “ Death; and the Children so
 “ born are esteemed and inherit
 “ as *legitimate*. So that (*says the*
 “ *Waggish Author of Marriage Ce-*
 “ *remories*) the Benefaction of the
 “ priestly Function is not thought
 “ indispensibly necessary to the
 “ making such a Commerce not
 “ criminal, tho’ in other Places,
 “ they have wheedled Mankind
 “ into such a Belief.”

I contend not for the Liberty
 of Men’s having more Wives
 than one, or of having *Concubines*,
 which I take to be *Mistresses* to
wedded Men, for such they appear
 in the Scripture to be; but for the
 Enjoyment of virtuous Love, and
 for the free Dissolution of it when
 it is otherwise.

“ *When fix’d to one, Love safe at*
Anchor rides,
 “ *And braves the Fury of the Wind*
and Tides;
 “ *But losing once that Hold, to the*
wide Ocean borne,
 “ *It drives away at Will, to every*
Wave a Scorn.”

Love is true no longer than it
 is free; she can only be bound
 with her own Girdle: No Vio-
 lence can force, nor Fetters bind
 her: She forces without Violence,
 and binds without Fetters.

—“ *No Law is made for Love;*
 “ *Law is to Things which to free*
Choice relate,
 “ *Love is not in our Choice, but in*
our Fate.”

But because all are not bad, ’tis
 probable these Precautions will
 have ’bnt little Effect, Men and
 Women will run all Hazards in
 Hopes of Prizes, tho’ ten to one
 are Blanks.

“ But

"But yet if some are bad, 'tis Wisdom to beware;

"And better shun the Bait than struggle in the Snare."

Not that a Man is to expect his Wife or Consort to be a *faultless Creature*, such as he fancies *Angels* are; but he should consider her as human Nature with himself; not without some Failings; and if they are such as can be borne with, they ought to be borne with. It conduces much to Man's Happiness, and shews a noble Nature, to bear with what is tolerable. If there be an Affection and Endeavour to please, that good Disposition is Sanctity. As long as one can engage the other's Affections (which it is their mutual Interests to do, who live together) both are secure and happy; and when that fails to be done in a married State, whatever Security the Woman may imagine her State to be, she is securely miserable; for two Persons to be enabled or obliged to live together in Spite of each other, is uncomfortable Living: But this is easy to be prevented, by entering into such Contracts only as the Contractors may be able to perform: Consider, what does Marriage do, but lay an Obligation to keep a Covenant without giving Nature any Ability to do it. 'Tis like the Consecration of Priestcraft, which pretends to put Holiness into Earth and Stones, that never had any, nor ever can have. It calls Marriage holy, but adds no Holiness to it; like that of making holy Water for baptizing a Child, which only wets the Infant, but neither makes the Water nor the Child holier than before. It gives not the least A-

bility to Love or Honesty, and yet binds to the Practice of both: But Love and Honesty are the Offspring of Nature and Liberty, not of Art and Confinement; those that have them not in a State of Freedom, will not have them in a State of Bondage, no more than such as Necessity produces, the Appearance without the Reality, the dead Carcase without the living Soul. Love or Affection are the Soul of Enjoyment,* without this, all is unfavoury and unsatisfactory.

Wedlock, which is a Lock indeed, opened to let the unwary in, and in which State the wisest and strongest Men find no Opening but in Death to get out, seems to be so ordained to discourage Marriage entirely by those religious phlegmatic Drones, who thought a single Life a sanctified, and Marriage an un sanctified State, at best rather to be tolerated than encouraged, as we read, 1 Cor. vii. *It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman; nevertheless, to avoid Fornication, let every Man have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Husband.* It seems to me by these Words, as if it was good for married Persons not to touch one another, only to avoid Fornication they were permitted; as if it was an unholy Thing to make Use of the Sense of Feeling: And 'tis likely many Parsons, if they had not a carnal Feeling themselves, or could subdue it more than others, would condemn it still, for they have but little Knowledge of human Nature. The same Apostolic Batchelor gives his Judgment thus: *To the unmarried and Widows, I say, it is good for them if*
R they

they abide even as I: But if they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry, than to burn. But, like other Men, he was not always in one Mood as to these Things. At another Time, he advises *the Husband to give to the Wife all due Benevolence*; but that might be when he was either in a more sanguine Mood, or after his married Female Disciples had complained of the want of carnal Love in their believing Husbands, and murmured that they laid neglected in the nightly Administration.

A Man and Woman who behave lovingly and honestly to each other, can never accuse themselves of either Fornication or Adultery; it is just and innocent in the Nature of the Thing to any reasonable Conscience, they may very well answer it to the spiritual Court within their own pure and uncorrupted Minds and Judgments; but if their Conscience be governed and directed by another spiritual Court, whose partial Judgment is directed by Interest, they will judge it to be as they are directed to judge, which will certainly be what suits the Interest of such Court to make it. But if Honesty of Heart and pure Affection be the Motive to good Actions, and our Rule to judge of them, then all natural Impulses conducted by such Motives, are pure, good, right, and fit to be done; nor is there any Evil in such Actions, whatever may be the unforeseen Consequence, or the censorious Judgment of stupid Ignorance and perverse Prejudice; and who can help People's wrong Notions of Things. They that don't go to Church are deemed

Schismatics, and those that don't believe as the Church believes are called Heretics; but what are any of them the worse for that, since Honesty is not limited to Orthodoxy. True Courage, which a right Conscience helps to procure, is requisite to dash Impudence. How in the Nature of Things can that Man and Woman be Adulterers, that are constant and honest to themselves? Or how can their Children be Bastards, who are the Offspring of a faithful Couple? There are many married Whores and Whoremongers, and many Bastards are born in Wedlock.

If the End of Marriage be answered, *viz.* the Benefit of Society and Posterity, where's the Piety in contending for a Superstitious Ceremony? And where's the Virtue of it, when a Sham or scoundrel Parson at the Fleet shall so bind the holy Noose, that the greatest Unholiness cannot dissolve it. If this agree with national Piety, what Sort of Piety is that which such impious Wretches have performed to the Ruin of thousands, without any Redress? Certainly the Apostles said Right, *If the Case be thus between a Man and his Wife, it is not good for a Man to marry.* But the Case was well enough, before it was made bad by adulterous Sentiments of Divorce.

I am persuaded, if the Liberty of Divorces were granted by Act of Parliament at reasonable Rates, Fees or Fines discreetly managed and well applied, it might in Time bring in sufficient to discharge the Debts of the Nation: But as the Government has given to Priests the Benefits of Marriage,

riage, and permitted them to marry, without which all married People would be in an unsanctified State: So I willingly acquiesce, if the superior Powers please

to give Parsons the Benefits of Divorces, not doubting, but then they would plead as heartily for that Liberty as I have done.

S E C T. III.

Of PUBLIC WHORING.

GOOD and EVIL are known by the *Nature* and *Consequence* of Actions; in the distinguishing which, we are to use Reason in governing our Appetites, Affections and Passions; not in mortifying or crucifying them (as the Notion of some is) but conducting them in a proper Channel. *Appetites*, *Affections*, and *Passions* are the Springs of Life, to exterminate them is to destroy all the Good that Life can be productive of, and even Life itself. To regulate these, and to direct Men so to act, as to prevent bad Consequences to themselves, and others, as much as can possibly be avoided, is as much as is necessary. To be able to do this, 'tis proper to consider and define, what moral Good and Evil is: This can be determined only by a Judgment formed on the Nature of Things, not directed by arbitrary Laws or precarious Accidents.

Human Good and Evil, respects human Creatures only, and depend on their *Circumstances*. No moral Law is absolutely Good or Evil in all Variety of Cases; for as the Case or Circumstance varies, so the Good or Evil of the Action will vary with it. We

may not *kill*, to do it unlawfully is *Murder*; but to kill a Criminal, or an Enemy in War, is *Lawful*. 'Tis not a Crime to eat and drink, unless we do it to Excess, and so hurt ourselves; or devour the Property of others, and so do Hurt to others: Moral Good and Evil being limited to the Nature of Man, it must needs be, that Actions which are injurious to none of the human Species, and necessary to be done, because the Nature of Man requires it, are not evil Actions: The *Action* is not evil, which has not evil Consequences, whatever the *Evil* was that occasioned it. *By their Fruits you shall know them*. What does not injure Man, cannot displease God: For God governs Man by Laws, for the Good of Man: God himself is not benefited or injured by any Thing that is in the Power of Man to do; because from Man, God receives nothing: From God, Man receives all Things.

Natural Appetites that excite to the *Propagation* and *Preservation* of human Life, are not in their Nature *evil* to Man. *Copulation* is not an *Evil* in its Nature, but in such Circumstances as are attended with Inconveniency, and

some natural bad Consequences in Body or Mind, as in these three Particulars:

1. When there is a *natural Unfitness in the bodily Parts*, Nature forbids to join together Things unfit to be joined; for it is communicating Pain and Injury, instead of Pleasure and Gratification. Yet Persons may be so unnaturally bound together, by the *sacred Rites*, and so disagreeably fitted for the Enjoyment of each other.

2. When there is a *natural Reluctance* of one Party to comply with the Disposition of the other, 'tis a Prohibition of Nature. Whatever is done by one, contrary to the Will of the other, or not without *full Consent* of both, mars the Felicity of Enjoyment; and is attended with Sorrow and Grief on one Side, as well as Compunction and Regret on the other, in a Temper possessed of *Humanity*. Every Thing contrary to true Harmony is a Violation of LOVE, and not its Offspring. *Rapes* are of the most brutal Nature, and deserve severest Punishment. To force a Virgin, should be esteemed a Crime equal to robbing a House. Forced Marriages against the good Will of both Parties, is disagreeable; it is an Evil that produces lasting Sorrow and Unhappiness; the yoking together adverse Natures, Nature forbids. There should be a Fitness in Body and Mind to Action, to make it fit and agreeable.

3. By dishonourable Solicitation, fraudulent Insinuation, and false Promises, to debauch a Mind to an Action, the natural Consequence of which is Injury and

Repentance, is also criminal. To deflower a Virgin under Pretence of Marriage, and abandon her, is a Fraud and Knavery; and is naturally productive of ill Effects. The intrinsic Value of a Maidenhead, though nothing in itself, is to be esteemed according to its current Value in the Estimation of Husbands, and the Consequence of its Loss to the young Woman's future Felicity, and perhaps not hers alone. This makes it evil, enhances the Crime, and shews the Iniquity of the Fraud; which might be less fatal, if Divorces were allowed: For it would not then be productive of such evil Consequences. To tempt a Virgin, or a virtuous Matron, to transgress the Laws of Chastity and Constancy, is not less a Crime than defrauding one of his Property by artful and deceitful Insinuations; as it tends to spoil the Reputation and Fortune of the *one* in Marriage, or if she be afterwards married, may render her less valued and beloved by her Husband; and to disengage the Affections of the *other* from her loving Husband: By debauching a chaste Mind, she is rendered less virtuous, and with her Husband made less happy than before. Besides, 'tis a Robbery to the Husband in the highest Degree, to deprive him of what he mostly values, *viz.* the tender Affections of his Wife: When that is the Case, it is a Loss that can never be repaired. Sometimes to gratify one Man's Pleasure, Charge is brought on another, which the Actor would be very much offended, was he in the Husband's Case, to be so used. This is doing by another, as
a Man

a Man would not willingly be done by; and is therefore a moral Evil.

These Things are evil, because of the Injury committed; but the Case is different where none are injured, and both Parties are free, and pleased with each other's Actions, and are under no Engagements of Restraint than their own Nature and common Prudence direct. I see no Reason, why Persons that are at their own Disposal have not as much natural Right to dispose of their own Persons according to their own Pleasure, as of their Substance, Income, or Estate, if the one be as much their Property as the other: If it be not so, then People dare not for their Soul's Sake lay their Bodies are their own; but if it be so, it is not evident, why they ought to be punished for disposing of themselves as they please, especially when Matrimony, as it now is, is often worse, or of more fatal Consequence; nor will it ever be esteemed honourable by those that are unhappy, while the Means of Happiness are withheld.

'Tis well known, that in the satisfying every natural Desire of Man, especially those that give the most Delight, Nature needs a Bridle not a Spur; because more are injured by too great Freedom than Restraint: Therefore Prudence steers the middle Way, and therefore Reason is given to regulate our Desires; yet the moderate Gratification of what Nature makes necessary can be no Crime, when the Property of none is invaded, and none are injured by it. 'Tis only the immoderate Use of Pleasure, or seeking it to the De-

triment of others, that makes it criminal; therefore this can be no Reason to use a Muzzle instead of a Bridle, nor to make those Actions criminal that are Incitements of innocent Nature, which she alone ripens Man for, and constrains his Will to desire; and he cannot help desiring what she fits him to enjoy, and which not Nature but Custom makes criminal: For how can they be culpable of committing Evil to others, who neither do nor intend any? And Man or Woman cannot will Evil to themselves; for Evil consists in Grief and Pain. The Gratification of every Sense contributes to the Pleasure of Life or Man's Well-being, and every Sense was given to Man for that End, to be enjoyed within the Bounds of Reason, in proper Circumstances; and those Circumstances are proper and reasonable, that are by joint Consent, and hurtful to none. Pleasures enjoyed and communicated prudently within natural and reasonable Bounds, and with necessary Regard to Health and Substance, so as not to be attended with the Apprehension of Guilt, or the Fear of After-pain, are enjoyed with Satisfaction. What makes Pleasure the greater to an honest Mind, is to be satisfied with Reason how it may be enjoyed, so as not to disturb the Mind's Felicity by Self-accusation or After-reflections: For the Pleasures of Sense are marred, if the Fruition is not with a full Satisfaction of Mind, which a good Understanding and a prudent Conduct are always necessary to promote.

As to eat to satisfy Hunger, makes not the Action evil; for

were it not for this, Men would have no Desire to eat, nor find Pleasure in eating, consequently could not eat at all; so the Gratification of carnal Lust to the Injury of none, is no Evil; nor is the Lust or Desire itself, for were it not for that, (to which Nature has joined *Love* to the Object to inforce it) all Procreation and the Pleasures and Virtues of a social Life and Family Relations would be at an End: Therefore, barely *to look on a Woman to Lust after her, without some other explanatory Words, is not committing Adultery in Heart*: 'Tis not an Evil, because unavoidable, and sometimes necessary. If carnal Lust be in itself an evil Motive, it must be so at all Times, or in all Cases, and consequently is so in a married State; for in this Case Marriage don't change the Motive to the Action; if it did, it would either be not done at all, or be very ill done. It is not Evil to gratify the natural Lusts of Sense, by which Life and Being are supported and propagated: but to do it to the Prejudice of others. Where neither Party injure each other, but a Man's natural Appetite is satisfied by the Use of an obliging Courtesan, if he is under no legal Ties to another that ought in Reason to restrain him, but Pleasure is mutually given and received, I cannot see any Evil to be in the Action more than in the Desire; which Desires being infused by Nature for the good of Man, vigorous in the best, and unavoidable in all in whom they are, which Man's Will or Wisdom cannot prevent, are not evil; though through the Mist of false Divinity they be made to appear,

and be accounted so. 'Tis the forbidding it, makes it criminal, or rather to be esteemed as such: For this Desire does not arise from a vicious and corrupted Mind, but is the genuine Offspring of pure Nature in the purest Minds. The Desire of mutual Enjoyment is natural to Maturity, Health, and an uncorrupted and vigorous Constitution. Arg Men to crucify these common Dispositions given them of God as Temptations to Evil, which invite them to participate of the Satisfaction their Nature requires, and Circumstances afford; which are the most distant from ill Nature of any Desire in Man, when guarded from all injurious Intentions?

He that cannot refrain, let him marry, is the Precept: But there are many Precepts from the same Authority, that have wanted much Amendment in Practice, When Precepts of Virtue are strained too high, they are either impracticable, or become vicious in their Consequences. All Men who cannot refrain, are not proper Subjects of Matrimony. If such marry as are unable to provide for their Offspring, they make themselves and their Offspring miserable. To say another may refrain because I can, or think I can, is to measure every Man's Nature by my own, or by my own Imaginations; which is certainly the Effect of Ignorance, and has been the Cause of impracticable Laws and severest Censures; not less stupid than to suppose all Mankind can believe one and the same inevident Proposition that is proposed to them. The Natures of Men are so very different, that what one Man can

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do, another cannot; and he must be very ignorant of human Nature, who does not know that every different Man has a different Ability. The not duly regarding this, occasions erroneous Opinions of Good and Evil, bad Laws and Government. If every Man and Woman cannot refrain who are not in proper Circumstances of marrying, then some Indulgence for these should be found out and granted.

If Persons in a Condition of Life incapable to bring up their Offspring, were assisted by the Public in bringing them up, this Objection would be removed. When Inability in Wealth is the only unqualifying Circumstance, to help and assist their Wants by public Charity, is a public Good; 'tis giving proper Encouragement, and doing just Honour to Matrimony. To succour the Children of unfortunate Parents, when born in or out of Wedlock, is certainly a public Good to Children, as well as to their Parents, who are afraid or ashamed to own them. Since no Age of the World could prevent an unfortunate Offspring, the best Thing that appears at present necessary to remedy this, is to give such Encouragement to the Foundling Hospital, as may enable them to bring up the Infants sent thither for the Service of the Public, which may be a Means to save the Lives of thousands; Or, Overseers of the poor should be obliged to take Care of all such Children as are sent them, without enquiring after or punishing the Mothers of them for not being able to maintain them. This Sort of Charity should be supported by the Batchelors and

Widowers of Great-Britain who have no Children, that those who do not marry for fear of Charges, may have the less Objection against it on that Account. This is taking a necessary Care of Posterity, and rendering them useful to Society.

They that cannot contain, are directed to marry, because *'tis better to marry than to burn*. But what if by their Nature and Circumstances, it is not proper for them to marry, and yet they cannot help burning; nor, if married will the Burning cease; for though some can contain themselves without marrying, others cannot with. Those that marry should have Dispositions peculiarly fitted for that State, these make it honourable indeed; those that have not, make it dishonourable and unhappy. As Persons are differently disposed by Nature, which can never be eradicated, they will pursue different Ways, and different Sorts of Happiness. 'Tis contrary to Nature and the Design of Providence, that all should be regulated by one Method, they can no more be brought to one Practice, than they can all embrace the same Articles of Faith. Certain it is, that there are some Dispositions which cannot refrain, and as certain I think it is, that there are some that ought not to marry; not only those who are not in Circumstances of taking Care of a Family, but also such whose Natures are not suited to that State: As 1st, The Intemperate, whose libidinous Nature one to one is not sufficient to satisfy; nor 2^{dly}, Those turbulent Tempers who can neither long enjoy Peace themselves,

nor suffer Peace to be long enjoyed where they are. 3dly, Persons of unstable Temper are not fit to be married; the Inconstant being never pleased with any Thing long, cannot be long happy, nor make their Mates so. 4thly, And Persons without natural Affection are not proper Subjects of Matrimony; where this is wanting, the natural Duties incumbent on married Folk to perform towards each other, can not be discharged. Such Tempers are the Cause of much Infelicity in Wedlock. If an Office be required of Persons unqualified for the Performance of it, 'tis an unfit Undertaking; such ought either not to be put into that Office, or being in it, to be discharged from it, or at Liberty to leave it. Therefore that some are not fitly qualified to marry, yet by Nature are ripe for Enjoyment, needs, I suppose, no further Proof. Tho' the Restraining this Lust is not destructive of our own Existence, as not eating and drinking is; yet because it is destructive of the Existence of Posterity, the Desire of satisfying the Inclination of the former is not less strong than the Desire of satisfying that of the latter, in most Constitutions. So very stimulating is the Itch of Coition, that Men and Women run all Hazards to enjoy what Nature vigorously prompts them to; so that neither the Fears of Shame, nor Disgrace, Penance, Punishment, Fines, Poverty nor Death, nor yet the Belief of eternal Damnation, can prevent even the Righteous, as well as the Profane, from this pleasing Transgression. So that no Laws nor Combinations of Men for reforming others

(made mad by absurd Notions of Religion) have ever been able to put a Stop to it; because it has its Root in the Strength and Perfection of the human Constitution and animal Life; therefore 'tis impossible to root it out, or to prevent those Effects which have their Cause in Nature.

Many Actions are not evil in the Nature of Things, which are evil by the Laws of every Country; and the Reason is, because no Country makes the Nature of Things the universal Standard of Law, as they ought to do; and they do it not, because it suits the Interests of those that have an Influence in making those Laws, to act contrary to Nature's Laws or the Dictates of pure Nature: Or else it is owing to the Ignorance of the Legislators, in not rightly understanding the Exigency of Things and human Nature. When this is the Case, and injurious Laws are established, the Imposition or Iniquity becomes fashionable, and gives it a Sanction; and then he that breaks such arbitrary Laws, shall be deemed as great a Sinner, as if he perverts the eternal Laws of Right and Wrong, tho' it be in Cases where there is no Sin, and which gives Offence to none, but those whose Bigotry, Ignorance or hypocritical Virtue gives Offence to human Nature; enacting Laws, which they cannot keep if they would, and which therefore they never do when a secret agreeable Temptation and private Opportunity offers. Nay, for fear of having their Actions made public, they debauch the Virtuous. Thus, Tinker-like, by endeavouring to stop the Leakiness of human Nature in one Respect,

spect, they make it greater in another, and render it more incurable. To save their own Reputations, they lay the Foundation of private Debauchery: For concealing Nature does not alter it.

If any object, that the Indulgence of public Whoring will tend to the corrupting young Men, this I think has little of Argument in it; for when their Bodies are ripe for Action, their Minds are, and if Nature has not vent one Way it will find it by another. The most modest Youths that debar themselves of the natural Means of discharging the Redundancy which Nature forms, find other Means of doing it, called in these Days *Onanism*; a Practice not so natural, healthy or laudable, as that of spending their Rage on those who being free from Dis temper are ready prepared to receive them, and to cool their Courage. The Indulgence therefore of public Whoring well regulated, will be found to be a public Benefit, for when it is suppressed the private will prevail, and for that Reason private Whores will be most against the Permission of it; therefore all Means taken by Severities totally to prevent it, makes it worse. When a Woman is once become a public Whore, she has no Expectation of getting a Husband, and yet has the same Desires towards Man as honest Women that have Husbands; and woe to the Man that marries a private Whore. What Way can you punish Harlots that can reform them? If the Disposition be in Nature, there is no Way but depriving them of natural Life. This will be as impolitic as drowning the World

was for it heretofore (supposed by the Judgment of sacred Writers to be done for that Cause;) for as soon as the Earth was delivered of its Weight of Water, Mankind grew, as soon as they could grow, as bad as before. Suppose all the naughty People in this Island were hanged or transported out of it this Day, by To-morrow Morning there would be more; they would every Day sprout like Mushrooms, while there was Health and Strength and human Nature remaining. If it was possible it could come to a stop here, People from other Countries would come over; and those few honest People that remained, having no bold spirited Rogues to defend them, would be destroyed for their Sobriety, as they had destroyed others for their Wantonness; for God no more protects Fools than Sinners. Carnal Lust is an Itch in young Blood abounding with Health and Vigour, which no Remedies but such as Sickness, old Age and Death can effectually Cure. Marriage is prescribed as a Remedy, but 'tis often but a palliative one, and the Cure is frequently worse than the Disease; therefore young Men are afraid to apply it, and married People when not pleased with their Mates apply it in vain. Those that are single dread the Remedy, and those that are married for the most Part hate it; because 'tis a Remedy that allows of no Remedy, it causes more Mischief than it cures, and will do so as long as it is, *for better for worse till Death parts.* This Sort of marrying therefore gives Cause to Whoring; for who had not rather do an Evil they can repent of and

and mend, than do an Evil they can never mend though they constantly repent of it? The best Cure for Whoring, is to grant some reasonable Liberty, that People upon trying and disliking may part as easily as they came together. Though this may not perhaps absolutely and effectually prevent Whoring, yet it will be found to do it (I believe) the most effectually it can be done; then there might be more Reason to put penal Laws in Execution against it. And there would be good Reason to do it, if proper Husbands could be found for all the wanton Women, and not only Wives for poor Fellows that want them, but their Families taken Care of who are scarce able to take Care of themselves: Or, if Parsons by preaching could change and restrain the Exuberance of Man's Nature. Until these Things are done, there is no proper Cure for the Malady complained of. But while God gives to Men and Women such strong and vigorous Inclinations as they have, they will incline as they do one towards another. For as the Powers of Nature act mechanically on inanimate Bodies, so do the Powers of human Nature (the Passions, Appetites or Dispositions) actuate the human Body, as Opportunities or external Circumstances permit or invite.

All Actions should be regulated by Reason in such Sort as the Nature of Actions require. Give to natural Use what Nature requires: What is God or Man benefited by any unnatural Restraint? Or, how injured, when no Injury is done to any one? But, methinks, I

hear it objected, *Shall I take the Members of Christ, and make them the Members of an Harlot? God forbid!* But sometimes Harlots are the Members of *Christ*; for he told the Pharisees, that such should go into the Kingdom of Heaven before them, for they believed in him, *Matth. xxi. 31, 32.* And as many a Harlot therefore may be a Member of *Christ*, who was a Friend to Publicans and Sinners, in this Case 'tis only joining one Member of *Christ* to another, and they'll be equally sanctified. But if *he that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit, 1 Cor. vi. 17.* then he that is joined to him, is joined by a spiritual Member; and if *he that is joined to a Harlot is one Flesh*, as the same Apostle intimates, that joining is by a carnal Member, and so not by the same Member by which he is joined to *Christ*; consequently he does not take the Members of *Christ*, and make them the Members of an Harlot; but as *Christ* admonished, *Give to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and to God the Things that are God's*; so he gives to the Spirit the Things that are spiritual; and to the Flesh the Things that are fleshly. To each its proper Member. *St. Paul* seems to give the Devil's Things to the Devil, *1 Cor. v.* when he orders them to give the *Flesh* of the incestuous Person to Satan, *that his Soul might be saved*; meaning perhaps, Let him sow his wild Oats, that his extravagant Actions may bring him to Repentance; perhaps, 'tis no great Matter to us what he meant, but in particular it seems to be giving to Satan the Things that are Satan's. It appears not to me to be any Thing unna-

unnatural, for a Lover of *the Son of Man* to be a Lover of *Man*.

The first Council of the Apostles ordered the Gentile Christians to abstain from eating Blood, and Things strangled, from Things offered to Idols, and from Fornication. These were enjoined as ceremonious Laws, and as such the breaking any one of them is only breaking through a Ceremony. If all are upon an equal Foot, then Fornication is no more criminal than eating a strangled Pullet or black Pudding. The Difference seems only to be as the Consequences make it: For St. Paul esteems eating *Things offered to Idols* as no Crime in itself, but in the Consequence that may arise from it by giving Offence to a weak Brother. So judge of other Things then forbidden. There are Actions lawful in the Nature of Things, that are not expedient.

He that cannot refrain, let him marry, is not a fit Precept to those that are not in a Condition to provide for a Family; or are so far from being in a Capacity to do it, that they are little able to take Care of themselves, unless public Charity would take care of their Children. If this was done, many would be brought up that now perish, and would in a great manner prevent Whoring. I think it is no Man's Duty to enter into any Contract, that he is not capable of Performing. Marriage or Cohabitation is a State that requires a Settlement. He therefore that is not settled in the World, nor in a Condition of settling himself, and marries or cohabits as a Husband with a Woman, or ventures upon the getting Children to maintain, does not well

consult the Happiness of himself, his Partner, nor of Posterity, which it is so much the Duty of all Men to take Care of, that he who does not or cannot do, must be stung with Compunction and Regret, if he is not inhuman. He cannot discharge that Duty who is not in a Condition to do it. Why should any Man enter into the State he is not fit for? It is by this Means there are so many Poor, and Mankind in general so ill provided for. Therefore to tolerate Whores, and to take Care of their Children at the public Charge, would be a public Benefit; unless the Public would take Care of all poor People's Children, the better to encourage Marriage as was mentioned just now, and to prevent the Fears of young Men's entering into that State, allow of Divorce for reasonable and just Occasions, and make Marrying and Unmarrying to be performed in the same manner, and at the same Expence.

If dealing with public Women be thought a Sin against Posterity, by not promoting it; so is Matrimony when ill, by ill promoting the good of Posterity: For Family Contentions spoil the Education of Children, whereby their Nature becomes evil, their Manners depraved, and the Morals of the Nation corrupted as much as by any other Means.

As for the Sin of Whoring, was it regulated so as not to be injurious to Society, there would be none in it. What is no Injury to Man can be none to God, whose Laws are all calculated for the good of Man; he himself being compleatly perfect, can receive no Benefit or Pleasure, nor any Degree

Degree of Injury or Displeasure from human Actions. For to suppose the contrary, either the one or the other, is to imagine that the Pleasure of God or his Happiness depends on the Will and Pleasure of Man, or on his Obedience or Disobedience. And as to common Women, no Injury is done to them, by making Use of them who are most fit for common Use; their Minds and Bodies being already Prostitute, and so qualified by their Function, that Preachers may spend their Rhetoric, and Logicians their Arguments in vain, for the Conversion of those that chuse that Kind of Life, their Natures are addicted to. And he does no Injury to himself by the Use of them that receives none from them, and only finds a Discharge necessary for his Health's Sake. Therefore tolerating and regulating Courtezans by proper Authority, would convert a private Evil to a public Good. The less Violence and Persecution they are under, the less private Dishonesty they will be guilty of, because their Necessities will be the less; for Necessity often makes People act contrary to their natural Dispositions, and corrupts those that might otherwise shine in Virtue. A Woman, because she is a Harlot, is not therefore necessarily a Thief. 'Tis Misfortune or Necessity that generally produces both. When Whores find it their Interest to be honest, they will be as honest as others. Besides those, that are by Nature fit for this public Business, are not fit for Wives; consequently, by indulging these, there will be the less Number of bad Wives. If they would be-

have well, scarce any Man will venture to take to Wife one of these Prostitutes; so that they who have begun it are under a Necessity of following on in the same Course. For these are those that either cannot contain, for if they could they would have done otherwise, or by other Necessity were reduced to it; and as long as the same Necessity holds, the Consequence will be the same, unless a new Necessity of another Kind arise to prevent it.

'Tis certain that a Prostitute is not a laudable Employ, because it is generally the Effect of Poverty; but 'tis a tolerable one, because better than worse; 'tis an Evil in human Nature compared with the excellent Union between one and one who dwell together in Harmony; but 'twill be found a necessary Evil, if rightly understood, permitted and used. As great a Sin as it is, Poverty seems greater, for none but poor Whores suffer for their Practice; therefore their Suffering is not the Effect of their Crime, but of their Poverty: Therefore distressing them more, cannot make them better; because it increases their Necessity, and makes the Cause of Prostitution greater, and so reduces them to Thieving, a worse Practice. 'Tis a necessary Evil, because the Toleration of these is necessary to preserve the Chastity of others, and young Men from everlasting Ruin by precipitate Marriage which never can be remedied. Therefore it would be well, if in every Town at least so many as are sufficient were permitted to abate the Fire of those that cannot contain, and yet may not be in proper Condition to marry

marry; and also to reduce to Reason those that are inclined to that Sort of Folly or Madness, and must have irresistible Vent. For Nature supplies Man with a plentiful Stock of Juice and Spirits for Pleasure-sake, more than can be wasted for Procreation. And it is no Injury to a Man, when he comes to marry, to have enjoyed Women with Moderation before; the Women themselves being Judges.

I wonder these Women have never thought of another Method of making themselves or their Profession public, than that of patrolling the Streets, a very improper Method, which some think is too much in Imitation of Satan, who is represented *walking about seeking whom he may devour*; that they have never thought of hanging something Scarlet out at the Window of their Lodgings, in Imitation of their great Patroness RAHAB, who hung out a scarlet Line; it might be perhaps a Rope covered with red Cloth, *Joshua ii. 18, 21.* and who is afterwards numbered among the Saints, *Hebrews xi. 31.* Or, if she is a House-keeper, the Sign of *Mary Magdalene*, is not an improper one, whom holy Church owns was a beautiful Courtesan, and one of the most charming Disciples of the Lord Jesus.

Public Whoring under proper Regulations, is as necessary to a Town, as a common Place for Evacuation is necessary to every House, without which all the House will soon be in a nasty Pickle; and some can as easily bear to have the Fore-door of their House shut up as their Back-door. No Violence or Force can

prevent a Madness so natural to Men and Women. Whatever Reformers may think, they always make more Mischief by their Violence, than they are able to prevent.

I conclude with a Word of Advice, first to young Men. It is a hard Matter to most to use Moderation in the Pursuit of Pleasure, whereby many are emaciated and die young: But 'tis the Part of the Prudent to follow a Mean in all Things. Extremes will either mar your Understanding, or your Manners. The Flame that burns fiercely, the sooner consumes its Fuel. Pleasure is to be used only for the Sake of Health and Ease; which, because it is hard to bridle within just Bounds, I apprehend, that most wise Men have required of you a total Restraint. He that can wholly abstain, keeps himself out of Danger, and has Safety instead of Pleasure, which often produces Pain in its Consequences; and therefore requires Care and Conduct to regulate. 'Tis the greatest Prodigality to make a Burnt-offering of yourselves on *Venus's* Altar. A Body drained of its Juices, and macerated, makes a feeble old Age. In all Enjoyments 'tis good to beware of Excess, and not be captivated with the Love of Pleasure. It should be made a Refreshment, not a Toil; that after wasting your Follies you may act the wiser, that your Minds may be more free for noble and necessary Uses. If you would enjoy mental Pleasures in old Age, keep Oil in your Lamps to enlighten your upper Rooms; therefore spend in Moderation, and not too lavishly. Purity of Mind

Mind should be always preserved; that the Corruption of Pleasures do not corrode it. Fools only prodigally waste their Bodies, their Health and their Substance. 'Tis commendable to be always honest and just to Woman, as well as to Man, in the Performing of Contracts; that you do not by your own Practice teach those Dishonesty, that you have to do with. Let a conscientious Care direct you. Never debauch any Virgin, nor corrupt any Matron, since other more proper Persons may be enjoyed: Nor give any Occasion to any to grieve by your Falshood, which must give Pain and Regret to an honest Mind to have been the Cause of.

Let those that are in the *decline of Age*, be careful of the Balsam of Life, and not desire the Return of Youth, which they cannot obtain, nor too rigorously condemn those Pleasures or Follies they are not so fitted to enjoy: But, content with what is past, regard those more noble Faculties of Reason, the principal Pleasure of the Soul, when sensitive Pleasures begin to leave them.

To *Virgins*. My greatest Concern is for you; you must endeavour to resist with all your Might, the Temptations of young Men, that would ensnare you; and take the utmost Care to trust none but such in whose breast lodges Sentiments of virtuous Honour, and who have a strict Regard to Truth, with whom you have a Prospect of being happy all your Days. You have the most difficult Part to act, and the only Way to keep your Fortrefs from surrendring is never to treat about

it, but when Terms fit to be accepted are proposed by one whose Actions have been known not to give his Lips the Lye. Preserve your Virginity for a Husband, that you may find the Reward in his lasting Love and good Opinion of your Chastity and Fidelity. Love and Affection founded on Virtue is the most durable.

To *Parents*, whose Children by the Force of youthful Vigour and agreeable Temptations have acted contrary to their Wills: Consider what sensible and pleasing Titulations you had yourselves when young, and forgive the Faults that Nature makes in those that have erred. If you preserved yourselves in your youthful Days, yet make some Allowance for the Difference of Constitutions and Circumstances. Which of you having Children, had not much rather they make a Slip that is recoverable as to Condition, than be in a Condition irrecoverably miserable. Scarce any, with Respect to their Sons, but would chuse this; and would as freely chuse the same, respecting their Daughters, if they rightly considered Things, and if the barbarous Custom of making so wide a Distinction where no such is, did not pervert the Judgments of People, and occasion their partial Censoriousness. This I mention to stir up in Parents a placable forgiving Nature, and to abate rash Censure in all, not to corrupt any. What I have written, I intend for a general Good; and, I am disposed to hope, will be more conducive to it, than many Writings that have a more sanctified Appearance.

The SPEECH of Miss POLLY BAKER, said to be delivered by her before a Court of Judicature in the Colony of Connecticut in New-England; where she was prosecuted the fifth Time, for having a Bastard Child, which influenced the Court, to dispense with her Punishment, and induced one of her Judges to marry her the next Day (a).

MAY it please the honourable Bench, to indulge me in a few Words: I am a poor unhappy Woman, who have no Money to fee Lawyers to plead for me, being hard put to it to get a tolerable Living (b).

I shall not trouble your Honours with long Speeches, for I have not the Presumption to expect, that you may by any Means

be prevailed on to deviate in your Sentence from the Law in my Favour (c). All I humbly hope is, that your Honours would charitably move the Governor's Goodness on my Behalf, that my Fine may be remitted.

This is the fifth Time, Gentlemen, that I have been dragged before your Court on the same Account (d); twice I have paid heavy

(a) This Story is attested for Truth, but whether true or no, the Reasons that follow are true: But many Persons, in Matters of Belief, *strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel*: They cannot credit the Truth of a Story that has nothing improbable in it; but can credit Stories reported by a credulous People to be done in distant Ages, and in a strange Country, which are impossible to Nature.

(b) No Penny, no *Pater Noster* whether in Law or Gospel, the Poor could seldom have Right by Law, and formerly 'twas impossible for rich Men to go to Heaven by the Gospel, when *Christ* and his Ministers were poor; but if the Case be the same now, *Christ* have Mercy upon his Ministers, for they are now rich.

(c) Religious Sinners have more Assurance; they imagine, as they are taught, *Luke xviii.* that *Importunity* will work upon their Judge, and that therefore *they shall be heard for their much speaking*, how much soever they speak against it; or why do they pray so long, and often? Why so often utter the same Expressions over and over again; if *Importunity* be not the availing Grace, if the best Prayer-monger or Speech-maker to God Almighty does not stand the best Chance.

(d) 'Twas well they did not put her to Death for being a Witch, in getting five Children without a Husband; which could certainly be done no Way but by Witchcraft.

heavy Fines, and twice have been brought to public Punishment, for want of Money to pay those Fines (*e*). This may have been agreeable to the Laws, and I don't dispute it; but since Laws are sometimes unreasonable in themselves, and therefore repealed; and others bear too hard on the Subject in particular Circumstances, and therefore there is left a Power somewhat to dispense with the Execution of them (*f*), I take the Liberty to say, that I think this Law, by which I am punished, is both unreasonable in itself, and particularly severe with Regard to me, who have always

lived an inoffensive Life in the Neighbourhood where I was born; and defy my Enemies (if I have any) to say I ever wronged Man, Woman or Child. Abstracted from the Law I cannot conceive (may it please your Honours) what the Nature of my Offence is (*g*). I have brought five fine Children into the World at the Risque of my Life, and have maintained them well by my own Industry, without burdening the Township (*h*); and would have done it better, if it had not been for the heavy Charges and Fines I have paid (*i*).

Can it be a Crime (in the Nature

(*e*) If it was just to inflict any Punishment or Fine, it should have been inflicted on the Man; the Woman, I think, suffered enough in bearing the Children, and bringing them forth.

(*f*) And very reasonable it should be so, because Circumstances so far alter the Nature of Things, that the same Action may be good or evil, as it is differently circumstanced.

(*g*) 'Twould be very hard by the Laws of Reason and Nature, without the arbitrary Authority of Law, to prove her a Criminal, or Offender. Can an inoffensive Life offend God, that does not offend Man?

(*h*) Surely the bringing them into the World, and bringing them up, was so much Punishment, that I believe few Women would do the same to enjoy the transitory Pleasure in getting them; and as much as her Trouble exceeded her Pleasure, so much more than Atonement she made for her Sin, if that Pleasure was Sin, that she certainly did Works of Merit and Supererogation. And if her Righteousness more than balanced her Sin, certainly the Sin was done away, and she ought to be deemed righteous; and the over-balance should be charged to her Credit in the Book of Life. She ought not to be punished for not having a Father to her Children, seeing she was both Father and Mother to them.

(*i*) Is not mulcting the poor Parent for begetting Children out of the Pale of Matrimony, Robbery, by the Authority of Law, of the Children's Support. To beget Children is human, or agreeable to the Nature of Man; but to deprive them of their Subsistence, or what ought to be theirs, is inhuman or barbarous to human Nature. To enable Parents to bring up their Children, is pious and charitable; but to disable them from doing their Duty by them, is impious and uncharitable: And if the Parents are poor, has a Tendency to Murder. If the Consequence of such Severity reduce the Parents to *steal*, to maintain themselves and Offspring, the Sin is not in the Parents, but in the Law, which lays them under that Necessity; for Necessity has no Law, therefore cannot be said to break any: That which makes the Necessity, makes the Sin: Wicked Laws make the People wicked. And they that make those Laws, are the Authors of all bad Consequences such Laws produce.

ture of Things I mean) to add to the Number of the King's Subjects in a new Country that really wants People? I own it, I should think it Praise-worthy, rather than a punishable Action (*k*). I have debauched no other Woman's Husband, nor enticed any Youth: These Things I never was charged with, nor has any one the least Cause of Complaint against me, unless perhaps the Minister, or Justice, because I have had Children without being married, by which they have missed a Wedding-fee (*l*). But can ever this be a Fault of mine? I appeal to your Honours. You are pleased to allow, I don't want Sense; but I should be stupified to the last Degree, not to prefer the honourable State of Wedlock, to the Condition I have lived in (*m*). I always was, and am still willing to enter into it; and doubt not my behaving well in it, having all the Industry, Frugality, Fertility, Skill and Economy appertaining to a good Wife's Character (*n*). I de-

fy any Person to say I ever refused an Offer of that Sort (*o*). On the contrary, I readily consented to the only Proposal of Marriage that ever was made me, which was when I was a Virgin; but too easily confiding in the Person's Sincerity that made it, I unhappily lost my own Honour by trusting to his; for he got me with Child, and then forsook me (*p*). That very Person you all know; he is now become a Magistrate of this Country; and I had Hopes he would have appeared this Day on the Bench, and have endeavoured to moderate the Court in my Favour; then I should have scorned to have mentioned it; but I must now complain of it, as unjust and unequal, that my Betrayer, and Undoer, the first Cause of all my Faults and Miscarriages, (if they must be deemed such) should be advanced to Honour and Power in the Government, that punishes my Misfortunes with Stripes and Infamy (*q*).

I shall

(*k*) Which is most Praise-worthy, to get Children, and take Care of them; or to get none and take Care of none? Which is most conducive to the public Good; or best for the Common-wealth? Supposing both to be good, yet which is the better? Which is the more laudable, a private personal Good, or the Propagation of public Good? Frugality or Hospitality, where either are practicable? Or, at least, if Constitution and Circumstances require the one or the other, where is the Crime of practising either?

(*l*) Because both Minister and Justice marry there.

(*m*) Undoubtedly it is better to be at a plentiful Table, and to live in Credit, than to snap at a bit now and then, as if one lived by Stealth, and be always betrayed.

(*n*) Outside Goodness often carries off the Prize; which, those of modest, hidden and intrinsic worth Merit, but are deprived of.

(*o*) So that she was punished for her Misfortune, not for her Fault.

(*p*) 'Tis a most shameful Thing, that Men pretending to Honour or Conscience, should only pretend it to obtain their Ends; which having obtained, they sacrifice all Honour and Conscience, and yet would be thought to have it. But so eagerly do most Men pursue Pleasure and Profit, that they leave Honour and Conscience behind them in their Amours and Affairs, so that few are to be trusted in those Concerns.

(*q*) It must be confessed, though 'tis disagreeable to be told, that People do

S

not

I shall be told, 'tis like, that were there no Act of Assembly in the Case, the Precepts of Religion are violated by my Transgressions (r). If mine then is a religious Offence, leave it to religious Punishments. You have already excluded me from the Comforts of your Church Communion: Is not that sufficient? You believe I have offended Heaven, and must suffer eternal Fire: Will not that be sufficient? What need is there then of your additional Fines and

Whipping (s)? I own, I do not think as you do; for if I thought what you call a Sin was really such, I could not presumptuously commit it. But how can it be believed that Heaven is angry at my having Children, when to the little done by me towards it, God has been pleased to add his divine Skill, and admirable Workmanship, in the Formation of their Bodies; and crowned it, by furnishing them with rational and immortal Souls (t)?

Forgive

not suffer their *Crimes*, but for their *Weakness, Ignorance and Poverty*: For if two Persons are guilty of the same Action (as in this Case) the Impotent and Poor suffer with Scandal, while the Powerful and Opulent generally escape with Impunity, and perhaps Applause, though the Poor may have Necessity to plead in their Favour; and this is naturally the Case, when Actions that are not criminal in themselves are so made by Law; or Actions criminal in Reason and the Nature of Things, are by Law or Custom esteemed just. Sometimes indeed Men suffer for their Riches, as when they fall into the Hands of *High-way Robbers*, or *High-church Robbers*, as the Inquisition in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where rich Heretics are murdered by the Law of that Church, that the Church by Law too may rob them and their Families of all their Wealth; and this Law is there deemed *holy* and *just*.

(r) The Precepts of any Religion, which is not established on the Foundations of *Truth* and *Honesty*, (and they are generally founded on somewhat else) are violated by Truth and Honesty. Religion erected and established on these, is good; and such Religion only. All other is Knavery, and Tyranny, and injurious to the natural Rights of Mankind; and aims to make Sovereigns, as well as Subjects its Slaves and Vassals. 'Tis highly necessary in every Kingdom, that the King should be Head of the national Church therein; or the Church will be his Head: If he keep not the Church under his Power, the Power of the Church, that is, of the Priests, will keep the King under. The Church will be always mild, when its Power is muzzled; and will do no Hurt, when it cannot. But every Church, when invested with Power, will pour out the Phials of its Wrath upon Men.

(s) If they believe eternal Torments are the Rewards of Sin in this Life, which they teach others to believe; or that *hereafter* God will punish all Men according to their Demerits; what Presumption is it for them that believe so, to take God's Work out of his Hand (especially in Sins said to be against him only)? Or do they Justice *now*, in bringing his Justice on themselves by their own Injustice. If this Doctrine was really true, and truly believed, I see no need of Punishments here; all that need be done, is to convince Men of the Truth of it. But Men act, judge and punish here, as if the Truth of this Doctrine was very uncertain, not to be depended on; and very little believed, though much talked of,

(t) An evident Demonstration, that the having Bastard Children is no Sin to God; and the bringing them up can be no Sin to Man.

Forgive me, Gentlemen, if I talk a little extravagantly on these Matters; I am no Divine: But if you, Gentlemen, must be making Laws, do not turn natural and useful Actions into Crimes by your Prohibitions (u). But take into your wise Consideration the great and growing Number of Batchelors in this Country, many of whom, from the mean Fear of the Expences of a Family, have never sincerely and honourably courted a Woman in their Lives, and by their manner of Living, leave unproduced (which is little better than Murder) hundreds of their Posterity to the thousandth Generation. Is not this a greater Offence against the public Good, than mine? Compel them then by Law, either to Marriage, or to pay double the Fine of Forni-

cation every Year (x). What must poor young Women do, whom Custom has forbid to solicit the Men; and who cannot force themselves upon Husbands, when the Laws take no Care to provide them any; and yet severely punish them, if they do their Duty without them; the Duty of the first and great Command of Nature, and of Nature's God, INCREASE AND MULTIPLY; a Duty, from the steady Performance of which, nothing has been able to deter me; but for its Sake I have hazarded the Loss of the public Esteem, and have frequently endured public Disgrace and Punishment; and therefore ought, in my humble Opinion, instead of a Whipping, have a Statue erected to my Memory (y).

(u) Actions *natural* and *useful* cannot be criminal in the Reason of Things, though made to appear so, by such Prohibitions.

(x) If Marriage tend to the Good of Society, one might be tempted to think, that a Religion which discourages it, was given to Men by God, as he was said to have given *Saul*, a King to the *Israelites*—*in his Anger*.

(y) This Speech is beyond all Statues that can be erected to eternize her Memory, which demonstrate her to have been a Woman of excellent SENSE, VIRTUE and HONOUR, maugre all that may be said to the contrary.

P O S T S C R I P T.

ALL that in the preceding Pages may seem to reflect on *Jesus Christ*, for discouraging *Divorce* and *Marriage*, will be easily conceived to be no Reflection on him, if he was *not* the Author of that Discourse on this Subject; as I have all along in Honour of his *great* and *holy* Name supposed: Which may be very well granted, if we consider, (1.) That the first Miracle he wrought, was at a Marriage-feast, as 'tis alledged in Favour of that Ordinance. (2.) That he declared, *he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*; that is, to enforce the Doctrine and Discipline of it; but setting a Law aside *destroys*, *not fulfils* it. (3.) That he never blamed the Woman of *Samaria* for having had five Husbands, and then living with one that was *not her Husband*. (4.) That his gentle Behaviour to the Woman taken in the Act of Adultery, shews him to have been no severe Monk. (5.) That he very affectionately expressed his Love to little Children, *Suffer little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of God*. (6.) That he encouraged Love among his Disciples, which shews he would not have them live together in Enmity. (7.) That his Saying to the *Jews*, concerning *Moses*, *If ye believe not his Writings, how will ye believe my Words*, shew, that his Words did not contradict the Writings of *Moses*. If they did not

harmonize, how is the Belief of the one necessary to the Belief of the other? If it be objected, that granting this *Insinuation* to be *true*, that this Discourse with the Pharisees had not *Christ* for its Author; we shall be at a Loss to know what he did say. I answer, better so, than say he contradicted himself, and destroyed the Foundation he built on; uttered Things *absurd*, and delivered Precepts *unnatural*. It is most becoming for Christians, to believe the *best* of him. If for these Reasons, I may be excused from intending to reflect on *Christ*, by Consequence, excusing me, excuses him.

And my Plea for tolerating *professed Whores*, will be also found *pardonable*, if it be considered, that what is here proposed, is not against *Law* or *Gospel*; for the Reasons for so doing, are offered with Submission to the Law, to give them a *legal Toleration*, and regulate their *Practice*, that being managed with more *Modesty*, *Decency* and *Decorum*, it may remove the present bad Consequences attending it: Thus 'twill make the Evil *less*, and of the *greater* Evils before-mentioned, direct Men to chuse the *least*: Nay, 'tis the best Means that can be to prevent the shameful Sin of *Sodomy*. If 'tis objected, that this is encouraging *Prophaneness* and *Impiety*; I answer, that cannot be; for to *profane* any Thing, is to use what is *holy* in an

an *unholy* manner; but sure none will say, that the *Things* I mean, which are better conceived than told, are like *Aaron's holy Breeches*. And therefore their natural Use cannot profane what were not sanctified before.

And as for the *Impiety* of this Toleration, I see none in it; for who have been more pious than *public Whores*? Who has enriched the Church of Rome more than they, and their Lovers? And what has more benefited Protestant Churches, than the Divorce of King Henry VIII. Therefore this carnal Toleration and indulging of Divorces will not be injurious to the Gospel; for these Sinners generally frequent the Church as much as others, and make as pious an Exit, when they are not persecuted, which makes them worse not better; and the Gospel always thrives best in a Soil fattened with Sin. Who are more generous, frank, open-hearted, open-handed, and charitable, than these? And, if Charity covers a Multitude of Sins, sure it may cover this one, and where Sin abounds, Grace does much more abound, therefore Sin is not injurious to Gospel Grace. What then, shall we sin, because Grace abounds? God forbid. Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression. Take away therefore the Law, and you take away the Sin; for 'tis none against Nature, as has been shewn. These familiar social Favours, which will always be wanted, sought for, and granted, both are and may be done, without Prejudice to Society. If they were permitted and regulated by Law,

they would then be *lawful*; a Licence from the Commons, or County-sessions could do that. I don't think it would best answer the End proposed, to prevent private Whoring, to stew them all up in one Place or Part of the Town, rather to let them live where they will, and publish themselves by some feigned Name, on the Door or Sign, as of *Helen, Flora, Dido, Cleopatra, Letitia, Constantia, &c.* But wherever they live, let them conform to the Laws, that regulate their Behaviour. Let none object, that this would be tolerating Things dishonourable. Is not this World one of God's Houses? And must not every House that is usefully furnished, have in it, what the Apostle calls, *Vessels of Honour and Dishonour*? Are not Chamber-pots necessary as well as Drinking-pots? All Vessels can't be Plates, Tankards, and Punch Bowls. Do they that break the Vessels for dishonourable Uses, act wisely? The most despised Things are of some use. Our uncomely Parts have more abundant Comeliness, said the holy Batchelor, which shews that he himself had been pleased with the comely Sight of our uncomely Parts; and they that prate against these uncomely Parts, have them, and find them as necessary, though hid, as those Parts that are decked up to public View. I have somewhere read, that CATO, on seeing a young Nobleman coming out of the Stews, uttered Words to this Purport, Intent, or Meaning:

*When turgid Lust distends the vital Frame,
'Tis lawful to come here, and quench the Flame.*

(5) *Stoll*

THE
RESURRECTION
OF
JESUS CONSIDERED;
IN
ANSWER
TO THE
TRIAL OF THE WITNESSES.

Job xxxiv. 4.
*Let us chuse to ourselves Judgment: Let us know among ourselves
what is Good.*

Acts xvii. 11.
They searched the Scriptures daily, whether these Things were so.
— *Ab! si fas dicere, sed fas.* PERSIUS, Sat. I.

— *Somewhat I would say,*
But fear, — Let fear, for once, to Truth give Way. DRYDEN.

The Third EDITION with great Amendments.

By a MORAL PHILOSOPHER.

N. B. *The second Edition is spurious and erroneous.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*.
M DCC XLIV.

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T H E
I N T R O D U C T I O N.

In this Edition I have endeavoured to correct those Expressions in the former which gave Offence, by removing some and mending others wherever it appeared necessary. Some Things that were in the former Introduction are transposed to more proper Places, but nothing material is omitted; and here are some Additions of Consequence. What is called the second Edition is a pirated and faulty Piece. To distinguish this from that, 'tis called the Third. For these Reasons I only desire the Favour of my Opponents to refer to this.

 **A**MONG all the ingenious Gentlemen who have entered the Lists against Mr. Woolston in Favour of the Gospel Miracles; the Author of the Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus stands foremost on the Records of Fame. The Conquest he has gained has spread itself far and wide, and reached even the remotest Corners of Infidelity; none having hitherto replied to so triumphant a Piece. The tenth Edition had published its Praise before it fell into my Hands by the Recommendation of Friends. After reading it, an ardent Love to Truth animated my Attempt to answer. I said with Elihu, * *Great Men are not always wise, neither do the*

Reverend understand Judgment. Therefore said I, Hearken to me, I will also shew you mine Opinion. † My Words shall be the Uprightness of my Heart. Let me not, I pray you, accept any Man's Person, nor give flattering Titles to Man ‡, for it is not good to have Respect of Persons in Judgment.

I presume that worthy Gentleman, who is the Author of the Trial, might expect it to meet with Opposition, as well as Approbation; and that, where all reasonable Liberty is espoused by all Parties, it will be denied to none: By this Means Truth will be cultivated, and flourish. As there can no Honour accrue to an Author that may not be answered, so a generous Antagonist can seek no other Satisfaction than what the

* Job xxxii. 9, 10.

† Job xxxiii. 3.

‡ Prov. xxiv. 23.

the Laws of fair Disputants allow. The Person, that suppresses Argument by Authority, brings as much Scandal to the Cause, as to himself. He cannot be a good Man that commits such Oppression; nor can that be a good Cause which requires it.

What is not fit to be enquired into, is not fit to be known. If it be just and lawful to seek Truth, I hope it will not be criminal to find it on any Side. But if it be not proper to enquire after it, lest it be found on the Side of Unbelievers, and Infidelity should reign among us; is it then fit, that Fraud, and Falshood, and Tyranny, and Persecution, and Slavery, and violent perverting of Justice and Judgment should reign in a Nation, and a Form of Godliness without the Power thereof, should form the Manners of a People. These must be the Consequences of suppressing Truth, and Liberty, for fear Infidelity should flourish. Wherefore should it be thought more heinous to examine *why*, than *what* we should believe? If Faith be founded on Fact, let the Truth of the Fact appear; if on Reason, let Reason discover the Foundation; if on neither of these, but Faith be founded on Faith, that is, the Faith of one on the Faith of another, then let those, that ** hold fast the Traditions as they have been taught*, † contend earnestly for the Faith which was once delivered unto the Saints. If it be criminal to examine into the Grounds of our Faith, it is equally criminal to know whether we believe right or wrong, or to

think about it. If so, it is no Wonder that those, who enquire least into the Reasons of their Faith, have the greatest; and that those, who think most freely, have the least Share of it: Or that in Proportion as our Understandings are improved, Faith diminishes. He that searches for Truth has it at Heart, and I think he is justified by his Sincerity, and utmost endeavour, whether he find it or no. It is possible he may not reach the Mark he aims at, though his Intentions and Labours are laudable. *'Tis not in Mortals to command Success*, but 'tis more noble to deserve it: For Sincerity acquits a Man of Guilt, but not of Fallibility.

The Resurrection of Jesus, being made an important Article of Faith, becomes an Affair of Importance; therefore the Examination thereof with much Care, and Caution, seems highly necessary. If it be alledged that it is not proper to be searched into, because it is a Mystery, then it is so, either of Godliness, or of Iniquity, for according to Scripture there are Mysteries in both; † and how can we know which of those it is without examining? § *He that doeth Truth cometh to the Light that his Deeds may be manifest*. Let us bring this Deed to the Light of Reason. That the Truth of it may appear. The Gold that will not bear the Fire is counterfeit. That Fact or Doctrine, which cannot endure this Probation, cannot be true; for it flies the Face of Reason, which is Truth's Defender; and trembles at

* 2 Theff. ii. 15.
§ John iii. 21.

† Jude 3.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

2 Theff. ii. 7.

at Examination, which Truth delights in.

Can that be esteemed a fair Trial, where the Evidences are only on one Side of the Question, and what they say must be admitted for Fact or Truth to both Parties; where the Defendants, to try their own Cause, admit none but their own Witnesses. It was intimated by Mr. Woolston, (p. 15.) *That 'tis happy for us, that the very Account, given by the pretended Witnesses of this Fact, is sufficient to destroy the Credit of it.* If so, those Books must be notoriously bad indeed that destroy their own Authority. A History may be very false, and not do that. Facts reported may be possible, may be probable, nay more, may harmonize, and yet not be true. And in such Case, how can the Falsity thereof be found out without other Evidence? 'Tis not in such Case a Sign of a bad Cause to have great Scarcity of Proof, or not to bring Proof but to wish for it. 'Tis certain, Books have been wrote by Porphyry, Celsus, and others, which contained what the Christians thought were best answered by stifling, and burning. It is well known from some Fragments of them in Origen, that they contradicted what is related by the Evangelists; and that those Writings died no natural Death. If they were answerable, why were they destroyed? If unanswerable, we have the more Reason to wish for them; and lament the Martyrdom they have suffered. The damning Books and Men, for the Sake of Opinions, proves their's to be very bad that do it. If Christians were required to prove the Truth of Gospel History, by the Writ-

ings of those that were not Christians, would they not be glad to find them, and have Reason to wish for them? Those, who would examine the Truth of Things, should hear both Parties. Why not as well in this, as in other Cases? Unless the Accounts these pretended Witnesses have given destroy their own Credit, who can detect their Evidence, be it ever so false, unless it exceeds the Bounds of all Probability, or Possibility? Since the Books wrote against them, which might confront their's, are answered by Fire, and made a Burnt-offering, of sweet Savour to holy Mother Church and the Christian Priesthood. To find the Truth of a Case by the bare Testimony of partial Evidence combined against it, must be owned a very difficult Task: For in such Case we have no other Way to investigate it, but by finding a sufficient Flaw in the Evidence; and by the Disagreements and Absurdities to invalidate the Testimony. Can it be expected that an equitable Issue should be obtained, from what may be fairly reasoned out of their own Reports? Such a Case no Body in a Suit of Law would care to stand the Trial of, where it is well known before-hand, that the Witnesses are all agreed to cast the Plaintiff; and tho' his Cause be Good, he can have no other. Any one, that is obliged to have his Affairs determined by such Proceedings, would exclaim against it to the last Degree. What Christians would care to have the Truth of the Gospel History tried by the Books of their Adversaries, if any such existed? If they were allowed no other Way to prove the

the Resurrection of Jesus, but by such Books, what would they say, or rather what would they not say against such manifest Injustice, and Partiality. But what must Men think, if without such reasonable Helps, the Facts asserted may be detected? If upon Enquiry it be found, that *though in other Cases the Evidence supports the Credit of the History, yet here the Evidence itself is presumed only upon the Credit which the Story has gained, and this very Credit is that which creates in most Minds a Presumption that it was founded on good Evidence; the Credit of such History must sink.*

Some have objected, though it may not be what the Gentleman intended, that the Trial artfully casts a Shade on one Side of the Argument, and a Gloss on the other, by calling the Plaintiff's Council the Council for Mr. Woolston, and that for the Defendants, the Council for the Apostles; by which an educational Prejudice is stirred up against any Man that shall answer it; as if such Answer must be to vindicate that bold unfortunate Man, who, as he singly combated the whole Priesthood, on him the Weight of the whole Priesthood fell. But my Design is not to regard the Persons of the Disputants, but the Subject. In order to trace out Truth, I shall consider the Objections made, without regard to the Objectors, and hope that other Arguments may be admitted than what are produced in the Trial. Reason is my only Rule, and the displaying Truth my only Aim.

I shall mention here what is alleged in the Trial, (p. 23.) *That Jesus interpreted the Prophecies to*

another Sense and Meaning than his Countrymen did, and by his Expositions took away all Hopes of their ever seeing the victorious Deliverer so much wanted and expected. And (p. 89.) That Christ was so far from falling in with these Notions, that it was his main Point to correct these Prejudices, and to oppose these Superstitions, and by these very Means he fell into Disgrace with his Countrymen, and suffered as one who in their Opinion destroyed the Law and the Prophets. I believe it cannot be proved that Jesus suffered for this Cause. And (p. 24.) That when Christ opposed this Conceit at the manifest Hazard of his Life, as he certainly had Truth on his Side, so the Presumption is, that it was for the Sake of Truth that he exposed himself: I wish for the Sake of Truth this could be proved. Again (p. 25.) The People expected a victorious Prince, he told them they were mistaken. I believe they were; but I want to know where he told them so. (P. 27.) He told the People there was no Foundation to expect a temporal Deliverer, warned them against all who should set up those Pretensions; he declared there was no Ground from the ancient Prophecies to expect such a Prince. But why then was (p. 28.) The Government alarmed, and Jesus looked on as a Person dangerous to the State; who, if this be true, was the best Friend to it; and he had Discernment enough to see that his Death was determined and inevitable. But what if it should appear, that after the Foretelling of his Death (through Despair of his Fortunes as it is said) he had it in his Power to set up for King once more, and once more refused the Opportunity? But the former is not yet

yet made good. *Men in Despair lay hold on the least Help, and never refuse the greatest.* If this was his greatest Help, 'twas very little. *Now the Case was really so; after he had foretold his Crucifixion, he came to Jerusalem in a triumphant manner; the People strewed his Way with Boughs and Flowers, and were all at his Devotion; the Jewish Governors lay still for fear of the People.* Why was not this Opportunity laid hold on to seize the Kingdom, or at least to secure himself from the ignominious Death he expected? An unarmed Mob could not enable him to do this: A miraculous Power might; but that was wanting; because the People wanted Faith. Jesus could not be their victorious Redeemer, unless they believed in him. But the Nation of the Jews could not believe, because God for their Sins had blinded their Eyes, that they did not know Jesus to be the Christ; and hardened their Hearts to put him to Death. And in cutting him off, who was the Messiah, they cut off all the Promises of his Kingly Government; and their Prosperity under it. But, be this mystically or conditionally true, it concerns not the Resurrection. Yet let not Truth be denied. The Evangelists say, that 'twas prophesied Jesus should be the King of Israel: For St. Luke says, * the Angel Gabriel declared, *the Lord God shall give unto him the Throne of his Father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever*; St. Matthew tells us † the wise Men enquired, *Where is he that is born King of the*

Jews? Nathaniel called him ‡ *the King of Israel*, so § did the Multitude. Jesus was so far from rebuking them for it, that he justified them in it. And it appears, he was commonly called || *the King of the Jews*, only he had not the Kingdom; therefore when he was about to suffer for it, *† he found it was *not of this World*. This Confession he prudently made at a proper Time; though it had not the Effect to save his Life. But how does it appear by this, or by any Thing else recorded, that Jesus explained away the kingly Office of the Messiah, or that the Messiah was not to be King of Israel, which, because it never happened in a natural Sense, it must be made good in a spiritual, to fulfil the Scriptures: For the same Reason Christ was a Priest and a Prophet, though each in a different Sense. And why so? This not Choice but Necessity drives them to. It is Men's explaining the Scriptures, to serve their Purposes, reduces them to these Difficulties. Divines never expound them mystically or artfully, but when the natural Sense is against them, nor deny plain Reason as long as it serves their Turn. When the clear and obvious Sense of Scripture and Reason fails to do that, they deny Reason and Scripture, or make sad Work with both, as if they wanted either Understanding or Honesty. Then it is, they puzzle themselves and others, and seek any Sort of Refuge in Figures, Tropes, Allegories, and mystical Twisting the sacred Wax to make it

* Luke i. 32, 33. † Mat. ii. 2.
Luke xix. 38, 39, 40. Mat. xxi. 16.

‡ John i. 49. § John xii. 13.
|| Mark xv. 12. *† John xviii. 36.

it take the Impression of any Seal that is put upon it. I think it is plain, that, because Jesus was not King before the Report of his Resurrection and Ascension, the Apostles said he would come again and be their victorious Redeemer, even before that Generation was dead. But the Time then mentioned for the literal Accomplishment being long elapsed: It is now high Time to understand it spiritually; that is, to give it some mystical Interpretation, that the Credit of the Scripture Prophecies, though shipwrecked in the letter, may be saved in the Spirit.

It having been observed, *that all false Religions in the World have pretended to Inspiration*, Mr. B. says, (p. 11.) *This only shews that Revelation is, by the common Consent of Mankind, the very best Foundation of Religion, and therefore every Impostor pretends to it.*

I conceive, that which is the Foundation of any, much less of every false Religion, cannot be the Foundation of the True. The common Consent of deluded Mankind is no Argument for it. Inspiration is the only Foundation any false Religion can lay Claim to, and be supported by. The true Religion has no Need of it. 'Tis founded on the eternal Attributes of the Deity, and the invariable Nature, Reason, and Fitness of Things. No Impostor can build upon this Basis, which is certain, constant and unchangeable. It can produce nothing but Truth. It is bright as the heavenly Light, and free from all Ambiguities. Religion flowing from this Principle produces universal Benevolence, and is universally extended to all that

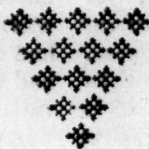
seek the Knowledge of it. It makes all Men happy that embrace it. It perfectly satisfies all Doubts, and gives every troubled Soul unshaken Rest. Every Man's Station in Life, and the common Understanding inherent in Man's Nature, is sufficient, without Skill in Books and Languages, to lead him to the necessary Knowledge of his Faith and Obedience. But pretended Inspiration, distinct from this, subjects Man's Conduct to arbitrary Will, not known till revealed, nor even then: And ever liable to Alteration at Pleasure, yet never to be questioned. 'Tis capable of as many Deceptions as any Impostor pleases. 'Tis the only plausible Pretence, that is able to thrust out Truth and introduce Falshood in its room. It has sanctified the greatest Enormities, and established the greatest Nonsense, for the Will and Wisdom of God. It is capable of doing any Mischief, and of setting up any Impositions; of destroying the Liberties of Mankind, of demolishing Virtue, of dethroning Reason, of advancing Tyranny, of setting up the most brutal Idolatry, and the most unnatural Barbarity, for the Worship of Deity. And all this it has done. It has been the Parent of all sanctified Villainy, of all religious Lies and lying Wonders, of every Thing that is impious and false, in the Name of God, of every Thing that is scandalous of God, and pernicious to Man. And can such a Foundation as this, be the best to build a Religion upon? Reason answers, No.

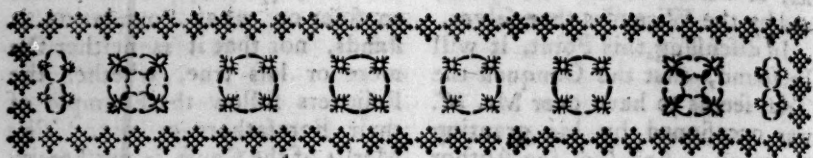
Having dispatched these Preliminaries, I come now to examine the grand Point, concerning what

is said in the Trial of the Witnesses, of the Resurrection of Jesus, and by the Witnesses themselves.

In discussing this Point, it will be found, that the Conquest the Trial seems to have over Mr. W. was occasioned by his granting too much. And that the Author falls under the same Dilemma, by taking Things said, for granted; and by endeavouring to prove the Truth of a Fact, by other Facts which equally want Proof. And it will be also found, that what we call Faith, what we value ourselves for, is meer Credulity. We take Reports upon Trust without examining the Truth of them; or knowing that what is reported of them whose name they bear, is their Report; or that their Judgment and Veracity were equal if it be. Nor do we enquire *how this Fact gained Credit in the World*

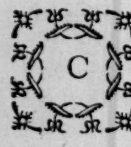
at first, Credit it has gained without doubt, (p. 20.) yet we do not consider on what Foundation it stands, nor that it is neither the more or less true, whether the Believers follow the Example of their Forefathers or not. The Merits of the Cause is not hereby known, nor can be without an impartial Examination. As my Reader ought not to take my Word for the Truth of my Opinion, lest he should be deceived for the same Reason, the Word of any other should not implicitly be taken, for though he may charitably think me sincere, yet my Sincerity is not sufficient to convince his Judgment that I do not err. He therefore wisely judgeth for himself, whether my Reasons are sufficient to prove that what I write is fit to be believed.





T H E
RESURRECTION of J E S U S
C O N S I D E R E D.

Forasmuch as many have taken in Hand, to set forth a Declaration and Vindication of those Things which are most surely believed among us, it seemed good to me, also to examine into the Certainty of those Things wherein we have been instructed.

 CONCERNING the Resurrection of Jesus, Mr. B. the Council for the Defendants in the Trial, (p. 9.)

Waves all Advantage from the mere Antiquity of the Resurrection, for (p. 10.) if the Evidence was not good at first, it cannot be good now.

This is true: If Possession then does not give a just Right, it is just to examine what Right it gives. But, if Right comes by Possession, then whatsoever Possession any Man has, he has a Right to that Possession; then Power only makes Right, for other natural and legal Right there is none; but, if this Sort of Right be wrong, a fair Trial and a free Examination of Facts and Allegations must be granted.

Mr. B. says, (p. 11.) Nothing

can be more material than to shew a Fraud of this Kind, that prevailed universally in the World.

The Belief of this Fact, whether it be a Fraud or not, has not yet, nor is ever likely to prevail universally in the World; and wherever it has prevailed, happy had it been, if Fraud and Force had been wanting to make it prevail.

And (page 12.) Mahomet's Story of going to Heaven, and coming to Earth again, it is said, has gained great Credit, and been received by many Nations. Very well: How was it received? Was not every Man converted to this Faith with the Sword at his Throat. In our Case, every Witness to the Resurrection, and every Believer of it, was hourly exposed to Death. In the other Case, whoever refused to believe,

lived, died; or, what was as bad, lived a wretched conquered Slave. And will you pretend these Cases to be alike? One Case indeed there was within our own Memory, which, in some Circumstances, came near to the Case now before us: The French Prophets put the Credit of their Mission upon the Resurrection of Dr. Emmes, and gave public Notice of it. If the Gentleman pleases to make Use of this Instance, it is at his Service.

It is certain, that Violence exercised to make Converts to Religion is a Credit to no Party. But have the Christians been innocent? The Promulgators of Christianity did not establish it by Force, till they had the Power. But, when Christians were possessed of the Kingdom, the Sentence was, *Those mine Enemies, who would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me.* If the Precepts and Practice of Jesus and his Apostles can justify the Christian's Conduct in religious Affairs, it is well; they cannot be justified by their own Righteousness. It does not appear to me, that every Witness of the Resurrection of Jesus, and every Believer of it, was hourly exposed to Death; or that it was therefore true, if they were. But the Promulgation and Establishment of Christian Faith of one Sort or other has exposed Millions to Death, and in most Lands where it has come, if it was not planted with Blood, it has been watered with it.

Mr. B. comparing the Case of Christ's Resurrection with that of Dr. Emmes, says further (p. 13.) *In one Case every Thing happened that was proper to convince the*

World of the Truth of it, in the other the Event manifested the Cheat.

If every Thing happened that was proper to convince the World of the Resurrection of Jesus, there would be little Room left for Argument against it. Yet the World is so far from being convinced of it, that the Jews in Particular, among whom this was done, or said to be done, were not convinced of it then, nor are they yet, for it was commonly reported among them, that the Disciples stole him away by Night; and gave out he was risen. But every Thing did not happen that was proper to convince the World, because the one Thing necessary was wanting, that is, the public Appearance of Jesus among the Jews afterwards as before. Should we have said of Dr. Emmes, if his Body had been gone in the Night, and some of his Disciples had afterwards attested he was risen from the Dead, and they had seen him alive, that every Thing happened which was proper to convince the World of the Truth of it? But here is the Difference. The Event of Dr. Emmes's predicted Resurrection was known by Day-light, but the other was covered with Darkness.

Mr. B. says, (p. 11.) *That Christ Jesus declared himself a Prophet, and put the Proof of his Mission on this, that he should die openly and publicly, and rise again the third Day; and (p. 30.) that though Jesus referred to the Authority of the ancient Prophecies, to prove that the Messiah was to die and rise again; and that though the ancient Books referred to are extant, and no such Prophecies are to be found, Whether the Prophecies can be found or no, it*

is not material to the present Question; because, adds he, disprove the Resurrection, and we shall have no farther Occasion for Prophecy.

This, I think, ought not to be so hastily passed over. I am not sure, that *Jesus* did foretel his own Death and Resurrection; nor that he referred to the Authority of the ancient Prophecies to prove that the *Messias* was to die and rise again; only that I am told so. If *Jesus* had this Prediction from the Prophets, it was they, not he, that foretold it, any otherwise, than by his expounding what they said. If the Proofs should fail, that *Jesus* foretold his own Resurrection, then sure he is to be discharged of having a Hand or Head in the Fraud. It is granted, the Gospel Historians suggest there are Prophecies, which are not to be found in the Books they refer to; but this is said to be not material. Strange! Is it not material whether what these Evangelists say, is true or false? Whether this is a true or false Insinuation to countenance the History? Whether thro' Ignorance they imagined there were Prophecies, which were not, and so were deluded? Or, Whether, through Design, they suggested there were, to delude others? Or, Whether there are not forged Interpolations crept into their Testimony, to set the better Gloss on what is insinuated? Might not the Writers, whoever they were, who could report Prophecies which were never delivered by the Prophets, report others which were never uttered by Christ? And write what they pleased of him, long after his Departure; and much more easily and boldly,

if their own Words were to be the only Proof of it? If there be not sufficient Reason to believe them in one Thing, may there not be just Reason to Question them in other Things? If they are found guilty of asserting what there is no Proof for; what Reason is there to believe their Assertions, or to take them for Proof? As there is little Probability, that these Writings of the four Evangelists have been handed down to us, uncorrupted, thro' so many Languages, Transcriptions, and bad Hands, as they have passed, there is great Probability, that they are not free from Corruption and Forgery. If therefore, it is possible to prove them pure, it is highly necessary.

Mr. B. adds, *That Christ, by foretelling the Resurrection, certainly put the Proof of his Mission on the Truth of the Event, (p. 30.)* If so, Why was not that Truth proved to the Satisfaction of those People to whom he was sent? They had good Reason to expect and demand his Appearance to them, after his Resurrection, as the true Sign and Proof of his Mission; and might justly question the Truth of his Messiahship, if it wanted that very Proof he promised them. If they ought to have had this Proof, why does the Gentleman say, (p. 77.) *That after his Death no farther Credentials of Christ's Commission to the Jews could be demanded or expected?* And why did he publicly foretel his own Resurrection, if he never intended to appear in Public after his Death? For Mr. B. says (p. 30.) *One would naturally think, that Christ's foretelling his Resurrection, and giving such public No-*

rice to expect it, that his keenest Enemies were fully apprised of it, carried with it the greatest Mark of sincere Dealing; and (p. 37.) that the Prediction of Christ, concerning his own Resurrection, was a Thing publicly known in all Jerusalem: For it gave Occasion for all the Care that was taken to prevent Fraud.

Now, let us examine this Affair of Christ's foretelling his own Resurrection, so that his keenest Enemies were fully apprised of it; and that it was a Thing publicly known to all Jerusalem. We have no other Way of proving it, but by the Evidence of the Evangelists, which, I suppose, no Believers will except against.

St. Matthew says *, *That the chief Priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, We remember that this Deceiver said; while he was yet alive, After three Days I will rise again.* Now the Words, *We remember*, signify, that they heard him say so. But I find no Account where, or when, such public Prophecy was delivered before the Priests and Pharisees, in any of the four Evangelists. St. Matthew, who alone tells the Story of Watching the Sepulchre, and sealing the Stone, should have given us a particular Account of this public Prophecy, but mentions no more than this †, *Certain of the Scribes and Pharisees said, Master, we would see a Sign from thee. But he answered, An evil and adulterous Generation seeketh after a Sign, and there shall no Sign be given to it, but the Sign of Jonas the Prophet. For, as Jonas was three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly, so shall the Son*

of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth. That because they were an evil Generation, no Sign should be given them, seems Strange. One would naturally think, for this very Reason, they ought to have had a Sign; especially, since ‡ *Jesus came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance.*

Concerning which I have to observe, 1st, That these seem not to be the Words referred to by the chief Priests and Pharisees: *After three Days I will rise again.*

2^{dly}, That I cannot find any plainer, nor other public Prediction of a Resurrection, or that possibly can be understood, or conceived to be such, than that from St. Matthew before cited.

3^{dly}, That what St. Luke says of this, seems to be delivered at the same Time, and on the same Occasion: And all that Jesus said to the People, according to St. Luke, is thus §, *This is an evil Generation, they seek a Sign, and there shall no Sign be given it, but the Sign of Jonas the Prophet; for as Jonas was a Sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of Man be to this Generation.* The Expounder, that would make this to prophesy a Resurrection, must be more a Prophet, than he that spoke it, if he spake these Words, and no more. Hence it may be questioned, whether St. Luke delivered the whole Truth; or St. Matthew nothing but the Truth.

4^{thly}, The Words; even as they are in St. Matthew, are ambiguous, and do not plainly indicate a Resurrection. The Rulers could not certainly know by this, that

T 2

Jesus

* Matth. xxvii. 63.
§ Luke xi. 29, 30.

† Matth. xii. 38, 39 40.

‡ Matth. ix. 13.

Jesus was to die and rise again, and be so much alarmed about it, who believed his Miracles no more than his Messiahship, and consequently gave no Credit to his Prediction. These Words, being of a mytical Nature, are capable of more than one Signification; which may equally be proved true, as false; an Advantage that all Mysteries have. Therefore some other Exposition may be given them, since he did not tell the *Jews* what he really meant by them; for these Words no more predict a Resurrection from the Dead, than that *Jonah* was dead the three Days and three Nights he was in the Belly of the Fish.

5thly, The Writers might as easily make this Expression to be a Prediction of the Resurrection, as St. *John* does another, which is as unintelligible; and, when uttered, seemed neither to be so intended, nor understood. He tells us, * that the *Jews* said unto *Jesus*, *What Sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou dost these Things?* *Jesus* answered and said unto them, *Destroy this Temple, and in three Days I will raise it up: Then said the Jews, Forty and six Years was this Temple in Building, and wilt thou raise it up in three Days?* When, therefore, he was risen from the Dead, his Disciples remembered, that he had said this unto them, and they believed the Scripture, and the Word that *Jesus* had said. Before they had Occasion to make a Prophecy of these Words, and apply them to what they affirmed had happened, they knew not the Meaning of them,

nor remembered them. How then could the Priests and Pharisees give such Explanation to so mytical an Expression?

6thly, *Jesus* is also said to have given the same Sign to the *Jews* at another Time, in answer to the same Demand as before, without explaining it at all, or shewing what he meant by it: Which seems to be an Evasion to the Question, and no Ways satisfactory. For, if he meant any Thing else, the *Jews* which then heard the Answer, and a Reader now ignorant of the Sense commonly put upon it, and seriously desirous to know the true Meaning, cannot find, that the Words point out a Resurrection. † The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him, that he would shew them a Sign from Heaven? He answered, a wicked and adulterous Generation seeketh after a Sign, but there shall no Sign be given it, but the Sign of the Prophet *Jonas*, and he left them and departed. The same Story according to St. *Mark* runs thus ‡, And the Pharisees came forth, and began to Question with him, seeking of him a Sign from Heaven, tempting him; and he sighed deeply in his Spirit, and saith, Why doth this Generation seek after a Sign? Verily, I say unto you, there shall no Sign be given to this Generation. And he left them. Here is not so much as the Sign of the Prophet *Jonah* given them. In St. *Matthew*, *Jesus* is reported to give them that Sign which they could make nothing of, and in St. *Mark*, to give them no Sign at all.

7thly, This Demand of a Sign from

* John ii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. † Matth. xvi. 1. ‡ Mark viii. 11, 12.

from Heaven, which the Scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees made, shews, that they wanted Jesus to give them an evident Miracle, such as their Senses might be Judges of, to convince them, that he was the Messiah whom they expected, and whom he would have them believe him to be: Which intimates, that they were not satisfied, that he had done any Miracle, nor does his Answer refer them to any.

8thly, None of the Evangelists give the least Hint, that Jesus ever publicly declared to the Priests, Scribes, Pharisees, or Sadducees, that *after three Days he would rise again*; nor when, or where, he made such Declaration, or any Thing like it, that plainly predicted his Resurrection to them. So that this Report wants Confirmation, even among the Evangelists themselves. And none of these mention the Explanation annexed to the Parable of *Jonah*, but St. *Matthew* once, which I first mentioned. And as he had more Occasion for a Prophecy of this Nature than the Others had, to confirm his Story of the Watch and Seal; which none of the others say any Thing of; so he adds something more than they do to this, which is called a Prophecy, but is rather a prophetic Riddle. Which yet is false in Fact, in two Respects.

1st, As to Time this tells us, *The Son of Man was to lie THREE DAYS AND THREE NIGHTS in the Heart of the Earth*; as *Jonah* did *three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly*. Whereas, *Jesus* lay but the Time of one Day and an Half, that is, two Nights and a

Day, if he did that, for 'tis not known when the Body was gone; only it could not be found at the End of the second Night. So that he laid but Half the Time of three Days and three Nights at most: For he was buried the Evening of the Preparation-day, and was not in the Sepulchre, at the Dawning of the Day which followed the Preparation*. And, according to common Computation and common Sense, two Nights and one Day can never be three Nights and three Days; nor can any Man make them so, tho' he preach three Days and three Nights about it. But those, who can work Miracles in Words, can as easily do it in Numbers. Nor is it to be wondered at, if such mystical Accomptants, who can make three to be one, and one to be three, without confounding the one, or dividing the other, should make one and an Half to be three, which comes nearer the Mark. They, that are so well skilled in casting a Figure, can easily prove, that *in the second Night* is the same as *after the third Day*, and that *within* and *after* three Days are equivalent.

2dly, This Prediction was not fulfilled: Because the Sign, promised to be given, was not given to those it was promised to. For if *no Sign was to be given to THAT EVIL AND ADULTEROUS Generation, but the Sign of Jonas the Prophet*, the only Proof of Jesus being the Messiah depended upon that Sign being given, or that Prophecy being fulfilled, to the Satisfaction of *that evil and adulterous Generation*. But how could *Jonah*, who was a false Prophet

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* Matth. xxvii. 57. and xxviii. 1.

to *Nineveh*, and had frett'd himself to Death for it several Generations before, be a true Sign to *that* Generation? And unless *Jesus* appeared after his Resurrection to them (not to his Disciples only) then that Prophecy was not fulfilled in Fact. Yet 'tis not so much as said that he did this, or that any saw him, but his Disciples and Friends, who were not that *evil* Generation, being * not of the World, but chosen out of it. For that *wicked* Generation saw him not: This Sign was not given, nor the Thing signified, fulfilled to that *adulterous* Generation. Therefore 'tis probable that this is Forgery, and falsely fathered on *Jesus* Christ, by those who found it necessary, and had Opportunity so to do, or is misrepresented by Transcribers.

But, according to three Evangelists, I find that *Jesus* had foretold his Death and Resurrection no less than five Times to his Disciples only.

The first was, after he had examined what Men thought of him, and who they themselves took him to be, before his Transfiguration, when *St. Peter* rebuked him for it. *St. Matthew* says †, *From that Time forth, began Jesus to shew unto his Disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem and suffer many Things of the Elders, and chief Priests, and Scribes, and be killed and be raised again the third Day.* *St. Mark* tells us †, *That he began to teach them, that the Son of Man must suffer many Things, and be rejected of the Elders, and of the chief Priests, and Scribes, and be killed, and after three Days rise again. And*

he spake that Saying openly. Yet this Word, *openly*, means only *plainly*, for that *Saying* was not spoken openly to the People, but to his Disciples, of whom he asked, *Who Men said he was?* But *St. Luke* put this out of all Doubt, for he says, that, as he was alone praying, the Disciples were with him, and § to them he said, *The Son of Man must suffer many Things, and be rejected of the Elders, and chief Priests, and Scribes, and be slain, and be raised the third Day.* This I suppose the Writers intended for the first Publication of this Prediction.

The second Time *Jesus* is said to have foretold his Resurrection to his Disciples, was after his Transfiguration, by *St. Matthew* thus ||, *And as they went down from the Mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the Vision to no Man, till the Son of Man be risen from the Dead.* By *St. Mark* thus *†, *And as they came down from the Mountain, he charged them, that they should tell no Man, what Things they had seen, till the Son of Man was risen from the Dead. And they kept that Saying with themselves, questioning one with another, what the Rising from the Dead should mean, though he himself had told them that plain enough, but a little before, according to the same Evangelist.*

The third Time was, when *Jesus* was in *Gallilee*, he foretold his Resurrection to his Disciples. According to *St. Matthew* ††, *While they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, the Son of Man shall be betrayed into the Hands of Men; and they shall kill him, and the third*

* John xv. 19.

† Matth. xvi. 21.

‡ Mark viii. 27, 31.

§ Luke

ix. 18, 22.

|| Matth. xvii. 9.

*† Mark ix. 9, 10.

†† Matth. xvii.

22, 23.

Day he shall rise again; and they were exceeding sorry. According to Mark thus *, And he passed thro' Galilee, and would not that any Man should know it: For he taught his Disciples and said unto them, The Son of Man is delivered into the Hands of Men, and after that he is killed, he shall rise the third Day. But they understood not that Saying, and were afraid to ask him. 'Tis equally strange, that they should be sorry for what they did not understand; as, that they should not understand what they were sorry for; except they were sorry they did not understand it. Observe what goes before, the Reason why Jesus desired Privacy was, because he told this to his Disciples, and would have no Body else know it. According to St. Luke † it runs thus: Jesus said unto his Disciples, Let these Sayings sink down into your Ears, for the Son of Man shall be delivered into the Hands of Men. But they understood not this Saying, and it was hid from them, and they perceived it not; and they feared to ask him of that Saying. If he said no more, I don't wonder at it, for here's no Death nor Resurrection hinted at. Yet if Jesus then foretold it, as St. Matthew and St. Mark say, I wonder St. Luke did not mention it. This, like a Ray of Light, discovers that some Enemy to Truth, in the Night, has sown Tares among the Wheat.

The fourth Time seems to be, when Jesus and his Disciples were in the Coasts of Judea nigh unto Jericho ‡, as they were travelling to Jerusalem. St. Matthew says §,

And Jesus going up to Jerusalem took the twelve Disciples apart in the Way, and said unto them: Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed unto the chief Priests, and unto the Scribes, and they shall condemn him to Death. And shall deliver him to the Gentiles, to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him, and the third Day he shall rise again. St. Mark tells us ||, that as they were going up to Jerusalem, Jesus went before them, and they were amazed, and as they followed they were afraid. And he took again the Twelve, and began to tell them, what Things should happen unto him; saying, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be delivered unto the chief Priests, and unto the Scribes, and they shall condemn him to Death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles, and they shall mock him, and shall scourge him, and shall spit upon him, and shall kill him: And the third Day he shall rise again. St. Luke informs us *†, That he took unto him the Twelve, and said unto them, Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all Things that are written by the Prophets, concerning the Son of Man, shall be accomplished: For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully intreated, and spitted on; and they shall scourge him, and put him to Death; and the third Day he shall rise again: And they understood none of these Things, and this Saying was hid from them, neither knew they the Things which were spoken. I am jealous of some fraudulent Design, by this unaccountable

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Confession.

* Mark ix. 30, 31, 32.

† Luke ix. 43, 44, 45.

‡ Mat. x. 1.

§ Matth. xx. 17, 18, 19.

|| Mark x. 32, 33.

*† Luke xvii. 11. xviii.

33, 32, 33, 34, 35.

Confession. Sure this is as surprising as any Thing in the Gospels, that twelve Men together should not understand such plain Expressions. For their Understanding, or this Passage is to be questioned.

A fifth, and last Prediction of the Resurrection of Jesus, was spoken at his last Supper. Jesus said then, according to St. Matthew *, *After I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.* And St. Mark † agrees with him: Which signifies he had made them very well acquainted with it.

As I have not mentioned what St. John says of Christ's foretelling his Resurrection to his Disciples, lest it should be thought I stifled his Evidence, I have examined him, and find that he says not a Word of it, but denies it all: And tells the most probable Truth, that the Disciples knew not any Prophecy, that Christ was to rise again. What else do these Words mean ‡, *They knew not the Scriptures, that he must rise again from the Dead?* If St. John means the Scriptures of the Prophets, how should they? For none such are to be found. If Jesus himself foretold them of it, that was enough to satisfy them; if there were no such Scriptures. But the plain Truth is confessed to be, that the Disciples neither foreknew nor expected the Resurrection of their Master; and if so, there is Reason to suspect all the Predictions of it, inserted in St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, to be Forgery.

I come now to the second Period of Time, which reaches from the

Death of Christ, to the Resurrection, in which it will more evidently appear.

What Judgment are we now to form of the Watch? Can any Man of common Sense think it probable, that the Priests and Pharisees should be alarmed about the Resurrection of Jesus, if they never heard any Thing more of it than what has been mentioned; and that the Disciples to whom it is said to have been plainly and repeatedly foretold, should know nothing of the Matter? Does this look as if (p. 30, 37.) *the keenest Enemies of Jesus were fully apprized of it, and that 'twas a Thing publicly known to all Jerusalem?* 'Tis strange that Jesus should so expressly foretel his Resurrection to his Disciples, and say nothing plainly of it to the Scribes and Pharisees, yet that these should be so alarmed with the Words of a Man they did not believe, as to watch for it, and the Disciples not understand, nor expect it. If the Prophecies were uttered as has been shewn, what could be the Consequence, but that the Priests and Pharisees should be ignorant of the Meaning of the enigmatical Prediction, and not give themselves the least Concern about it; and that the Disciples should be in full Expectation of it? Alas! Nothing less happened, according to the History, but the very Reverse. None expected to be attacked by a real or feigned Resurrection more than the Priests or Pharisees; but none less expected and believed it than the Disciples. Those sent out their Scouts to prevent a Surprize; these were surprized

* Matth. xxvi, 32.

† Mark xiv, 28.

‡ John xx, 9.

surprized with the News of a Resurrection they had no Expectation of. The Priests and Pharisees guarded him when dead, though they never regarded him living, as the Messiah, but to put him to Death for assuming that Character; which 'tis surprising they should do, if they believed he wrought Miracles, and that he would rise again. These Predictions are not evidenced by suitable Consequences, they produced no natural Effects; and a Tree is known by its Fruit. But that the Priests and Pharisees set no Watch, and that even the Disciples themselves were not forewarned of their Master's rising again, will more fully appear by the Facts which the Evangelists themselves relate.

When *Joseph of Arimathea* took the Body of Jesus from the Cross to inter it, which all the four Writers agree to, *St. John* adds, * That there came also *Nicodemus*, and brought a Mixture of Myrrh and Aloes, about an hundred Pound Weight; then took they the Body of Jesus, and wound it in Linen Clothes with the Spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury, and laid him in the Sepulchre.

Suppose now the Priests and Pharisees went the next Day to set the Watch, as *St. Matthew* reports, did they not look into the Sepulchre to see if the Body was there? The Gentleman says, (p. 37.) Without Doubt, when the Jews sealed the Stone, they took Care to see that the Body was there; otherwise their Precaution was useless. And, if they saw the Body,

they must needs see how it was spiced, or preserved for keeping, if it was done; they could not see one without the other. And would they not then, being Witnesses of that, have taken the Soldiers back again with them, resting contented that the Disciples knew nothing of any Prophecy of his rising again, and therefore could have no Design, under that Pretence to steal away the Body, and report he was risen? Or did the Priests believe him more than the Disciples? Or did those know of a Prophecy which these knew not? Or would they expose themselves to Ridicule by setting a Watch, and sealing the Sepulchre?

But to shew what Dependence there is on the Truth of Gospel-history, *St. Matthew* says, † when the Body was buried, *Mary Magdalene and the other Mary sat over against the Sepulchre*. *St. Mark* tells us, ‡ That *Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Mother of Jesus beheld where he was laid*. *St. Luke* agrees with them, and informs us, § That the Women also which came with him from Galilee followed after, and beheld the Sepulchre, and how the Body was laid. Therefore they knew to be sure that *Nicodemus* had laid it in Spices. Yet *St. Luke* says, That these very Women returned from the Sepulchre, and prepared Spices and Ointments, and rested the Sabbath-day. And *St. Mark*, || That they had bought sweet Spices, that they might come and anoint him, and came very early in the Morning, when the Sabbath was past to do it.

* John xix. 39, 40.
xxiii. 55, 56.

† Mat. xxvii. 61.

‡ Mark xv. 47.

§ Luke

|| Mark xvi. 1.

it. St. Luke also acquaints us, * *That on the first Day of the Week, very early in the Morning, they came unto the Sepulchre, bringing the Spices they had prepared.* I cannot reconcile this with St. John's Account; for, if the Body was laid in the Sepulchre with *an hundred Pound Weight of Spices*, what Need had it of more, or to be done again? But though these Relations differ, it shews the Disciples knew nothing of the Prophecy of his rising again. They, who put that in, should have struck this out, as it is in St. Matthew, where, what the Women went to the Sepulchre for, is concealed. If Christ's most intimate Acquaintance, his own Mother, *Mary Magdalene*, and the beloved Disciple, knew not that he was to rise again from the Dead, as St. John confesses, how should the Priests and Pharisees know and expect it? It appears, they were under no Apprehension of any Hindrance or Molestation from the Watchmen. They consulted together as they went, † *Who shall roll us away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre?* Which they would not have said, if they had known it was sealed; nor would they have gone to anoint the Body, if they had known there had been a Watch set. And if these Things had been done, how is it possible but they must have known them. So public an Action, done about him, on whom all their Thoughts and Affections were at that Time employed, could not be private to them. Besides, nothing could be hid from the Disciples, for St. Matthew knew † what the chief Priests and Rulers said in their

Privy council! They had free Egress and Regress, the Women went and came without Fear of being taken up by the Watchmen, and at the Dawn of the Day. Therefore, if they went to anoint the Body, there was no Expectation of a Resurrection, consequently no Prediction of one, nor Watch, nor Seal set to prevent a fraudulent one.

But why do these Evangelists tell different Stories? St. Matthew, one about guarding and sealing the Sepulchre; St. Mark and St. Luke another, which shews it was neither guarded nor sealed; St. John to the same Purpose, but different from both? Who can know the Truth from these disagreeing Historians? Why did not they, that followed St. Matthew, make his Story good? Why not so much as mention a Word of it, but fly from that, and tell another which contradicted it? Will not some imagine that St. Matthew's had been detected, therefore St. Mark and St. Luke tell another; and that, theirs having been also confuted, St. John comes and tells one different from all the rest? If they had not been routed out of their Intrenchments, why did they quit them, and throw up others?

Because 'tis absurd, (p. 33.) and allowed to be so, (p. 37, 38.) That the Jew Rulers, not believing in Jesus, should regard his Prediction if they heard it; Mr. W. supposes the Resuscitation of *Lazarus*, which some had told them was a Fraud, induced them to beware of another; lest bad Consequences might attend it. St. John's History (c. xi.) relates,

* Luke xxiv. 1.

† Mark xvi. 3.

† Mat. xxviii. 12.

relates, that Jesus went from Galilee to Bethany, and, after the raising of Lazarus there, some of them that were present told the Pharisees what had been done; whereupon they and the Priests, far from being terrified by his miraculous Power, consulted to put him to Death; and Jesus with his Disciples, as far from being animated by having such Power, went from thence to Ephraim, a City near the Wilderness, and walked no more openly among the Jews. So wonderful was the Effect of such a wonderful Work! Except that afterwards, within five Days of the Passover, Jesus made his public Entry into Jerusalem, and then taught in the Temple attended by the Multitude, which, in the Trial, is supposed was formidable enough to have made him King, and after that he hid himself. Why then should the Jew Rulers fear the Disciples when their Master was dead, who with him when living, notwithstanding all his miraculous Power, were afraid of them. But St. Matthew (xxi.) St. Mark (xi.) and St. Luke (xix) give a different Account. They agree that Jesus came from Galilee, and entered Jerusalem in a triumphant Manner, taught daily in the Temple, and lodged at Bethany where Lazarus lived; but conceal the Story of his raising Lazarus, if it was done; for what Cause themselves best knew. But if it was not done; Who was the Relater of this Part of evangelic History? or whence came it? Neither that, nor its Author, like Christ, came down from Heaven. There is no Fraud nor Forgery can be committed by the sacred

Penman of the holy Gospel. The Mysteries whereof no carnal Mind can reconcile. But to proceed.

If we take the Opinion of the chief Priests and Pharisees from their own Words, as delivered by St. Matthew, they believed Jesus was a Deceiver; and appear afraid not of his rising in the Day, but of the Disciples stealing him away in the Night. There is no Reason then to suppose, they were afraid of a true Resurrection, or that they were convinced of any Miracles said to be done by him. But (p. 38.) *they, being persuaded he performed no Wonders in his Life, were not afraid of seeing any done by him after his Death.* Therefore (p. 39.) *that they should kill him, that his Death might put an End to all Pretensions; yet think him not safe when he was dead, is, I must own, a needless and preposterous Fear, and a most singular Case, as the Gentleman rightly expresses it.* What Reason is there then to believe, they sealed and watched the Sepulchre? Surely, none. *Why should they fear?* 'Tis answered, (p. 93.) *Because, if once the People believe him risen from the Dead, the last Error will be worse than the first, (i. e.) The Jews will be more inclined and encouraged to rebel against the Romans than ever.* One would think, that, without a personal Proof, there would be but small Inducement for Belief or Rebellion. Suppose the Rulers feared not Force but Stratagem: Plotting without Power cannot avail. I think the Magistrates had as little Reason to fear the Disciples stealing the Body could give any Disturbance to the State, as the Disciples could have Hopes, or Prospect of Success by doing it.

For

For (p. 43, 44.) Consider now their Case; their Master was dead, and they are to contrive to steal away his Body: For what? Did they expect to make a King of the dead Body, if they could get it in their Power? Or did they think, if they had it, they could raise it to Life again? Or if they trusted so far to their Master's Prediction as to expect his Resurrection, (which I think 'tis evident they did not) could they think the Resurrection depended on their having the dead Body? It is in all Views absurd. Are not these Reasons as strong against the Priests and Pharisees setting a Watch to prevent the Disciples stealing the Body; as it is, that the Disciples should attempt it? Could not those think and reason thus as well as these? Why then should they take these unnecessary Precautions? Here the Absurdity of guarding against a fraudulent Resurrection is well shewn. But Mr. B. supposes they were afraid of a true one: (p. 38.) That is not warranted in the Text: But they concealed their Fears. Well then, suppose, for Argument Sake, they feared a real Resurrection; Did they for that Reason seal the Stone, and set a Watch to prevent it? Preposterous Contrivance! Could not they think, (p. 44. 45.) What are Guards and Centinels against the Power of God! Or could the Seal put God under Covenant! Or could it prescribe to him a Method of performing this great Work! Or were the Guards placed to maintain the Seals in Opposition to the Power of God! Therefore, that the Priests and Pharisees should guard against

a Resurrection, fraudulent or real, is in all Views absurd.

If Jesus never attempted to be the temporal King of the Jews, but explained away all such Notions of a Messiah, the Rulers had the less Reason to fear his real or feigned Resurrection: For sure there was no Need for them to fear the Disciples making him a spiritual King, and to guard against it.

BUT now to try the Evidence itself, as it is found in St. Matthew, concerning the Occasion of watching the Sepulchre; his Words are, * *Now the next Day that followed the Day of the Preparation, the chief Priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, We remember that that Deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three Days I will rise again. Command therefore that the Sepulchre be made sure, until the third Day, lest his Disciples come by Night, and steal him away, and say unto the People he is risen from the Dead; so the last Error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a Watch, go your Way, make it as sure as you can. So they went and made the Sepulchre sure, sealing the Stone and setting a Watch.*

I think I have shewn plainly, 1st, That the chief Priests and Pharisees had no Reason to be under such Consternation, and therefore there is no Ground to believe they were. That it was so little to the Purpose to guard against either a real or fraudulent Resurrection, that they could not possibly be guilty of so weak a Conduct,

2^{dly},

* Matth. xxvii, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,

2dly, That WE REMEMBER that *Deceiver said*, signifies, the Words were spoken in their Hearing, but no Account of such public Prediction is to be found in all the Evangelists. That St. *John* not only gives no Account of any such Prophecy, but flatly says, the Disciples did not know he was to rise again from the Dead, to whom the others say, that Jesus told it plainly, and often. Therefore, it may be reasonably concluded, that the Priests and Pharisees were Strangers to such a Prophecy, and could not expect a Resurrection; consequently could not guard against what they knew nothing of.

3dly, There are two Absurdities in the foregoing Relation.

1st, They tell *Pilate* that Jesus said, *after three Days* he would rise again; yet desire the Sepulchre may be made sure but *till the third Day*. They should have desired Leave to watch it till the fourth Day, or till the Third was past; or, by their own Confession, they might watch in vain; for the Disciples might have stolen him away within the Time, unless *till the third Day*, and *after three Days*, have the same Signification. These Words applied to other Cases have a different Meaning, but, if in this they have not, Divinity-arithmetic and Vulgar are very different Things.

2dly, The Cause for watching the dead Body was, lest the Disciples steal him away by Night, and say unto the People he is risen again from the Dead. What if they did, if they had no Proof for that Assertion: If the People could never see him afterwards, would they be such credulous Fools to

believe them? For such they must be to believe such a Miracle on bare Report; when the Event thereof could prove itself. It looks as if the Opinion of the Scribes and Pharisees was, that the Disciples had been used to deceive the People by reporting false Miracles, and that the People had been carried away by such Reports. Why else should they be afraid they should be so now? But why all this Fear of the Disciples who, Mr. B. says, (p. 40.) fled and *hid themselves for Fear of the Jews, out of a just Apprehension, that they should, if apprehended, be sacrificed with their Master?*

It is observable, that tho' this Story of the Sealing and Guarding the Sepulchre is of great Consequence, being written to prove, that the Disciples did not steal the Body away by Night; and was a public Action, it is received only on the Report of a single Testimony. In other Writers this would look like an Interpolation, independent of the main History, because those, that wrote after, are quite silent about it, so far are they from giving us any corroborating Instances for Confirmation Sake, to confound Infidels, and comfort Believers. For, if this was as publicly done, as is pretended, it must have been publicly known, and could not escape their Notice, or been unworthy their Regard. Therefore, here might be a Suspicion of Forgery in the Relation, but that we are well satisfied of the Honesty of these sacred Historians; for every Thing they wrote is as true as the Gospel. Though it may be hard to prove, that it was
not

not in their Power; whoever they were, to write what they pleased of Jesus so long after his Death as the Gospels were written, nor has been in the Power of the Possessors, nor Transcribers, to corrupt what was before written.

How consistent this Story of the Watch is with the other Facts related, has been shewn; and how credible it is the Event will shew. To consider rightly of it, 'tis necessary to take it in the Words of the Text. *St. Matthew* says, * *That in the End of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn, came two Women to the Sepulchre, and they not finding the Body, returned surprized. Now as they were going back, came some of the Watch into the City, and shewed unto the chief Priests all the Things that were done, viz. That an Angel of the Lord had descended from Heaven, and came and rolled back the Stone from the Door, and sat upon it; That his Countenance was like Lightening, and his Raiment white as Snow, and that for Fear of him the Keepers did tremble, and became as dead Men. Whereupon, when the chief Priests and Pharisees were assembled with the Elders, and had taken Counsel, they gave large Money to the Soldiers, saying, Say ye his Disciples came by Night, and stole him away while we slept; and if this come to the Governor's Ears, we will persuade him, and secure you. So they took the Money, and did as they were taught. And this Saying is commonly reported among the Jews to this Day.*

If the Jew Rulers placed a Watch at the Sepulchre and sealed it, having heard that he said he would rise again, it was, no

doubt, to satisfy themselves, by their Report, of what happened; therefore, that Report must needs satisfy them, and the History supposes it did; because they hired the Watchmen to conceal it, and report what they would have believed, rather than what they themselves did believe; and promised to secure them for so doing. Could the Jew Rulers so readily believe, and so foolishly think to conceal it, by this Means? Why did not the Watch rather report, that a Banditti of the Disciples came in the Night, some with Clubs, Swords and dark Lanthorns, others in white Sheets, &c. and drove and frightened them away, being few in Number, in order, as they supposed, to carry off the Body; for they could not be many, because it is suggested they might be all asleep, and to conceal the Truth, all be bribed in Opposition to Conscience and common Sense, and in Room thereof to report a Falsity, scandalous to themselves. But, if the Soldiers were many, the Priests and Rulers had the more Reason to believe, and the less Reason to act as they are said to do. For if the Soldiers saw and told the Miracles that have been mentioned, which, for the Time, had so great an Effect upon them, that *they became as dead Men*; how could they take Bribes to lie in so impudent a manner? They who saw this dreadful Sight in the Night, or at the Approach of Day, must have acted like Men, must have had some remaining Terrors to restrain them! Surely, Gentlemen of the red Cloth have some Honour and Truth

* *Matth. xxviii.*

Truth in them, as well as the Gentlemen in black or white: But here, it seems, both agreed together to damn their Conscience against all Convictions of Sense. For what? Why, to prevent that from being known, which, if true, they had all the Reason in the World to believe could not be kept secret. And that they would by such Means render themselves the Objects of merited Vengeance. 'Tis strange, unaccountably strange! That those Soldiers, who were just now almost struck dead with Terror, should lose the Impressions so easily, and so soon, which it had made upon them, which but just before scarce left them Power to fly from the deadly Fright that an Earthquake and an Angel had put them in! That the Shock it made, in their Minds and Members, should disappear with Day-light! That for Money they should all agree together to list themselves in the Priest's Service to fight against God, when by so doing they might expect some heavy Judgment to fall upon them; but by affirming the Truth boldly, conceive reasonable Hopes of being Captains in the Messiah's victorious Army, which was to conquer all Nations. For every one of the Apostles believing their Master, or what's reported of him, expected to be made a *Judge* when he should be made a *King*.

What Conscience, indeed, Priests have, themselves best know. Sure it is a Slur upon the sacred Function, to assert, that any of those who stile themselves the Servants of God, and think themselves peculiarly so, should set God at De-

fiance. The *Jero* Priests and Rulers, bad as they were, were Men, and bad Men have the same Passions, and are as subject to their Government as good Men, if not more; and as Miracles certainly work more upon the Passions than the Reason of Men; (for they wind up the one, but confound the other;) so they must have made at least the same Impression on them as on others. They were as willing to have a Messiah and Deliverer as their Countrymen, though through Ignorance * they did not think Jesus that Person, nor care to run the Hazard of their Lives in espousing his Cause; but chose rather to give him up to Death, than that the *Romans* should, under that Pretence, deprive them of their Religion, and the Remains of Power and Liberty which they were then possessed of. I say, though they did all this, yet the Priests, as well as the People, were credulous of Miracles, being nursed up in the Belief of them, which when attested by their own Party, Persons whose Veracity they could depend upon, as in this Case (not the flying Reports of a giddy Mob) must have prevented them from doing what 'tis here pretended they did. If Miracles can be supposed to have no Effect on human Minds, why are they wrought? Such Reports are not to be credited. When Effects do not correspond as Consequences of the pretended Cause, that Cause is to be questioned. Such Miracles destroy themselves. Wonders, wrought in vain, reflect upon the Wisdom of the Operator; 'tis exerting an extraordinary Power to
no

* Acts iii. 17.

no Purpose, and therefore shews a Want of Foresight. To suppose those Miracles that were told the Priests and Pharisees, had no Effect on them, though they believed them, is to suppose, supernatural Power is too weak to work upon the natural Powers of Man. If they believed Jesus was risen from the Dead to be their King, (for it is evident he could not be the Messiah they expected without being so;) it seems more probable, instead of hiring Men to conceal it by a false Report, they would have listed Soldiers in his Service, and set up his Banner at the Temple Gates, or at least would have silently and cautiously waited the Event, lest they should be found guilty of fighting against God. For they must needs know, that a Work so miraculous must be of God, and that therefore they could not overthrow it. What Reason have we then to believe that they hired the Soldiers to report a Lie, and that they reported it?

Concerning the Sepulchre's being sealed, supposing it was so, 'tis probable the Design of the Rulers was, when they came to discharge the Watch, to see whether the Body was there, or not. If there, whether alive, or dead? If the Body was gone, and the Seals broken, the Watch was placed to observe and inform them, whether it was done by Jesus from within, or by the Disciples from without. If, upon examining, they found the Seals untouched and the Body gone, they would then have had Reason to believe that Jesus was risen; for if, as reported, he could appear and disappear, like a Ghost, yet

(which is something more) was capable of being examined by tangible Proof: I say, if his real Body could do this after his Resurrection, there was no Occasion for the Help of an Angel for Opening the Tomb, or unsealing the Stone. If Jesus had thus come out of the Sepulchre, the Rulers, when they went to discharge the Watch, might have probably believed his Resurrection, though they had never seen either that, or him. It seems from the Stories we have of Christ's Appearance, that a Notion of Bodies raised again, being capable of going thro' Stones, Walls, and Doors, without injuring the passing or passive Body, was then current among the *Jews*. For, tho' this be impossible to Nature, yet 'tis an Article of Gospel Faith, That *with God all Things are possible*; therefore some believe that Absurdities and Contradictions are possible to the Power of God; that he can raise up Children from the Loins of *Abraham* out of the Stones of the Streets!

To sum the Matter up, here are several Parts amazingly acted, and worthy of Remark.

1st, That the Disciples of Jesus should hear him, five Times, tell them plainly, he would rise again from the Dead the third Day, or after the third Day; yet not understand, remember, know, believe nor expect it!

The Prophecy of Jesus concerning his rising again was so far from being publicly known to all *Jerusalem*, that the Disciples did not know it. For all the Evangelists shew, that a Resurrection was what they did not expect: Then how should any Body else know

know it? And, if such Prophecy was not known, how should the Sepulchre be sealed and watched? 'Tis strange, that it should be several Times plainly foretold to the Disciples alone, yet none expected it but those who never heard of it, whilst they that did had no Expectation of it!

2d, That the Body of Jesus should be laid in the Grave with Spices as the manner of the Jews is to bury their Dead, yet that the Jew Rulers who saw this, being terrified by a Prophecy they had never heard, should order the Grave to be watched lest the Body should rise again, or the Disciples of Jesus frighten them, by telling the People he was risen!

3d, That the Women, who saw the Body of Jesus laid in the Sepulchre with Spices, should go two Days after, to do that which they saw had been done before!

4th, That an Angel should impolitically frighten away the Watch before Jesus came out of the Sepulchre, so that they could be no Witnesses of his Resurrection, who would have been the most proper Persons. A Resurrection in the Dark, seen by neither Friends, Foes, nor indifferent Spectators! For the Watchmen went away before, and the Women came after all was over.

5th, That the Guard at the Sepulchre should be terrified almost to Death, with astonishing Wonders, and the High Priests and Rulers believe them, yet these Things should have no more Effect upon them than if they had not believed them, or as if nothing wonderful had happened.

6th, That St. Matthew (p. 42.) should be admitted as an Evidence

in a Court, to prove a Fact where he was absent. That he should know what the Watch felt, and saw, before those that went to the Sepulchre saw the Watch; and what the Rulers did in their privy Council! For if they bribed the Soldiers to spread a false Report, and they spread it; no doubt, they bribed them to keep Counsel too, and they kept it.

I NOW proceed to shew how those that are called *Witnesses* agree in their Evidence. Which falls under,

The third Period of Time (p. 88.) where *the Evidence the Evangelists gave the World for this Fact is the main Consideration*. If these will not hold good, 'twill be in vain to plead the Proofs the Apostles gave besides. If one Miracle requires to be supported by another, there is always a Reason for Miracles; and if the Credit depends on this Support, when such Support falls, the Credit must fall with it.

The four Evangelists are called *Witnesses* of the Resurrection, and the other New Testament Writers are esteemed of equal Credit; their Testimony of his Appearances, after he is said to be risen, is to be considered and compared; whereby the Truth of the Fact will appear, as their Testimonies of it agree. But as Ideas, when compounded, are generally perplexed: I will therefore distinguish the Accounts of these Historians into separate Articles; and as they mention in general but three *Appearances* of Jesus, I shall consider these particularly in order, afterwards all the rest.

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The *Appearances* of Jesus after his reported Resurrection, are,

1st, To *Mary Magdalene*, mentioned by three Evangelists.

2^{dly}, To *Simon* and *Cleopas*, mentioned by *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*.

3^{dly}, To the eleven Apostles, mentioned by all four.

4^{thly}, The other *Appearances*, mentioned by *St. John* and *St. Paul*.

5^{thly}, I shall examine concerning Jesus's *Ascension*.

I. Of the first *Appearance* of *Jesus Christ* which was to *Mary Magdalene*.

Here are to be considered,

1. The Persons.

St. Matthew says, (v. 1 & 9.) Jesus appeared to *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*.

St. Mary (v. 9.) and *St. John* (v. 10. & 14.) mention *Mary Magdalene* only.

2. The Place and Time.

St. Matthew says, (v. 9.) after the two *Marys* had been at the Sepulchre, and were returning to tell the Disciples the News, Jesus met them by the Way.

St. John says, (v. 2, 10, 11.) after *Mary Magdalene* had been at the Sepulchre, and had ran and told the Disciples the News there, and came again to the Sepulchre, she then saw Jesus and the Angels there.

3. The Manner.

St. Matthew says, (v. 9.) the *Marys* held Jesus by the Feet.

St. John says, (v. 17.) Jesus forbade *Mary* to touch him.

4. The Message.

St. Matthew says, (v. 10.) that

Jesus bade the *Marys* tell the Disciples he was going to *Galilee*.

St. John says, (v. 17.) that Jesus bade *Mary* tell the Disciples he was going to his Father.

So that these *Witnesses* do not agree whether Jesus appeared to one Woman only, or to two. Whether it was in their Way, as they were going to tell the Disciples; or at the Sepulchre after the Disciples had been told what had been there discovered. Whether Jesus was held by the Feet, or whether he would not suffer himself to be touched. Whether he sent Word to his Disciples, that he was going to *Galilee*, or going to Heaven.

St. Matthew, *St. Mark*, and *St. John*, only agree, that *Mary Magdalene* said she saw Jesus; but in no other Circumstance. Nor do any of these *Witnesses* insinuate two *Appearances* of Jesus to *Mary Magdalene*. There is therefore no Authority to make them two; yet, to avoid these Disagreements, Necessity may drive some to endeavour it, as the Gentleman does, (p. 66.) that thereby, if it be possible, they may reconcile these Absurdities which prove the Story wrong. However, it will not prove theirs right, if they recede from the Text.

St. Luke, who gives a particular Account of the Women, and what passed between them and the Angels, says (v. 23.) that his Body they found not; but, if they had seen him alive or dead, they must have found or seen his Body; therefore, according to *St. Luke*, they saw him not. What confirms this to be *St. Luke's* Meaning,

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They found not his Body dead nor alive, is plain by what follows.

Concerning St. Peter and St. John.

Whose going to the Sepulchre is related by St. Luke and St. John. St. Luke says, (v. 12.) that *Peter*, and peradventure *John*, went to the Sepulchre, but *Him*, that is, Jesus, they saw not. And by what St. John himself relates, (v. 24.) they neither saw Jesus nor Angels. By St. Luke it appears, that the Men were at the Sepulchre after the Angels were gone: But by St. John, that they were before the Angels came. If it should be affirmed, that St. Luke means by (v. 24.) that the Men saw the Angels, there is nothing in St. John can bear that Meaning; therefore either the Men did not see the Angels, or the Witnesses do not agree in their Evidence about it. As the Angel's Message in St. Mark, (v. 7.) particularly and expressly mentioned *Peter*, would they not have delivered that Message to him personally, if they had been there when he came? If Jesus, and the Angel, or Angels, were at the Sepulchre as well after as before *Peter* and *John* were there, why then did they withdraw upon their coming, who ran where Jesus must needs first be, as soon as they heard that either his Body was not found, or that he was risen again? Why did the Angels tell the Women to tell the Disciples, to meet Jesus in *Galilee*, and not tell *Peter* and *John* themselves, if they were at the Sepulchre before the Angels went away?

But there is as little Harmony among the Witnesses about the

Angels at the Sepulchre, as there is among them about the Appearances of Jesus; for St. Matthew mentions only one Angel, (v. 2, 3, 4, 5.)

St. Mark calls him a young Man, (v. 5.)

St. Luke says, two Men, (v. 4.) but the Women called them Angels, (v. 23.)

St. John calls them two Angels, (v. 12.)

This Appearance of Jesus to *Mary Magdalene*, delivered in our Gospels, the Disciples themselves did not believe, (Mark, v. 11.) nor indeed that they saw Angels, (Luke, v. 11.) and confess that *Mary* herself did not know whether it was Jesus or the Gardener, (John, v. 14.)

Mr. B. says, (page 66, 67,) that the Words, *Touch me not*, do not infer, that Christ's Body was not such an one as would bear the Touch; and that, *I am not yet ascended to my Father*, signifies, *I go not yet to my Father*, although he grants there is a Difficulty in these Words, and it may be hard to give the true Sense of them; but that there is no Difficulty in seeing that they have no Relation to the Nature of Christ's Body, for of his Body nothing is said. If the Words, *Touch me not*, did not signify, *Touch not my Body*, what did they signify? For the Word *me*, must mean his Person; if his Body had now no Relation to his Person, it was a Spirit. I need not give any forced Constructions to Scripture to make Differences appear, as others do to reconcile them. Whether Jesus could not, or would not be touched, I'll not pretend to say; one it must be: If he could not, it was no real Body;

if he would not be touched, he would not permit her to have a Proof that it was.

II. *Of Christ's second Appearance, which was to two Disciples.*

Concerning this Appearance. The Story goes, That Jesus met two of his Disciples upon the Road, walked and talked with them a long Time; and, as soon as they apprehended they knew him, he vanished. Their Names were *Cleopas* and *Simon*, who, I suppose, was *Simon Peter*; because *St. Paul* says, he appeared first to *Cephas*, then to the Twelve, besides to another *Simon* of less Note; the Gospel-writers always added some Mark of Distinction, as *Simon the Canaanite*. Now, that *Simon Peter*, who seems to be one of the two, who knew him perfectly well before his Death, should not know him as well afterwards, is strange. 'Tis very improbable, that he who well knew his Person and Voice, having been so constantly conversant with him, and who had no longer than three Days before, eat, drank, and prayed with him, and fought for him, should now walk with him a considerable Way, and hear him Discourse a considerable Time, and not know him; that Jesus should thus appear to two Disciples, and not be known, is all one as to appear and not appear at the same Time.

Object. *But he appeared to them in another Form, (Mark, v. 12.)*

Answer. Whatever Form that was, if it was his real Person that appeared, the Form of that Person was the same; and Cloaths could not so far disguise him to one: hat was so intimately ac-

quainted with him. If his countenance was altered, 'tis very strange, that the Power which raised him from the Dead, that he might be known, should alter the Form of his Face or Person so much, that he could not be known: Or that the Power, which raised him again to Life, should not restore his Complexion, that those might know him to whom he appeared to be known. If Jesus was restored to Life, but they not to the Knowledge of him, he was raised again to no Purpose.

Object. *But their Eyes were holden that they should not know him, (Luke, v. 16.)*

Answer. Then some mysterious Power had spoiled their Eye-sight, and he came to make himself known to them in such a manner, that they should not know him. One imagines, the Cause that these two Disciples knew him not, was in the Object; he appeared to them in another Form than usual: Another conceives it was in their Eyes, and done on Purpose: *Their Eyes were holden, that they should not know him.*

Object. *But they knew him afterwards.*

Answer. How can we be sure they did not mistake at last, and thought it was Jesus, when it was not? What Proof had they, or do they give us of it? When they thought it was Christ, he disappeared. Is it proper to call these Eye-witnesses, (p. 68.) that could not see clearly by Daylight? Why did not Jesus stay long enough to make them sufficiently sensible by such Demonstration, that their Report of it might convince the other Disciples?

ciples? If it was a Stranger that put a Trick upon them, he took his Opportunity to leave them when he found they were deceived in thinking him to be Jesus; lest, by staying longer than was necessary, they should be undeceived.

Can any good Reason be given, why Jesus did not discover himself to them by the Way, and give them the Joy which such Discovery would have made? This is such an Appearance, as gave them Surprise, Perplexity, and Pain, rather than certain Proof, real Evidence, Pleasure and Joy.

They reported, that the Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. This seems as if it did not appear to be the Lord to Cleopas, but to Simon only; for they relate no other Appearance, but what had just before happened, the Relation of which St. Matthew and St. John make no Mention of; the Reason may be, that they either knew nothing of it, or did not believe it; for St. Mark says, (v. 13.) that, when it was told to the other Disciples, they did not believe it. Why should Jesus thus appear to these two Disciples? Why did he thus Play at Hide-and-seek with them? What End did it Answer? Or what Good did it produce? A wise or good Being always proposes some wise or good End to be answered; but what Wisdom or Goodness appeared in this, or was it productive of?

Mr. B. in Defence of this Appearance, asks (p. 67, 68.) What is there unnatural or uncommon in this Account? Two Men, says he, met an Acquaintance, whom they thought dead; they converse with

him for some Time without suspecting who he was, &c. tho' he was the Person their whole Discourse was about; and he talked about himself all the Way, yet they had no Suspicion who he was. He adds, *The very Persuasion they were under, that he was dead, contributed greatly to their not knowing him.* What Notion had they then of his predicting his Resurrection? 'Tis strange that they who knew him so well, and conversed with him so familiarly but a few Days ago, should be so much at a Loss to know him now when he was walking and talking with them. Besides, says Mr. B. *he appeared to them on a Journey, and walked with them Side by Side, in which Situation no one of the Company has a full View of the other. Afterwards when they were at Supper together, and Lights brought in, they plainly discerned who he was.* How can we know, that in walking along the Road, they did not look him in the Face? Or that Lights were brought into the Room where they were eating? If they were, are Complexions best distinguished by Candle-light? So that it still remains a Question, *viz. What sort of Witnesses are these; Eye-witnesses?* No: Before Supper they were Eye-witnesses that the Person whom they saw was not Christ; what Reason then is there for our rejecting the Evidence of their Sense, when they say they did not know Christ, and of insisting on it when they say they did? If these two Disciples were so incurious, as not to look in his Face in the open Road and Day-light, did they not know his Voice? Did Jesus counterfeit that too? If he appeared purposely to be known,

why did he appear so as they should not know him? If he appeared not to be known, why did he take away the Cloud from their Eyes, and let them know him at all? If they saw thro' a false Medium at first, how do we know but they did the same at last? Are these Persons fit to be depended on as Eye-witnesses, whose Eyes could be deceived? *Their Eyes were holden that they should not know him.* All the Knowledge they pretend to of him, was but little, and staid but a little while; a little Matter confounded it; as soon as they knew, or thought they knew him, he gave them the Slip, and they lost him again. Jesus was gone, and they knew not how, nor where. Is this a real Proof? Or a Proof of a real Body?

Mr. B. then relates a Story as a parallel Case, (p. 68.) of a Traveller that had been *some Years Abroad, and in his Return to England, thro' Paris, happened to meet his Sister there, that they, not expecting to see each other, conversed together with other Company, at a public House, for a great Part of the Day before she discovered who he was.* But this is no more a parallel Case, than some Years are to two or three Days.

III. Of the third Appearance of Jesus which was to all the Apostles.

When Simon and Cleopas conceived, that the Person who had been talking to them was Jesus, and immediately lost Sight of him, they rose up the same Hour (says St. Luke) * returned to Jerusalem, found the other Disciples together in a Room, and told them of it. And that while they were telling them, Jesus himself, to

convince them of the Truth of it, appeared among them, and stood in the midst. He got to Jerusalem as soon as they, and it seems was not far off from them when they first entered, and might have been there before, if their Eyes were holden that they should not see him, or if he appeared among them in another Form.

The Evidence of this Appearance of Jesus to the Apostles, on which the Faith of the World is to rest, is worthy of our Regard.

St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke agree, that when the Disciples were made acquainted with the Resurrection of Jesus, they met him for the first and last Time. But this St. John, the Author of the *Acts*, and St. Paul, contradict; for they tell us of other Appearances afterwards.

St. Matthew (v. 7 & 10,) and St. Mark (v. 7,) say, the Disciples had Orders to meet Jesus at Galilee; but St. Luke (v. 49,) and the Author of the *Acts*, (v. 4,) say, the Disciples had Orders not to depart from Jerusalem. St. Luke tell us (v. 6, 7, 8,) that the Men, or Angels, only reminded the Women of what Jesus said when he was in Galilee, that he there foretold his Death and Resurrection; and that when they were thus put in Mind of it, they remembered his words. Whatever it was that Jesus said to his Disciples in Galilee, St. Mark and St. Luke both confess that the Disciples did not understand him, how then should they remember? If it was a plain Prophecy, as St. Matthew (xvii. 22, 23,) and St. Mark (ix. 31.) have it, I think, 'tis scarce probable or possible they should forget. If it

it was mysterious, as *St. Luke* (ix. 44.) has it, they could not understand it. A mysterious Prediction, which is not understood till the Thing predicted comes to pass, is the same as no Prediction, and such an one is that in *St. John* (ii. 19, 20, 21, 22,) understood neither by the Apostles nor the *Jews*, to whom it was spoken. Such Prophecy lies not in the Words spoken, but in the Interpretation. The Expounder, not the Speaker, makes the Prophecy.

As to this last Appearance of Jesus, *St. Matthew* disagrees with *St. Luke*, both as to Time and Place; for *St. Matthew* says, it was at a Mountain in *Galilee*, where Jesus had appointed them; therefore the Disciples could not be there on the Evening of the Day he arose, the nearest Part of *Galilee* being, if I mistake not, not above three-score Miles from *Jerusalem*, where this Appearance was, according to *St. Luke*, who says, he ascended on the Evening of the Resurrection Day. For (v. 1.) on the first Day of the Week, early in the Morning, the Women went to the Sepulchre, when they returned, (v. 12,) *Peter* went thither; the same Day, (v. 13,) two of them went to *Emmaus*; towards the Evening, (v. 28, 29,) they got thither; they turned back the same Hour they got there, (v. 33,) and went to *Jerusalem*, where they found the Apostles together, to whom Jesus appeared as they were telling what had happened, led them out to *Bethany*, and from thence ascended to Heaven. If *St. Matthew* had told us of Jesus's Ascension, and *St. Luke* not, it might

have been luckily reconciled; but the contrary has unfortunately happened. The Author of the *Acts* says, that Jesus was with the Apostles forty Days, *St. Luke* only one Day. Now, could this Author be *St. Luke*; which so contradicts *St. Luke*? If it be not, the Author of the *Acts* of the Apostles is not known; and 'tis well if the Authors of the four Gospels are better known.

St. John agrees with *St. Luke*, that Jesus appeared to his Disciples on the Evening of the first Day of the Week; and, by the Circumstances, this Appearance was at *Jerusalem*, though he does not mention the Place; but *St. John* disagrees with the other three, in not making it the last, and the only one to the Apostles; they say the Eleven were gathered together; he says *Thomas* one of the Eleven was absent, so that there were but ten of them. That *Thomas* being afterwards told of it, declared, (v. 25,) he would not believe, except he saw the Print of the Nails in his Hands, and felt the Wound in his Side. Tho' this is what none of the others mention, and contradicts their Evidence. *St. John* acquaints us, (v. 26,) that, after eight Days, the Disciples were together, and *Thomas* was with them, when Jesus appeared to gratify this Infidel, bade him feel of his Hands and his Side, and believe; which we do not read he did, but believed upon Sight. Concerning which some Things occur worthy of Remark.

1st, *St. Thomas's* Infidelity and Faith were very extraordinary. He would not believe that Jesus was risen from the Dead, except

he saw and felt the Wounds that caused his Death. It is to be supposed, that the Power which raised him to Life did not cure those Wounds? Or was not Jesus to be known without them by his own Disciples? Had they forgot the Idea of his Person and the Sound of his Voice in so short a Time? If these Marks were only Prints or Scars of Wounds in his Hands and Side, could not another Person, who might have a Mind to deceive, make Scars in those Places, or the Appearance of such Wounds? Were these Prints better to be known than the Form of his Person, which they had so often seen?

2dly, One of these Marks was that of the Wound in his Side, by which I suppose, St. John, * refers to the Wound given him by a Soldier with a Spear before he was taken down from the Cross, which none of the other Evangelists mention; yet, if St. Thomas and the other Apostles did not know it as well as St. John, it was no Proof to them that it was the Person of Jesus. But, if they did, why do none of them neither tell us of the Fact, nor of these Words that refer to it? St. Luke has it, (v. 40.) Behold my Hands and my Feet; not a Word of his Side. But, because no other Evangelist reports this but St. John, you have his Word for the Truth of it. (P. 12.) Lest it should be doubted of, he says †, And he that saw it bare Record, and his Record is true, and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe. Besides, St. John makes this to fulfil a

Scripture Prophecy, ‡ They shall look on him whom they have pierced. Therefore it must be true. Yet, if this single Action be doubted of, it may be a Doubt whether he was dead when he was taken down from the Cross; for, when Joseph begged his Body, Pilate marvelled if he were already dead; § his Legs were not broken to hasten or compleat his Death as the others were, || and he was taken down by Joseph himself. If it be doubted, whether Jesus was really dead when he was put into the Sepulchre, which was a Cave hewn out of a Rock; it will be Matter of less Doubt, whether he rose again? And why he arose in the Night? Why his Countenance was so much altered, that his Disciples scarce knew him but by his Wounds? Why he did not appear afterwards in Public, but to his Disciples only, &c. Add to this, that a healthful sober young Man, with vigorous Spirits, does not easily part with Life, by Wounds in the extreme Parts.

3dly, As the Satisfaction, that St. Thomas required to cure him of his Infidelity, was extraordinary; so was his Faith. When Jesus appeared in the Midst of them the second Time, when the Doors were shut, and shewed to Thomas his Hands and his Side, &c. Thomas cried out, My Lord and my God! If this be a Confession of that Faith, which is Truth, then the human Person of Jesus was Lord and God, as the Mugletonians say; and then they are right, who say, God was born, God

* John xix. 34. † xix. 35.

|| John xix. 32, 33.

‡ v. 37.

§ Mark xv. 44.

God died, and God rose again from the Dead. Tho' St. *Thomas* be condemned for not believing, 'tis not said that he had the Proof of the Identity of his Master's real Person, but rather seems to have believed without. A true Faith in the Resurrection, rejects the Evidence of Sense: * *Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*

Atbly, I observed before, that, according to St. *John*, this was the second Time *Jesus* had appeared in the Midst of his Disciples when the Doors were shut; where it is suggested, that one solid or material Body passed through another solid or material Body, without injuring the Form of either, both the passing and passive Body remaining the same, contrary to all the Laws of Nature. As for what Explanation Mr. *B.* has given to this, (p. 70.) that, perhaps, *Jesus* opened the Door, and took his Opportunity to come upon them unseen, or in the Dark; and tread softly too, he should have said, or while they were asleep. This is only a palliating Exposition, and not warranted by the Text, which naturally seems to suggest the contrary: Therefore there is no Proof that such is the true Intent and Meaning of the Evangelists, concerning the sudden appearing and disappearing of *Jesus*. The manner of which was so uncommon and surprising, † that the Disciples themselves thought they saw a Spirit, and were affrighted with it. This ideal Appearance seems to have been raised by the Story of *Simon* and *Cleopas*. But whe-

ther 'twas real or imaginary, it rests upon the Evidence only of St. *John*, one of the Disciples present; for St. *Matthew's* Account of the Meeting of *Jesus*, and the Disciples, does not agree with it. St. *Mark* and *Luke* were none of the Eleven, therefore not present: It may be a Question, whether the other Nine out of the Eleven fancied they saw this Apparition.

But he shewed them his Hands and his Side, or his Feet: Were the Wounds in them a more real Proof than his real Presence? Yet all these could scarce induce them to believe. For, † while they believed not for Joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have you here any Meat? He was forced to convince them, that his Body was real, by eating. Why might not their Eyes be holden here too, and he seem to eat before them, when he did not? In common Cases, Men may be allowed to be Eye-witnesses, and to see what they see; but, in uncommon and miraculous Cases, this hardly can be allowed; For when I have to do with one who has the Power of working Miracles, my Senses may be miraculously wrought upon. In such Case, I may and ought to Question as much the Truth of my Senses, as the Object, that I am neither deceived in the one, nor the other. Common Jugglers, by the Art of *Legerdemain*, who cannot change the Nature of Things, can deceive my Sight; which it is easier to do, than to work a real Change in Things. The Evidence of any Eye-witnesses then, besides our own, cannot be depended upon, for scarcely

can

* John xx. 29.

† Luke xxiv. 37.

† Luke v. 41.

can we depend upon our own; since such a Power may deceive us in spite of our Eyes. He, that can alter Nature, can destroy all Rules of Truth and Certainty. Well, but has the Gentleman, by all that he has said, proved the Reality of Christ's Body after his Resurrection? No, that's impossible, unless he could shew, that there was *nothing* miraculous in the greatest Miracle that ever was, and every real Miracle is an Absurdity to common Sense and Understanding, and contrary to the Attributes of God, notwithstanding all that is said in Favour of the Possibility of them, from Page 60 to 65, because it breaks down the Boundaries and Laws of Nature, which are the only Rules of Truth and Certainty to Mankind.

In Favour of the Reality of Christ's Body in these Appearances, says Mr. B. p. 71. *I wonder the Gentleman did not carry his Argument a little further, and prove that Christ, before his Death, had no real Body; for we read that, when the Multitude would have thrown him down a Precipice, he went through the Midst of them unseen.* The Word *unseen* is not in the Text, but *he passing through the Midst of them, went his Way* *; where only a little Removal of his Body in the Crowd might secure him among his Friends; yet, he says, that *nothing* happened after his Resurrection more unaccountable than this that happened before it, and that Difference there is none. Whereas this, as it is worded in the Text, carries with it great Probability, and nothing wonderful; but the other, an utter Impossibi-

lity, that one solid Body should pass through another, yet neither the Form nor Substance of either be altered. It is not in that, as in this, said, *he vanished out of their Sight, or ceased to be seen of them, or that their Eyes were bidden that they should not know him, or that he appeared to them in another Form, or appeared in the Midst of a Room when the Doors were shut.*

Let us now consider, *ably*, of the other Appearances mentioned by St. John and St. Paul.

St. John tells us of more Appearances of Jesus to his Disciples, than the other Evangelists do, and after they say he ascended, or took his last Leave of them; it is sufficient therefore to say of St. John's Evidence, that his destroys theirs, or theirs destroy his.

St. Paul writes by Hearsay; he only delivered what he received; therefore he, who was as one born out of due Time, can be no proper Evidence to testify of Things done before he was born. After Christ's Appearance to Cephas, (I suppose it may be that to Simon and Cleopas) St. Paul says, he was seen of the Twelve: Query, Was Judas there to make up the Number? The particular Visit paid to St. James we have no Account of; for these, therefore, we ought to have St. Peter and St. James's own Evidence; these may be wished for, St. Paul's being of little Account; for, as St. Paul saw Jesus only in a Vision, he seems to be in his Visions about his Relation of Jesus's Appearances. He agrees with the rest, as the rest agree with one another. The five hundred Brethren, he says, Christ appeared

* Luke iv. 29, 30.

appeared to, are all lumped together, and might as easily have been five Thousand, and as hard to prove or disprove the one as the other. Therefore, some Evidence being necessary to corroborate it, what he says, *Gal. i. 20*, should follow here. Where and when was this public Appearance? And how long did it continue? Since, *St. Paul* says, some of the Witnesses were fallen asleep, he should have told us who, and how many of them were then broad awake; for Prophets were subject to dream, and sometimes to dream waking.

I come now, 5thly, to my last Point proposed, To consider of the Ascension of Jesus, concerning which, they also disagree.

St. Mark and *St. Luke* acquaint us, that after Jesus had appeared to the Eleven as they sat at Meat, and had spoken unto them, he ascended into Heaven. *St. Luke* says, he led them out as far as *Bethany*, lift up his Hands and blessed them, and, while he was so doing, he was parted from them, and carried up into Heaven. The Author of the *Acts* says, that when Jesus had done speaking to the Disciples, while they beheld, he was taken up; and they returning afterward from Mount *Olivet* to *Jerusalem*, it is to be supposed, he intimates, that Jesus ascended from thence, which either belonged to *Bethany*, or was very near it. As to the Place of his Ascension, if *St. Mark* means *Galilee*, he contradicts these. If he means the same Place as these do, he contradicts himself; for he says, (*v. 7.*) the Angel, or young Man, told them Jesus was gone before the Disciples into *Galilee*,

and there they should see him. The Author of the *Acts* says, he was taken up while they beheld, and a Cloud received him out of their Sight: But *Mark*, as if Heaven itself was open to his View, without any intercepting Cloud, that, he was received up into Heaven, and sat on the right Hand of God; as if he had looked into Heaven itself, and seen him seated.

St. Matthew and *St. John*, who were two of the Apostles, and therefore should be those that saw his Ascension, seem to say, that he never ascended; at least, they mention nothing of it. And, according to them, it is a Question, whether he is gone yet. The last Words of Jesus in *St. Matthew* are, (*v. 20.*) *Lo, I am with you always unto the End of the World.* *John* leaves us at all Uncertainties, and says, that Jesus went like a wandering Jew, without bidding them farewell, the Lord knows where*! as if they intended, whenever they pleased, to bring him on the Stage again. Some are Infidels enough to insinuate, that the last Verse of *St. John's* Gospel shews, that he loved romancing so well, as to give all Room and Encouragement imaginable to others to practise it, (*viz.*) *And there are many other Things that Jesus did, the which, if they should be written, every one, I suppose, that even the World itself could not contain the Books that should be written. Amen.* As if it were an everlasting Fund for Romance.

Observe the Agreement of the Witnesses on this Appearance to all the Apostles, which was doubted of by the Apostles themselves,† upon which

* *John* xxi. 19, 20, 21, 22. † See *Matt. v. 17.*

which depends all the Proof we have of the Resurrection of *Jesus*. *St. Matthew*, *St. Mark*, and *St. Luke* mention this Appearance as the first and last Time; *St. John* and *St. Paul* say, it was not the last; *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark* say, the Disciples were ordered to go to *Galilee*; *St. Luke* and the Author of the *Acts* say, that they were ordered to stay at *Jerusalem*.

St. Matthew says, *Jesus* met the Disciples for the first and last Time at a Mountain in *Galilee*; *St. Luke*, that it was at *Jerusalem*.

St. Luke intimates, that this last Meeting was on the Evening of the Day he arose. But this could be if it was at *Galilee*: *St. John* says, he appeared afterwards: The Author of the *Acts*, that *Jesus* was with them forty Days.

St. Luke acquaints us, that this Appearance was to the Eleven Apostles; *St. John*, that 'twas only to Ten of them; *St. Paul* says, 'twas to the Twelve; perhaps, he had forgot that one of them was fallen asleep.

St. Mark, *St. Luke*, and the Author of the *Acts* say, that *Jesus* ascended; *John* does not say, that he ever ascended at all; *St. Matthew* says, he promised to be with them to the End of the World.

St. Matthew and *St. Luke* mention but two Appearances of *Jesus*, and in both these they differ. *St. Mark* tells us of three; *St. John* of four; *St. Paul* of six; the Author of the *Acts*, I think, should mean forty, by the Words being seen of them forty Days, unless *Jesus* was any of those Days invisible.

The Evangelists tell us of but

a very few that saw *Jesus* after his Resurrection; the Author of the *Acts* says, as the Gentleman supposes, that 120 were Witnesses of his Appearance. *St. Paul* tells us, that he was seen of above 500 Brethren at one Time. Thus the Saints agree, and such Agreement is common among Saints. Their Miracles, Morals, Doctrines, and Practices are alike harmonious.

New permit me to query, Whether the Author of the Trial, or any Man who has read thus far, (p. 4.) considering the Nature of the Evidence, and its proper Weight, would be willing to determine a Property of five Shillings upon such Evidence as this, which is thought material enough to support the Resurrection of Christ? For the Witnesses, as they are called, do not all agree in any one Circumstance; but palpably contradict one another in every Particular. I wonder what Harmony all the Evangelists would make that were in the first Ages of the Church, compared with one another, seeing the Four we have are so harmonious? And whether (p. 14.) the general and constant Belief of the Resurrection is not that only which creates in most Minds a Presumption, that it was founded on good Evidence? And whether (p. 15.) the very Account, given by the pretended Witnesses of this Fact, is not sufficient to destroy the Credit of it? The four Evangelists, together with the Author of the *Acts*, and *St. Paul*, are all Authors of equal Credit, therefore are all called in for Witnesses. In carnal Cases Men are not allowed to be Witnesses of seeing an Object without carnal Eyes, and natural Con-

vision;

viction; but this being a spiritual Case, in which Men walk by Faith, and not by Sight, spiritual Imagination is to go for ocular Demonstration, and the Proof of the Spirit is an infallible Proof! The many infallible Proofs by which Jesus shewed himself alive after his Passion, have been shewn. In other Cases, if the Witnesses do not agree, their Evidence proves nothing; but, in Matters of Faith, Men have the Witness in themselves; for Faith is the Evidence of Things not seen. Therefore nothing which has been said ought to be construed to overturn or effect the Faith of the Gospel, but to shew the miraculous Nature and wonderful Power of Faith; that it can remove all these Mountains, and swallow them up, as if they were cast into the Sea. Since the Christian Faith is so powerful, what needs it any human Support from the civil Magistrate. If it be of God, Man cannot overthrow it. The Faith, which requires human Power to support it, discovers much of human Weakness in its Composition.

'Tis true, indeed, that the Evidence of the three Appearances of Jesus shews, that there is no Agreement in the first, no Certainty in the second, and no Harmony in the third: What then! Such Inconsistencies, Improbabilities, Absurdities, and Contradictions, would destroy the Credit of other History, but the Faith of this is founded on a Rock; the Rock of Education, which Reason cannot penetrate; the Faithful following the Example of their spiritual Patterns, to offer up their own Sons, or themselves,

that is, all their natural Endowments and human Wisdom on the Altar of Faith.

Wise Infidels will exclaim against these Arcana of a Religion, to introduce and maintain which, so much Blood and Treasure has been every where spilt and spent in Abundance; and they will imagine, that 'till these Things are reconciled and cleared up, the Evidence will be thought insufficient to support the Credit of such extraordinary Events: But let them exclaim: For it is written, *I will destroy the Wisdom of the Wise, and bring to nothing the Understanding of the Prudent. Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? Hath not God made foolish the Wisdom of this World by the Foolishness of preaching the Gospel? For the Jews require a Sign, and the Greeks seek after Wisdom; but we, saith St. Paul, preach Christ Crucified, and risen again; to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks Foolishness.* 1 Cor. i.

HAVING examin'd the Evidence of the Witnesses, so called, I now proceed to the rest of the Trial. To the Question, (p. 74.) *Why did not Christ appear publicly to all the People, especially to the Magistrates? Why were some Witnesses cull'd and chosen out, and others excluded?* Mr. B. answers, it may be sufficient to say, where there are Witnesses enow, no Judge, no Jury complains for want of more; and therefore, if the Witnesses we have are sufficient, 'tis no Objection that we have not others and more. But can these be sufficient Witnesses, when their Evidence is not sufficient to prove the Fact? Then
he

he compares it to a Will, which requires but three Witnesses, cull'd out that they may be good ones; and adds, *How comes it to pass then, that the very Thing which shuts out all Suspicion, in other Cases, should, in this Case, be of all others the most suspicious Thing in itself?* It is because this Case, of all others, is the most uncommon. If it were of no more Consequence than any ordinary Affair, why do they make such a Stir about it? Is the Proof of a Relation's Will, and the Proof of the Will of God, a parallel Case? Or a Legacy in this World, and eternal Life, of the same Value? Should not the Proof be as clear as the Importance of the Case requires? Is it not very absurd, that the meanest Witnesses should be pick'd and cull'd out for the best, in the greatest Affairs? That Matters of the highest Concern, and of the most extraordinary Nature, should be, or said to be, sufficiently attested by the most doubtful Evidence! That those who are principally interested in a Will, the very Executors and Legatees, should be allowed to be the best and only Witnesses of the said Will: This would not be pleaded for, or granted in any Court in Christendom, nor pass in any Trial, but in this.

The following Improbabilities and Absurdities shew, what Reason there is of Complaint. That *Jesus* should be said publicly to predict his own Resurrection, and not fulfil it in public. That he should promise it to be the Sign of his Mission to that evil Generation, yet never shew them the Sign.

That he should inform the People that he would rise again the third Day, yet disappoint all their Expectations in seeing him. That he should put the Proof of his Mission on the Reality of his rising again; yet never discover that Fact to them, by rising before them, nor by appearing to them afterwards. Had it been publicly known to all *Jerusalem*, that *Jesus* would rise again the third Day, all *Jerusalem*, that believed it, would have expected to see him. If they were disappointed in their Expectations, what was it but deceiving them in that very Point, in which, of all others, he should have satisfied them. Not to appear to them, if he promised it, and put the Truth of his Mission on it, was denying the Truth of his Mission, and falsifying his Word. They said, **Let him come down from the Cross, and we will believe in him:* And would they not have believed in him, if he had come up from the Dead? Is it propable, that an extraordinary Action, done for an extraordinary End, and highly necessary to be known to Mankind, should be so secretly done, that no Man saw it! That so great an Action should be done so improper a Way! That *Jesus* should require Men to believe his Disciples, rather than their own Senses, in an Affair where Reason can be of no Assistance! That such a surprizing Method should be taken to save all Men in such a manner, that scarce any Man, that examines it, can believe it! That a Miracle should be wrought in secret to convince Men,

* Matt. xxvii. 42.

Men, and never manifest itself to the Satisfaction of Mankind; nor leave any Footsteps, or marks on Earth, of its having ever been yet absolutely necessary to be believed! That he appeared in such a manner to his Disciples, which scarce convinced themselves; yet sent them to convince the World! That he was with them forty Days, yet appeared but four Times, or but now and then; and that he should not abide constant as before, nor be seen by others!

The Witnesses give us no Account where he spent the rest of his Time, and to what End. Whether the Spirit of God *drove* * or *led* him into the Wilderness to the Devil again; for 'tis said †, he only *departed from him for a Season*; where, and with whom, he staid forty Days before to no Purpose ‡. Choice Company for the Son of God! Since *Jesus* might do and say all that is related of him, after his Resurrection, in less than forty Hours; and of all the forty Nights, he never, that we hear of, lodg'd one Night with any of his Disciples. These Things are as surprizing as his Resurrection. That *Jesus* rose again from the Dead, staid forty Days afterwards, no body knows where, and purposely avoided the most right and rational Method of its being certainly known to the World, *viz.* by avoiding to appear to the World! That after the Watch had spread Lyes about, he did not shew himself to the Rulers, nor the People, to convince them of the contrary! That he, who was the Messenger of Truth, should

countenance Lyes by his Silence and Absence! They could not have put him to Death again, if they would, for he could appear and disappear at Pleasure. No doubt; but the Sight of *Jesus* would have struck them with sufficient Awe and Terror, from attempting it. Why did he not, after his Resurrection, undeceive his Disciples in their Notions of temporal Victory and Grandeur, when they ask'd him about it? Or take Possession of the Kingdom of *Israel*, fulfil the Scriptures of the Prophets, and prove himself the Messiah? Why not appear in public for the public Good, maintain the public Cause of his Nation and People? And why did he, at the very last, leave his Disciples in Expectation of it, and baulk all their Expectations: Promise to come again presently §, and is not come yet? These Disappointments give too much Reason to cry out, *Why is his Chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the Wheels of his Chariot?* Is he not risen? Did he not ascend? Has he not triumph'd over Death and the Grave, and led Captivity captive?

Mr. B. pleads, (p. 75.) That every Soldier who guarded the Sepulchre was to the Jews a Witness of the Resurrection, of their own chusing: But it does not appear there were any; and if there were, how could they be Witnesses who saw no Resurrection, and reported there was none; but that the Disciples stole the Body of *Jesus* away? A proper Proof agreeable to the Reason and Fitness of the Thing is wanting.

After-

* Mark i. 12, 13. † Luke iv. 13.

‡ This Story, if elsewhere, would seem blasphemous and fabulous.

§ Matt. x. 23.

Assertions ought not to be credited without proper Evidence, such as in the Nature of the Thing is just and reasonable. He that believes on any other Evidence, may have a presumptive Faith, but cannot have a reasonable one. If they had not the Proof of *Jesus's* Resurrection from his own personal appearing, of all Things the most easy to him, if he rose again, and the most convincing to them: Why should they depend on the Credit of others, rather than their own Senses? Or why should any other Miracle be given them to prove the Thing, than what the Nature of the Thing itself was capable of giving, most reasonable for the them to require, and most just and fit for *Jesus* to grant.

Mr. B. insinuates, (p. 76, 77.) That according to *Matthew xxiii.* *Christ solemnly took his Leave of the Jews, and closed his Commission to them at his Death; and as to appearing to them after his Resurrection, he could not do it consistently with his own Prediction.* Ye shall see me no more till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. *That the Jews were not in this Disposition after the Resurrection, nor are they in it yet.* The Reason of that is, because he did not appear to them after his Resurrection. According to *St. Luke* * he himself, after that, fulfilled his own Prophecy†, and found them then in that Disposition before his Death, which the Gentleman complains they were not in after his Resurrection, nor are yet: And, after that, taught daily in the Temple; and *Jesus*

was obliged to appear to them again after his Resurrection, consistently with his own Prediction, if it was his own, the Sign of the Prophet *Jonah*, if it meant a Resurrection.

Mr. B. remarks, (p. 78.) *That since all Men have an equal Right to demand a special and particular Evidence, why may not the same be demanded for every Country and every Age?* I know not why every Country and Age should not have it, since they have an equal Right to demand it. A special and particular Action requires a special and particular Proof, to every Country and Age, that are especially and particularly concerned in the Case. If it needs a miraculous one, because it admits of no natural Proof, miraculous Proof should be given: For the Proof of an Action, which must be credited, ought to be such as is sufficient and fit to prove the Action.

If Miracles are once necessary to prove a Fact, they are always necessary; because the same Proof, or an adequate one, is necessary to prove the same Operation. The Distance of Time and Place makes them not less, but rather more necessary. A History of an extraordinary uncommon kind should have more than common Proof. That is, the Proofs given should be equal to the Things to be proved. And the more momentous the Affair is, or is esteemed, so much the more plain, and certain, should be the Evidence.

Mr. B. says (p. 78.) *There is, in my Apprehension, nothing more unreasonable,*

* Luke xiii. 34, 35. † Chap. xix. 38. ‡ Mark xvi. 17, 18. ix. 23. John xiv. 12.

reasonable, than to neglect and despise plain and sufficient Evidence before us, and to sit down to imagine what kind of Evidence would have pleased us, and then to make the want of such Evidence an Objection to the Truth, which yet, if well considered, would be found to be well established.

The Case is not here rightly stated. The Evidence is objected against, because it is not plain, sufficient, nor well established: For, the more thoroughly it is considered, the more insufficient it appears. And there is, in my Apprehension, nothing more reasonable, than to reject insufficient Evidence, and consider what means of Conviction the nature of the Thing requires, and to make the want of such Proof an Objection to that Fact, which, if well considered, cannot be well established without it. There is as much Reason now for some suitable Miracle to prove the Resurrection, as there was then; for there is no plain and certain Evidence before us, the want of which is a sufficient Objection, and ever will be, to invalidate the Truth of a Fact so ill established.

Mr. B. observes, (p. 79.) *That the Apostles were chosen to be Witnesses of the Resurrection, because they were chosen to bear Testimony of it to the World, not because they only were admitted to see Christ after his Resurrection; for the Fact is otherwise. The Gospel, indeed, concerned to shew the Evidence on which the Faith of the World was to rest, is very particular in setting forth the ocular Demonstrations which the Apostles had of the Resurrection; and mentions others who saw Christ af-*

ter his Resurrection, only accidentally, as the Thread of the History led to it.

It had been better to have chosen any other for Witnesses than these; they were the most improper Persons to convince the World, because they were most interested in the Affair: Half a dozen Watchmen would have been better than a dozen Apostles; Men interested in no Party. But if they had been Enemies, converted by a miraculous Resurrection, it would have been better still. One Apostle *Paul* did more Execution than the other Eleven. But among all that saw *Jesus*, none such saw him, and of all those who saw him, the Apostles only attested it, and were chosen to that End, and for that End were admitted to see him. Others saw him, but they were not required to witness it. Tho' when Men relate a Story, and are willing to be credited, (as all Men are who think they speak Truth, and are concerned that it should be received as such;) they are willing to inform their Auditors, what Persons besides themselves, know of it, and all convincing Particulars. This is a Support to the Credit of it. Every Witness to Truth is an Aid in its Favour. The less Concern the Relater has in it, his Relation has the greater Credit; and the Credit of others diminishes in Proportion as the Relaters are interested in the Case. None but Enthusiasts dare to conceive, that an implicit Faith is to be given to their dogmatical Assertions, that their bare Word ought to be taken, exclusive of all other Proof; that all other

Men's Words are to be disregarded in Comparison of theirs, be the Facts they relate ever so miraculous or romantic; because, disbelieving them, in their Notion and bold Assertion, is not believing the Spirit of God. But with the greater Assurance any one tells a Lye or Romance, for sacred Truth, tho' he sanctifies it with the Name of God Almighty, the less Credit should be given him, not only in that, but in all Things else. God never requires Men to believe Things contrary to Evidence, Nature, and common Sense; for his Government of all Creatures is by the Sense he has given them, never by what contradicts it. 'Tis the Mark of Imposture to do this. Why should the Apostles, of all Men, require the whole World, to credit the greatest Miracle that ever was on the least Foundation? And why should the Credit of this depend on them alone? If 120 or 500 saw him besides, could they not attest it as well? Did the Apostles require a Faith as miraculous as the Fact? Why could not other Men speak Truth, and attest what they saw, as well as the Apostles? Is Truth ever the worse for being well attested? Or is that Faith most true which has the least Evidence? And why must other People's Words be of so little Account, as not to be worth the Notice, but as the Thread of the History led to it accidentally? 'Tis nothing to the Purpose to tell me, that 120, or 500 Men, knew it besides, when not one of them is named, nor the Credit of one of them known if they were. St. Paul, who says 500 saw Christ after his Resurrection,

knew nothing of the Matter himself; he was none of the Number, unless visionally, which is no real Proof. The Proof of these 500, attested by St. Paul, depends but upon his single Testimony, or of some other in his Name, or of the greatest Lyer in the World, the Church of Rome: Such Evidence as we have is not easy for any to credit, but those in whom it was planted by Education, and grew up in them before their Reason, by which Means, the Belief of Witches, Apparitions, and Fairies, are as credible as this. The Gospel is very particular in setting forth, that the Apostles had no ocular Demonstration of the Resurrection at all, and, the Appearances of Jesus afterwards are such, as demonstrate them to be no Demonstration: Whoever examines them with Seriousness, must be concerned, that the Evidence on which the Faith of the World was to rest, should have no better Foundation to rest on! In all other Cases, of the greater Concern, the Matter is, and the more are interested in it, the more certain, full, and satisfactory, the Evidence or Proof ought to be. But in this Case, it seems it must be the less, that the Faith of the World may be the greater! As if it was meritorious to believe the most incredible Story that could be told, upon the worst Evidence that could be given; which, indeed, would be proper, if the Faith required was to be as miraculous as the Fact to be believed.

Mr. B. says, (p. 8.) *Will the Gentleman pretend to prove that they (the Angels) were improperly employed in this great and wonderful Work,*

Work, the Resurrection of Christ? Undoubtedly they were very improperly. 1st, Because they frightened away the Watch from seeing it, and being Witnesses, 2^{dly}, Because Christ had no Need of them, for, undoubtedly, he could have risen as well without them. Had Jesus Need of an Angel to roll away the Stone, or to defend him against the Watch? Did he need their Assistance? If not, what Business had they there? Or had he Need of Angels in white to lighten him, because he rose in the dark? 3^{dly}, They were unnecessary, because they looked like Men, and made the Matter look like Fraud. If they were necessary Witnesses of the Resurrection, why did they depart at the Approach of Day-light?

Mr. B. asserts, (p. 81.) That it is not upon the Credit of the poor silly Women, that we believe Angels were concerned, but upon the Report of those who wrote the Gospels, who delivered it as a Truth known to themselves, and not merely as a Report taken from the Women. This is a Mistake: It is upon the Credit of the Women meerly, that 'tis believed Angels were concerned*. Those that wrote the Gospels knew nothing of it themselves, for none of them pretend to have seen the Angels. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke do not so much as say, that any of them went to the Sepulchre, and the beloved Disciple, who says, he went with Peter, saw no Angel.

'Tis said, That the Women report, that the Body was not in the

Sepulchre, but so far from reporting the Resurrection, that they did not believe it. This is contrary to the Report given by all the Evangelists†. But 'tis too common for Men to believe they are certainly right, when they are apparently wrong. Therefore, since the best may err, we should beware of Censoriousness and Persecution for speculative Points.

The Trial boasts, That if Men only must be admitted Witnesses, of them we have enough to establish this Truth. How many are they? Why, St. Paul says five hundred. Was St. Paul one? No. How did St. Paul know? He was told so. Who, and what were those five hundred? Are five of them mentioned, besides what are named by the Evangelists? No. But, says, Mr. B. the Author of the Acts tells us, there was an hundred and twenty. Who was that Author? 'Tis thought to be St. Luke, but 'tis not known. When was it written? Or where? Nor that neither. Upon what Authority was it received at first, and communicated to us? Upon the Authority of the Church of Rome, that Mother of Lies and Abominations. Well, but fourteen or fifteen saw Jesus after his Resurrection; the eleven Disciples, and Mary Magdalene, and perhaps, the other Mary and Cleopas. Have you the Evidence of these fifteen? No. But we have two of them, that were Eye-witnesses, that saw him, St. Matthew and St. John. Are you infallibly sure the two Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John were written by themselves;

X 2

and

* Luke xxiv. 23.
John xx. 18.

† Matth. xxviii. 8. Mark xvi. 10. Luke xxiv. 9.

and if so, that nothing is in their Gospels but what they wrote? That these Gospels were written without Error at first? And that none has crept into them since? That no Absurdity or Contradiction can be proved out of the Evangelists Writings compared together? No; this is to be believed, but the contrary may be proved. Here's a blessed Reduction, from five hundred Witnesses to two, and they contradict one another. Yet these fallible Accounts are infallibly believed, and believed to be infallible. The Work of Faith is a wonderful Work! A Work of Wonders! *If none but Men must be admitted, we have enow to establish this Truth.* What's become of them? Not one remains that can be depended on. The Appearance was of such Sort, that the Witnesses themselves did not believe it*.

Mr. B. goes on, (p. 81.) *If you Question their Sincerity, they lived miserably, and died miserably for the Sake of Truth.* The Truth of this may be justly questioned, unless we had better Proof. And whether they lived better at their Trade of Fishing, than of Preaching? When the Believers sold what they had, made one common Stock to carry on the Cause, and set up the Apostles with Cash, all was at their Disposal; therefore, that they made a good Living of it, may be reasonably concluded. I believe it will be hard to prove, that they all died Martyrs for Truth. Multitudes every where run all Hazards for the Sake of living well. *But they died for asserting a Fact they were Eye-*

witnesses to, therefore the Fact was Truth. But, as the Truth of this Fact wants Proof, so does their dying for it. There is no proving a Fact true, by other Facts which equally want Proof.

Says Mr. B. (p. 49.) *The chief Priests try to murder the Apostles, enter into Combinations to assassinate them, prevail with Herod to put one of them to Death, but not so much as a Charge against them of any Fraud in the Resurrection.* How is this known? Because they themselves have not mentioned it. 'Twould prove them to be the veriest Simpletons in Nature, if they had. Yet, (p. 104.) the Gentlemen says, *The Thing for which they suffered, was the Truth of the Resurrection.* So then the chief Priests never so much as charged the Apostles with any Fraud in the Resurrection; but they put them to Death, because they knew it was true.

I beg Leave to lay before you another Evidence, says the Advocate for the Defendants, (p. 82.) *passed over in Silence by the Gentleman on the other Side.* That is, *The Evidence of the Spirit, Acts v. 22.* Indeed, that's the only Evidence that can be produced; but we, in this Age, have almost lost that, except among the Disciples of the inspired Mr. Whitefield, who has blown up a new Light of it, which now again declines; and the Flame of the Spirit has much to do to keep burning; notwithstanding it is so powerfully ventilated by his Belows. Yet this Evidence, great as it is, and, no doubt, the greatest, is what every one thinks it to be; and every one says of it what he

* Matth. xxviii. 17. Mark xvi. 11, 13. Luke xxiv. 11, 41. John xx. 14.

he pleases; therefore 'tis none at all, but to him that has it, and that is such as his Faith makes it. 'Tis granted, that Believers need no other Evidence; but what is this to those that have it not, who call for a Sign from Heaven, or a certain Proof that the Sign, already said to be given, was ever given, no Footsteps of it remaining: 'Tis certain, that, if this Miracle be disproved, all subsequent Miracles to prove it are no Proof. If the Thing cannot stand by itself, nothing else can support it. If it be a Fraud, or Falshity, all Pretensions to prove it are Frauds, or Falshities. Suggested Proofs, (p. 84.) are no Proofs. Therefore the Inferences, drawn from such, are of no Force. Things not known cannot be proved by Things equally unknown.

'Tis alledged, (p. 103.) That, *because the Apostles were chosen to bear Testimony to the Resurrection, they had the fullest Evidence of the Truth.* If their Evidence was the fullest, what sad Evidence must the others have! *Not merely by seeing Christ once or twice after his Death.* The Evangelists say, they saw him but two or three Times; though the Gentleman adds, *but by frequent Conversations with him for forty Days together before his Ascension.* Now, says he, (p. 104.) *if you allow the Sufferings of the Apostles to prove their Sincerity; and consider that they died for the Truth of a Matter of Fact.* Suffering for asserting a Fact is no more a Proof of it, than of the Truth of Doctrines; nor is it any more the Proof of Sincerity, than of Obstinacy; nor of real Knowledge, than of strong Imagination. *When*

a Man reports to me, says the Gentleman, an uncommon Fact, yet such an one as, in its own Nature, is a plain Object of Sense; if I believe him not, it is not because I suspect his Eyes, or his Sense of feeling, but merely because I suspect his Sincerity. If a Man reports such an uncommon Fact, that, before I can believe it, I must be very well assured, my own Senses were not deceived, had I imagined I saw it, certainly I may doubt the Evidence of the Reporter's Senses, yet not suspect his Sincerity. How many have confidently reported incredible Facts, with strong Persuasion of the Truth of them? Yet all the Reality of the Facts consisted in the Reality of their Imaginations. — My Suspicion, therefore, may arise from doubting of the Affirmator's seeing invisible Things, or mistaking one Thing for another, and not his Sincerity; but, that his easy Credulity makes his Senses liable to Deception. There have not been wanting those, that, at the Hazard of their Lives, have asserted false Stories for true, only because they believed them to be so: For those, who have the warmest Sincerity, have, in the Things they believe, generally, the greatest Obstinacy. And a strong Imagination has not less Effect on the Temper and Conduct of such as are sincere and credulous, than evident and sensible Conviction has on those of cooler Tempers, more courteously insincere.

There remain but two Arguments more, which I shall just mention,

One is, * *Could Gamaliel possibly have given this Advice,* If this

X 3

Work

Work be of Men it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found to fight against God; *and supposed the Hand of God might be with the Apostles, if he had known that there was a Cheat discovered in the Resurrection of Jesus? Could the whole Senate have followed this Advice, had they believed the Discovery of the Cheat?* Allowing the Substance of the Story true, the Particulars may be very well questioned, especially the Truth of Gamaliel's uttering these Words; for whatever he said, was delivered in private Council, when the Apostles were secluded, by the Story-teller's own Confession. How then should they know what was there said? Gamaliel might be so much of a Philosopher as well as a Scholar, to dissuade them from rigid Persecution, and his Argument prevailed: For, whatever his Counsel was, can only be conjectured from the Consequence.

The other Argument is, * That, had Agrippa suspected the Resurrection a Cheat, he would not have said to Paul, *almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*. Let us examine the Force of this Argument. Paul said to Agrippa, King Agrippa, *believest thou the Prophets*, and, without waiting for an Answer, Paul persuaded him that he believed them: *I know that thou believest*, said he. Then 'twas natural for Agrippa to make such an Answer; which means no more, than you would fain persuade me that I am almost a Christian; or, that I believe the Prophets as the Christians do; or,

that I am almost as mad as you; for he had before told Paul he was a madman.

Thus I have run through all the Arguments in the Trial. On which Side Truth lies, I wish the Reader to perceive. Perhaps, when I can see no more, some bitter and malignant Adversary, to display his Talents, may level all his Artillery of Wit, Learning, and Spleen, against me, instead of answering, as the reverend Priest Mr. Chandler, has done against the moral Philosopher Dr. Morgan, who has fired off twenty sheets to shoot one of his, and missed the Mark.

Should any enquire, what is my End and Aim in all this? I answer, to shew Mankind the stupid Nature of Bigotry, and the Wickedness of persecuting Men for Opinions, which will not bear the Enquiry. To convince the World, that an historical Faith is no Part of true and pure Religion, which is founded only on Truth and Purity. That it does not consist in the Belief of any History, which, whether true or false, makes no Man wiser nor better. My End is to hold forth the acceptable Light of Truth, which makes Men free, enables them to break the Bands of Creed-makers and Imposers in sunder, and to cast their Cords from us; and to set at Liberty Captives bruised with their Chains; to convince those that believe they see, or that see only through Faith's Optics, that their Blindness remaineth. My Design is to recover the Dignity of Virtue, to promote that Veneration for Wisdom and Truth,

* Page 50, Acts xxiv.

Truth, which has been debased and degraded by Faith; by a Faith which has *not sent Peace on Earth, but a Sword*, and *set the World on Fire*; which has *set a Man at Variance against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, and has made a Man's Foes those of his own Household*; a Faith which has made Men mad, excited the dearest Relations to HATE, † persecute, destroy, and burn one another, the Consequence of Hatred: Where this foolish Faith bears Sway, the Tree of Knowledge produces damning Fruit, while Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion: But under the *benign Influence of GEORGE* our King, in this glorious Time of Light and Liberty, this divine Hag and her pious Witchcrafts, which were brought forth in Darkness, and nourished by Obscurity, faint at the Approach of Day, and vanish upon Sight.

NOW having gone through the whole Affair, with as much Clearness and Brevity as I am able; I proceed to consider what was before passed over of Mr. B's Arguments, in Favour of the natural Possibility of Miracles in general †.

To prove the Possibility of Things improbable to Reason, the Gentleman argues, (p. 60.) That what Nature produces in one Country, may be incredible to People in another; as Cold congealing Waters to Ice, may be to a Man that lives in a hot Climate, who never saw any such Thing.

Be it so. In this Case, here's all the Evidence of Sense to prove the Thing where it is; and of this there are Places and Witnesses enow. He that cannot believe, may go and have sensible Conviction. And, if an hundred such Instances might be named, 'tis needless. For tho' nothing is more apparently absurd, than to make one Man's Ability in discerning, and his Veracity in reporting plain Facts, depend upon the Skill or Ignorance of the Hearer; yet if something be reported to me, or imposed on me for Truth, which appears the less to be so, the more I examine it: Must I deny my discerning Faculties, and my own Veracity in examining; and depend upon the Art or Authority of the Reporter or Impostor? If (as 'tis called) the *plain Fact* reported be a plain Absurdity to my Sense and Understanding, and contradictory to the constant Course of Nature, should I rehouse the Evidence of what Senses are alone capable of trying it, and of Men's common and constant Experience of the known Laws thereof; to depend on the Reporters or Imposters Judgment and Veracity; one or both of which may be to me as questionable as the Report. If the plain Fact pretended to have no other Evidence but the bare Report, and such as is inconsistent with itself, as well as with the Reason of Man, and the Nature of Things; let all impartial Men judge, whether it is my *pre-conceived Opinion*, or the want of good Evidence, that outweighs the

X 4

Credit

* Matth. x. 34, 35. † Luke xiv. 26.

† It would swell this Tract too large to recite Words of the Author. I must therefore refer to the Trial itself, beginning at p. 59, which is doing that Gentleman and the Reader Justice.

Credit of the Reporters, and makes their Veracity to be called in Question. What no Man's Senses ever discerned, was never the Object of any Man's Sense. If (p. 61.) a Stone appeared to roll up a Hill of its own Accord to my Sight, I should think I had Reason to doubt the Veracity of my Eye-sight, or of the Object. Therefore I cannot admit the like Fact, on the Evidence of others: Because pretended Facts, which are contrary to Nature, can have no natural Evidence, though they may be called Positive; that is, they are positively asserted, and must be as positively believed; for Evidence there is none. What Conceptions any Man frames to himself of the Course of Nature, from his own *Experience and Observation*, are not *Prejudices and Imaginations*; but what *Sense and Reason* are concerned about. This is the very Foundation of that right Reason, which *can never contradict the Truth of Things*.

Any romantic Story said to be seen, and heard, may be called a plain manifest Case, discernible by the Senses of Men; of which they are therefore qualified to be good Witnesses. Things asserted, which are contrary to the Experience, and Reason of all Mankind; and to what they know of the Law and usual Course of Nature, are, to the common Sense and Understanding of Men, utterly impossible; because such Assertions contradict all Men's Notions of those Laws, that are known by common Experience. Therefore they cannot admit the Facts asserted on any Evidence; because they in their own Nature exclude all Evidence; as all Impossibilities must

consequently do. Every miraculous Fact then should be most exactly scrutinized in every Part, to attain a full Assurance of the Possibility of it. If in any one Point it escapes Examination, therein the Fallacy may consist; which not being discerned, it may pass for a real Miracle, tho' a notorious Fraud. *Nothing is therefore more apparently absurd*, than to make some Men's positive Assertions, without being ever able to know their Veracity, or the Truth of the Fact, to be the Standard of other Men's Faith.

*If our Senses inform us rightly * what the usual Course of Things is, and we conclude that it may be otherwise, without proper and infallible Proof; we outrun the Information of our Senses, and the Conclusion stands upon Presumption, not upon Sense and Reason.* Yet such Conclusions do Men form, who recede from that general Course, and entertain Mistakes and Prejudices. As we know by Experience that all Men die, and rise no more; therefore, we conclude, for a dead Man to rise to Life again, is contrary to the uniform and settled Course of Nature. Yet if we argue, that it is not contrary nor repugnant to the real Laws thereof, as the Gentleman insinuates, we make the uniform and settled Course, and the real Laws of Nature, two different Things. Thus, we argue without any Foundation, either from Sense or Reason; all which inform us, that it is impossible for a dead Body to live again: To believe it possible contradicts this Maxim, *That Nature is steady and uniform in her Operations*: For one Miracle or Action, done contrary

* Compare this with Page 64. in the Trial,

trary to her Laws, contradicts all her steady uniform Springs and Movements; and all that Mankind call Truth and Reason. Therefore, I cannot but believe, till the Course of Nature is changed, that it is infinitely a greater Thing to give Life to a Body once dead, than to give Life and being, in a natural Way, to ten thousand Bodies that never had it; for the latter is done daily, the former never. I see no Reason to allow that possible to be done, which admits of no possible Proof; For then a Way is opened to allow of any Impossibility. It is very easy for any one to believe what is commonly done; but what is never done, or never can be proved, may be called Faith, but has no Foundation. Because I cannot account for whatever is demanded, must I believe whatever is proposed? He that is persuaded to believe any Thing contrary to the known Laws of Nature, because there are Things he does not know, is seduced to renounce his Understanding; and because he knows not all possible Things, is persuaded to believe that all Things are possible. Positive and presumptive Evidence is of no Weight against the Reason and Nature of Things. Such Evidence should be rejected, rather than the Nature of Things should be subverted to support such Evidence.

It may be objected, That God can do Things contrary to Nature. But what Proof is there that God ever did, or will, if Tradition be set aside, and Men may suspend their Belief, till rationally convinced, and the Rod

of Damnation removed from them for doubting, which drives Faith into the Timorous, as a Mallet does a Wedge into a Block; and in like manner divides, rends, and weakens the Understanding. Where is the Proof of it even in any one Miracle, which Tradition informs us of. If the Evidence given be insufficient, what Method of Conviction remains? Were we to go to the Place where Report says it was done, there are no Signs of it left. If we enquire of those among whom it was said to be done, they know nothing of the Matter, nor can we be sure they ever did. The Apostles are said to have proved the Resurrection by Miracles, but not one Believer can prove it by any now, if the Salvation of all Mankind depended on it; tho' the Power of working Miracles was promised to all Believers, yet none have it. If the true Way of proving the Faith is lost, there can be no Proof, that the true Faith itself is not lost.

Truth requires no Man's Assent without Conviction. Therefore, (p. 60.) *the Testimony of others ought not to be admitted, but in such Matters as appear probable, or at least possible to our Conceptions; or we may admit any Thing. Such Things as may be probable or possible in Nature, but not to our Conceptions, require better Proof, in Proportion as they appear improbable or impossible to our Apprehensions. It cannot then be criminal in any Man to withhold his Assent to a Proposition, or Story related, till he is fully convinced of the Truth of it; but it may not be safe for a Man to yield his Assent to what he is not fully convinced*

convinced of; for this precludes further Examination, and establishes Error, with all its Consequences.

It is Knavery for one Man knowingly to mislead another, Folly to deceive ourselves, and Weakness to suffer ourselves to be deceived. If we err, we may lead others into Error. If we would not beguile ourselves, we should not encourage others to do it, but be strictly upon our Guard against Deceit; for Sincerity, which is also called Fidelity and Honesty, is the Life and Soul of true Religion; Deception and Hypocrisy the Bane of it. Wicked and designing Men, who have trumped up a Power superior to Nature and Reason, to destroy both, have depreciated the true born Daughter of God, *Faithfulness*, and anointed the bastard *Faith* in her Room. Those, who found Religion on extraordinary Pretensions, say, that Nature, which is the Offspring of God, is degenerate and deficient; but it is their extraordinary Att that makes it appear so. Miraculous Causes must have miraculous Effects; but it cannot be proved that the latter have never appeared, therefore the former wants Proof.

Natural Powers are fit to answer all the Ends of Virtue and Religion; therefore supernatural Powers are needless. A Man of Honesty and Understanding needs no supernatural Endowments, to instruct Mankind in unspotted Sanctity of Heart and Manners, such as may render them acceptable to God, and useful to one another; and consequently make them as happy as they can be. No ex-

traordinary or uncommon Inspiration is necessary to teach the most excellent Morals that were ever taught, with the reasonable Belief of one God, and Providence; witness CONFUCIUS, the great Philosopher of *China*, who was inferior to none, yet neither a God, nor a Prophet. He was the Reviver of a Religion, of which Nature was the Author, which is as old as their Race, and their Country; which their wise Men still esteem and enjoy; and which God never abolished; though he has permitted Fools, that dislike it, to chuse another. I never read, that it was either given, or confirmed by Miracles; but Truth has no Need of them; and that which has, hath Reason to be suspected; for they may be pretended to, to gloss over Error, and establish Iniquity, but cannot make that true and good, which is in its own Nature otherwise.

A Power to work Miracles is a Power superior to the universal Laws, by which the Systems of Things are governed. This is the Power of Imagination only; and contrary to the Attributes of God; to that which is the most clear of all others, his Unchangeableness. The same Causes must always produce the same Effects. But Miracles are urged to prove a Change in the Will of God; that is, impossible Things are pretended, to prove an Impossibility, or the Truth of a Falshood. As this cannot be proved, so no such Proofs were ever given; and 'tis impossible they should be. As the Will of God cannot change, neither can the Execution of his Power; which is directed by his Will. If no such Change can be,
no

no such Change can be manifested. If God can alter his Will, or if the displaying his eternal Wisdom is not equally as constant and uniform as that Wisdom is, he is then changeable, and may cease to be wise and good.

The Power of God is under the Direction of his Wisdom and Goodness, and limited thereby. A Power to do whatever is consistent with these Attributes, denotes absolute Perfection. The whole Production then of this Wisdom, Goodness, and Power, must be a perfect Work, therefore cannot be better. There is no Room here for any superior or other Power to interfere. God therefore made, and governs the World in the best Manner, or it would be an imperfect Work, and not shew forth the Perfections, but the Defect of the Operator; and, if best already, it cannot be made better. If God is a perfect Being, his Works are perfect and cannot be mended; because he could not limit his Wisdom, Goodness, or Power, in producing it, without being guilty of Folly, Evil, or Weakness. And, if God has in Creation displayed his Attributes, then all Things, at least, collectively taken, and rightly understood, witness the Perfection of his Nature. And if so, God need not, or cannot exhibit any superior Power, and Proof of his Perfection, that what is commonly known, and constantly manifest. If the Power of God is always directed by perfect Wisdom, no greater can be displayed, for Perfection cannot be mended. The Works of a wise Operator shew forth his Skill in the best manner possible; so

that the Performance may not bring a Reflection on the Artist, by its want of extraordinary Repairs afterwards. If God be then perfectly wise, his Work is a perfect Work, and wants no miraculous mending Power, nor can admit of it; it may mar, but cannot mend that which is best already. As the Work is, such is the Workman. As the Seed is, so will be the Produce. From hence it appears, that, as there is no Need of such Power; so the Impossibility of it is evident.

But if Miracles were ever necessary, whether the divine and human Nature, or the Nature of Things be changeable or unchangeable, they must be always necessary. For, if God ever wrought Miracles, as the Proof of the Revelation of his Will, he will always pursue the same Method, if he is an unchangeable Being. If the Nature of Things are unchangeable, the Method of attaining the Knowledge of God's Will must be always the same: And, if human Nature be ever the same, it will ever require the same Method of Conviction, or of attaining the Knowledge of the Will of God.

If God's Will be changeable, then there is a Necessity for his constant working Miracles, to discover such a Change of his Will to Man; for so extraordinary a Will can never be known to us, without an extraordinary Revelation or Discovery of it, that we may be certain we are not deceived. But this supposes God's Will arbitrary, and not correspondent to the apparent Reason, and natural Fitness of Things. In
this

this Case, the Means, necessary to know it by once, are necessary to know it by always. If then Miracles were once given, there is the same Reason they should ever be given. But if God acts agreeable to the natural Reason, and Fitness of Things, whether the divine, human, and mundane Nature be mutable or immutable, there is no Occasion for the Interposition of any miraculous Power; because, if they change, they all change together. If human Nature changes, then Miracles, that were Evidences of Truth at one Time, are not so at another; for different Natures require different Evidences of Truth; and, in that Case, what is Truth at one Time to a Man, will not be so to him at another. If the Nature of Things changes, Truth must change with it, if they are one; but, if they are not, then there is no Rule whereby to know what is right; and then Miracles are always necessary. But if human Nature, and the Fitness of Things change, contrary to the Will of God, they do not depend thereon; or if God's Will changes, and the Nature of Things do not, it is not the Production of his Will. Miracles, in these Cases, must always be necessary to Man, whereby to know the Will of God. So that there must be great Confusion in Nature, if a miraculous Power is needful to rectify it. But, if there be Rectitude in it, then a miraculous Power must pervert it. If Truth and Nature agree, natural Powers alone are capable of discovering Truth, and a supernatural, or superior Power, can only confound it. If Men's natural Fa-

culties are too weak, or perverse, to direct them right, as long as they are naturally so, a miraculous Power, which was once necessary rightly to direct them, will be always so. For, if Man is in common the same, he must have one common Way of being dealt with.

If Truth is incapable of discovering itself, it has no natural nor proper Evidence; and is consequently unknowable without a Miracle; which unless it be of such sort, as is the proper Evidence of the Truth it is wrought to prove, it is improperly done, and no Proof at all. If Truth has no proper Evidence of its own Nature, it cannot be proved by any Evidence foreign to itself. If then it cannot be known without such Miracle, it cannot be known with it. Power cannot prove a Truth it has no Relation to. If some Men's Heads and Tongues should be miraculously all on Fire, it is no Proof that a dead Man is risen again; for the Proof of that depends on their Report, not on the Miracle, that being of a different Nature, and proves nothing less, or may prove any thing else, as much as it does the Truth of such report. But if Truth be capable of discovering itself; if natural and proper Evidences necessarily attend it, it is sufficiently knowable, without the Intrusion of any supernatural Power. In both these Cases then, whether Truth be capable or incapable of discovering itself by natural intelligence, Powers, and Perceptions, Miracles either are always, or never necessary.

We are told, that God has wrought Wonders for the Satisfaction

faction of one Generation and not for another; tho' they are equally necessary and useful to all People; but the Justice, Mercy, Goodness, and Wisdom of God, is degraded hereby; because, by this, God is represented to us as a partial Being. Therefore, the Belief of past Miracles is destructive to the moral Character of the Deity. The Wonders, which are said to be wrought in one Age, can never convince a sober Thinker in the next, unless there be such lasting Monuments of them, and they are so clearly and fully evidenced, that they appear to be true against all Contradiction; nor is it fit they should; for to believe Miracles were performed in a certain Manner, Time, and Place, of which no Shadow of Proof remains more than in the bare Report, is putting Faith in the Reporters, not in the Operators: Thus I may be always amused by fabulous Tales, as often as simple or bad Men please to relate them; unless I can be sure that no Man will lie to serve a Turn, nor can be imposed upon to believe a false Story.

But if God acts towards Mankind, as the moral Fitness of Things requires, there is no Occasion for Miracles; for if reasonable Exhortations to Virtue, and Dehortations from Vice; if prudent Persuasion, and just Laws, will not make People virtuous, nothing can. But Miracles rather force the Passions by violent, than guide them by gentle Means, and drive Men on without Sense, than drive Sense into them. The Surprise seizes the Imagination, the Person no longer hesitates concerning Truth, or

deliberates of Virtue; but is carried away in the full Gale of his Passions, by the rapid Torrent of an astonishing Power, that bears down all before it.

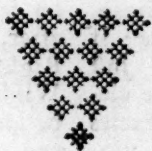
The more Men are amused with miraculous Tales, they will be diverted from employing their Reason. But, when Truth is valued, the rational Faculties will be exercised, Enthusiasm sinks of course, and Superstition its Offspring. The more Respect is paid to any Thing substituted in the room of Truth, and moral Righteousness; the less are these regarded. The Resurrection of these is Death to the false Righteousness of Faith and Formality. When Men know they are to have nothing but what they work for, when they are assured they are not born to an Estate in the Kingdom of Heaven of another's purchasing, they will not idly live on the Faith of it, but go to work, and endeavour their utmost to *work out their own Salvation* with Care and Diligence.

To conclude, I am therefore not without Hopes, that whether this Treatise be answered or not, it will prove of real Service to Religion, and make Men's Practices better; when they shall find they have nothing else to depend on for Happiness here and hereafter, but their own personal Righteousness, with their Love of Wisdom, and Truth. For, if it be answered, Deists will be silenced, and Infidelity shall stop her Mouth. But if those learned Gentlemen, who are the Directors of others, will not think fit to do it, but chuse to give up speculative Principles, and an historical Faith, rather than contend about them,

them, and to insist only on that Practice, which will recommend Men in every Religion to the Favour of God, the Good-will of Men, and the Peace of their own Consciences, and own, that the whole of the Christian Religion, which is worth contending for, are all relative and social Virtues, then the Contention between the *Christian* and *Deist* will drop. Censoriousness, and Reviling, and Slander, and Persecution, and all Uncharitableness, for the Sake of Religion, shall cease among us. Then *Faithfulness shall be the Girdle of our Loins*. The Blossoms of Wisdom, and Fruit of Righteousness, will be the Glory of our Isle, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that Day. We shall give Glory to that unchangeable God, whose Power forms, and whose Wisdom governs all; who has no Partner in the one, nor Director in the other; whose Goodness and Mercy is not purchased with the Blood of a Victim. His Laws which are plain, universal, and eternal, the *Logos*, or Reason only reveals. This is

that true Divine Light, which enlightens all Men that come into the World, who have any Degree of Understanding. It is the Gift of the Grace of God that appears to all Men, and 'tis reasonable they should be accountable for the Use of it. Let Believers think of this.

If these Things CAN be refuted, let them, for the Truth's Sake. Whenever Violence is used for Argument, 'tis for Want of better against INVINCIBLE TRUTH. But the Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God; as St. James saith, But if ye have bitter Envyings and Strife in your Hearts, glory not, and LIE not against the Truth. This Wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish. For where Envyings and Strife is, there is Confusion, and every evil Work. But the Wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without PARTIALITY, and without Hypocrisy.



To save the Reader much Trouble in turning over the Leaves of his Testament in comparing Texts, to note whether my Observations on them are just, I have here placed together what the Gospel Historians say on the Subject of the Resurrection in their own Words.

I. Of the Appearance of Jesus Christ to Mary Magdalene!

S. Matthew, Chap. XXVIII.

IN the End of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first Day of the Week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the Sepulchre.

2 And behold there was a great Earthquake; for the Angel of the Lord descended from Heaven, and came and rolled back the Stone from the Door, and sat upon it.

3 His Countenance was like Lightening, and his Raiment white as Snow.

4 And for fear of him the Keepers did shake, and became as dead Men.

5 And the Angel answered and said unto the Women, Fear not ye, for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.

6 He is not here: For he is risen, as he said: Come, see the Place where the Lord lay.

7 And go quick, and tell his Disciples, that he is risen from the Dead; and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him, lo, I have told you.

8 And they departed quickly from the Sepulchre, with Fear

and great Joy, and did run to bring his Disciples Word.

9 And as they went to tell his Disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All Hail. And they came and held him by the Feet, and worshipped him.

10 Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: Go tell my Brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.

St. Mark, Chap. XVI.

1 And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Mother of James and Salome, had bought sweet Spices, that they might come and anoint him.

2 And very early in the Morning, the first Day of the Week, they came unto the Sepulchre at the rising of the Sun.

3 And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre?

4 And when they looked, they saw that the Stone was rolled away, for it was very great.

5 And entering into the Sepulchre,

chre, they saw a young Man sitting on the right Side, clothed in a long white Garment, and they were affrighted.

6 And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified, he is not here: Behold the Place where they laid him.

7 But go your Way, tell his Disciples and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.

8 And they went out quickly, and fled from the Sepulchre; for they trembled, and were amazed: Neither said they any Thing to any Man: For they were afraid.

9 Now when Jesus was risen early, the first Day of the Week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven Devils.

10 And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept:

11 And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.

St. John, Chap. XX.

1 The first Day of the Week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the Sepulchre, and seeth the Stone taken away from the Sepulchre.

2 Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other Disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the Sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

3 Peter therefore went forth, and that other Disciple, and came to the Sepulchre.

4 So they run both together: And the other Disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre.

5 And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the Linen Clothes lying, yet went he not in.

6 Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the Sepulchre, and seeth the Linen Clothes lie.

7 And the Napkin that was about his Head, not lying with the Linen Clothes, but wrapped together in a Place by itself.

8 Then went in also that other Disciple which came first to the Sepulchre, and he saw and believed.

9 For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the Dead.

10 Then the Disciples went away again unto their own home.

11 But Mary stood without at the Sepulchre weeping: And as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the Sepulchre.

12 And seeth two Angels in white, sitting the one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, where the Body of Jesus had lain.

13 And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.

14 And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus.

15 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She supposing him to be the Gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou hast born him hence, tell me where thou hast laid

laid him, and I will take him away.

16 Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself and saith unto him, Rabboni, that is to say, Master.

17 Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not: For I am not yet ascended to my Father: But go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascended unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.

18 Mary Magdalene came and told the Disciples, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these Things unto her.

St. Luke, Chap. XXIV.

1 Now upon the first Day of the Week, very early in the Morning, they came unto the Sepulchre, bringing the Spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.

2 And they found the Stone rolled away from the Sepulchre.

3 And they entered in, and found not the Body of the Lord Jesus.

4 And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout,

behold two Men stood by them in shining Garments.

5 And as they were afraid, and bowed down their Faces to the Earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the Dead?

6 He is not here, he is risen: Remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee,

7 Saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the Hands of sinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day rise again.

8 And they remembered his Words.

9 And returned from the Sepulchre, and told all these Things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest.

10 It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the Mother of James, and other Women that were with them, which told these Things unto the Apostles.

11 And their Words seemed to them as idle Tales, and they believed them not.

12 Then arose Peter, and ran unto the Sepulchre, and stooping down, he beheld the Linen Clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.

II. Of Christ's second Appearance, which was to two Disciples.

13 And behold two of them went that same Day to a Village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore Furlongs.

14 And they talked together of all these Things which had happened.

15 And it came to pass, that while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew nigh, and went with them.

16 But their Eyes were holden, that they should not know him.

17 And he said unto them, What manner of Communications

Y

are

are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk and are sad?

18 And one of them, whose Name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a Stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the Things which are come to pass there in these Days?

19 And he said unto them, What Things? And they said unto him concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a Prophet mighty in Deed and Word before God, and all the People:

20 And how the chief Priests and our Rulers delivered him to be condemned to Death, and have crucified him.

21 But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel: And beside all this, To-day is the third Day since these Things were done.

22 Yea, and certain Women also of our Company made us astonished, which were early at the Sepulchre:

23 And when they found not his Body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a Vision of Angels, which said that he was alive.

24 And certain of them which were with us, went to the Sepulchre, and found it even so as the Women had said; but him they saw not.

25 Then he said unto them, O ye Fools, and slow of Heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken!

26 Ought' not Christ to have suffered these Things, and to enter into his Glory?

27 And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expound-

ed unto them in all the Scriptures, the Things concerning himself.

28 And they drew nigh unto the Village, whither they went: And he made as though he would have gone further.

29 But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us, for it is towards Evening, and the Day is far spent: And he went in to tarry with them.

30 And it came to pass, as he sat at Meat with them, he took Bread and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.

31 And their Eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vanished out of their Sight.

32 And they said one to another, Did not our Heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the Way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?

33 And they rose up the same Hour, and returned to Jerusalem; and found the Eleven gathered together, and them that were with them,

34 Saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

35 And they told what Things were done in the Way, and how he was known of them in breaking of Bread.

St. Mark, Chap. XVI.

12 After that he appeared in another Form to two of them, as they walked, and went into the Country.

13 And they went and told it to the Residue: Neither believed they them.

III. Of the Appearance of Jesus which was to all the Apostles.

St. Matthew, Chap. XXVIII.

16 Then the Eleven Disciples went away into Galilee, into a Mountain, where Jesus had appointed them.

17 And when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted.

18 And Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth.

19 Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

20 Teaching them to observe all Things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always even to the End of the World.

St. Mark, Chap. XVI.

14 Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven, as they sat at Meat, and upbraided them with their Unbelief, and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

15 And he said unto them, Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature.

16 He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.

17 And these Signs shall follow them that believe; in my Name they shall cast out Devils, they shall speak with new Tongues.

18 They shall take up Serpents, and if they drink any deadly Thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay Hands on the Sick, and they shall recover.

19 So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into Heaven, and sat on the right Hand of God.

20 And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following. Amen.

St. Luke, Chap. XXIV.

36 And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the Midst of them, and said unto them, Peace be unto you.

37 But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a Spirit.

38 And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? And why do Thoughts rise in your Hearts?

39 Behold my Hands and my Feet, that it is I myself: Handle me, and see, for a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have.

40 And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his Hands and his Feet.

41 And while they yet believed not for Joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any Meat?

42 And they gave him a Piece of a broiled Fish, and of an Honey-comb.

43 And he took it, and did eat before them.

44 And he said unto them, These are the Words that I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me.

45 Then opened he their Understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures,

46 And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the Dead the third Day :

47 And that Repentance and Remission of Sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem.

48 And ye are Witnesses of these Things.

49 And behold, I send the Promise of my Father upon you ; but tarry ye in the City of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with Power from on high.

50 And he led them out as far as Bethany : And he lift up his Hands and blessed them.

51 And it came to pass while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into Heaven.

52 And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great Joy :

53 And were continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.

St. John, Chap. XX.

19 Then the same Day at Evening, being the first Day of the Week, when the Doors were shut, where the Disciples were assem-

bled for Fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the Midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

20 And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his Hands and his Side. Then were the Disciples glad when they saw the Lord.

21 Then said Jesus unto them again, Peace be unto you : As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.

22 And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.

23 Whose soever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever Sins ye retain, they are retained.

Another Appearance.

24 But Thomas, one of the Twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.

25 The other Disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his Hands the Print of the Nails, and put my Finger into the Print of the Nails, and thrust my Hand into his Side, I will not believe.

26 And after eight Days again his Disciples were within, and Thomas with them : Then came Jesus, the Doors being shut, and stood in the Midst, and said, Peace be unto you.

27 Then said he to Thomas, Reach hither thy Finger, and behold my Hands ; and reach hither thy Hand, and thrust it into my Side ; and be not faithless, but believing.

28 And

28 And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God.

29 Jesus saith unto him, Tho-

mas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

St. John relates another Appearance of Jesus after this, to seven Disciples at the Sea of Tiberias, where he wrought a Miracle in catching Fish, and dined with them. Confirmed Peter in his Love, and bade him follow him, but where is not said. This is Jesus's third and last Appearance to his Disciples, according to St. John, Chap. xxi.

The ACTS of the APOSTLES.

CHAP. I.

1 The former Treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach.

2 Until the Day in which he was taken up, after that he, thro' the Holy Ghost, had given commandments unto the Apostles whom he had chosen.

3 To whom also he shewed himself alive after his Passion, by many infallible Proofs, being seen of them forty Days, and speaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

4 And being assembled together with them, commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the Promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me.

5 For John truly baptized with Water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many Days hence.

6 When they therefore were come together, they asked him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?

7 And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the Times or the Seasons, which the Father hath put in his own Power.

8 But ye shall receive Power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be Witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost Parts of the Earth.

9 And when he had spoken these Things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their Sight.

I. Corinthians, Chap. XV.

3 I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our Sins, according to the Scriptures.

Y 3

4 And

4 And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third Day, according to the Scriptures:

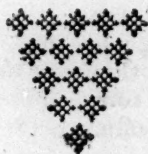
5 And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve.

6 After that, he was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once: Of whom the greater Part

remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.

7 After that, he was seen of James; then of all the Apostles.

8 And last of all, he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due Time,



(6)

THE
RESURRECTION
RECONSIDERED.

BEING AN
ANSWER
TO THE
CLEARER AND OTHERS.

By Way of DIALOGUE between the
CONSIDERER AND HIS FRIEND.

By the AUTHOR of, *The Resurrection of JESUS Considered,
in Answer to the Trial of the Witnesses.*

*Quod superest, vacuas aureis mihi Memmiada, et te
Semotum à curis adhibe veram ad rationem,
Ne mea dona tibi studio disposita fideli,
Intellecta prius quam sint contempta relinquo.* ——— LUCRET.

Thou Reader, who art free from other Cares,
Receive right Reason's Truth with well-purg'd Ears;
Left what I write, and send you for your Good,
Be scorn'd and damn'd before well understood.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and Sold by M. COOPER in *Pater-
Noster-Row*, and the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*.
M DCC XLIV.

THE INTRODUCTION.

READER,

WHOEVER thou art that lookest into this Controversy, by whatever Curiosity induced; Curiosity leads to Freedom, to Knowledge, to Truth, and to Felicity. No Being can go further, none desires it: I say, whoever thou art, tread prudently the Path that leads to Happiness; be not rash to condemn unheard, nor pass the Sentence of Ignorance against that Truth, which fears not thy most impartial Inspection, thy nicest Scrutiny, thy profoundest Search, but earnestly calls for it, and eagerly courts it; which desires nothing more, and fears nothing less. Look with a human Eye over human Frailties: Do not expect that Perfection in *Infidels*, by the Assistance of their *Reason*, which you cannot find in *Believers*, assisted with their *Holy Ghost*: Be not so unreasonably partial, so stupidly deluded, to expect those to work Miracles, who deny the Power of doing them. Take us as we are, as yourselves are, Men with human Failings: We pretend to no Authority above you, no extraordinary Gifts that you have not, are no more the Almighty's Favourites than you; do not deceive yourselves by imagining

you are more so, than we: If you fancy you are, and call this fancy, Faith, New Birth, the Operations of Grace, the Work of the Spirit, and such like; *Come now, and let us Reason together*, as, in the Name of the Lord, said the Prophet *Isaiab*: And the God that answers by Fire, by the fiery Trial of Examination, by the spiritual Light of penetrating and distinguishing Reason, by clear convincing Argument, Let him be God; LET THAT BE TRUTH: And let the contrary Side be looked upon, as it is, pious Fraud, bold Imposture, and strong Delusion.

This Argument has no evil Tendency, as some may imagine, to destroy all Religion: On the contrary, it tends to establish true Religion, by the Discovery of Truth, to shew that 'tis not the mere Effect of Credulity erected on the Basis of an historical Faith; but that its Foundation is in, and not out of Nature: For if you would mount as high as the aspiring Ladder of Man's sublimest Stretch of Judgment can carry you, 'tis Nature all the way: Beyond it no Philosopher, but Fools presume, if the Presumption be sincere; Knaves if it be not.

not. The Tendency of this Argument will be to lead us to enquire, Whether Religion should be founded on the Reason and Nature of Things, or on those that have neither Nature nor Reason for their Foundation, Proof, or Plea; which have no natural Tendency to civilize Mens Manners, nor illuminate their Minds. This Argument will plainly discover, that the Relation we stand in one towards another, and the Fitness of Behaviour those several Relations require, unalterably declare what the Will of God and Man's Duty is: That Mens Ignorance that this is Truth, and of what this Truth informs us, is owing to their neglecting the proper Use of their Ratiocination: Seeking the one pure and plain Religion elsewhere, leads Men out of it. ANOTHER TRUE FOUNDATION CAN NO MAN LAY, THAN THAT WHICH GOD HAS EVER LAID IN NATURE.

Traditional and Historical Facts may be precarious and uncertain; and the most wonderful are the most improbable. If the Laws of Nature are unchangeable, no Work can be wrought contrary to them; nor can they contradict themselves. If changeable, there can be no Dependence on any Thing: For what can interfere or set them aside, must of Necessity set aside all Criteria of Truth, and all possible Knowledge of it. If then there be any Truth that may be depended on, what is founded on this Bottom, must remain evidently, and unchangeably so, till Nature changes, and can suffer no Mutation by Miracles. Nature is obstinate, and parts with its Frame, when

it parts with its Quality: It cannot divest itself of itself. And that which may be supposed, or imagined able to do it, is altogether mere Supposition and Imagination: Because it can be only said, not proved: And all such are at best but precarious Principles. The Argument on my Side, then, is so far from being pernicious, or destructive of Religion, that it tends to fix it on true, solid, and eternal Principles; which are every where of the same Importance, Stability and Lustre.

The social Duties of Mankind are easy to be understood, fit to be practised, and productive of Felicity: Their Plainness shews their Fitness and Usefulness, and their Tendency discovers their Loveliness and Excellency: Were they obscure, intricate, and mysterious, their Fitness would be difficult to apprehend; their Usefulness to promote Man's mutual and social Happiness would not appear. Mytery and Obscurity are not productive of Knowledge. Those are the Regions of Imposition and Ignorance, where Reason is condemned. In this Dominion therefore, Knaves only reign, and only Fools obey; and what real Goodness can keep such Company? Religion, which is not natural is artificial, and is made up of Invention and Mytery; this is a Market in which the Liberties, Properties, and Souls of Men are bought and sold: By their Fruits you shall know them: 'Tis beneficial to the Teachers, but prejudicial in Practice. The Doctors gain what the Disciples lose by it; the more Poverty the stupid Believers embrace,

the

the more Opulence and Luxury the Preachers enjoy : The more the Convert gives, the more the Church receives. All in a false Religion are sheepish Prey, or ravening Wolves : But the True, is natural and divine, agreeable to, and worthy of God and Nature, pure, plain, and perfect, of most Advantage to those that practise it best. The artificial Religion puzzles and confounds the Student, it bewilders him in a Maze of Confusion in the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and Uncertainty of Right and Wrong. But that of Nature clears his Apprehensions, and informs his Judgment, producing Satisfaction and Serenity, Joy and Tranquility. Reason and Nature uncorrupted by bad Education, or regenerated from it, afford the Possessor Pleasures pure, dispassionate, and harmonious ; by dispassionate, I mean, a calm and serene Joy, which is always the same as to Quality, tho' not as to Measure ; widely different from the Girds and Starts, and convulsive Raptures of Saints, which high Tide of the Spirits rolling rapidly on, leaves the Channel dry. Not so the Charms of Philosophy, it has all the Majesty and Harmony of Divinity within ; and without, 'tis all manly, just, and good. But Religion, formed by human Inventions, produces Perplexity, Perturbation, and Discord, which Men fear to keep, and fear to part with ; because 'tis founded on precarious Principles, and at Times is a Hell within to their Souls, as well as occasions a Hell without to the World : What Horrors has it not begotten ? What

Iniquity has it not brought forth ? By its Fruits you shall know it.

Of how much more Importance the Subject is, or is represented to be, the Enquiry is so much the more reasonable and necessary. Where no Examination is, there is no Proof of Truth, nor understanding of it. Where no Search is, nothing can be found but by Accident, and seldom in this State is rightly known ; therefore not rightly valued, or esteemed. Where no Knowledge is required, no true Judgment formed, no mental Faculties improved, Truth is not found. Precious Jewels do not lay open to every Eye. Trees that produce the most delicious Fruits must be cultivated ; and Plants that bring forth the finest Flowers must be carefully managed. TRUTH is the most inviting Fruit, and the most beautiful Flower that adorns the *Elysian* Fields, and Beds of Paradise : Its natural Soil is the human Mind. It is worth while to those that prize the most valuable Thing, to cultivate the Garden of their Minds, to plant therein the Seed of Knowledge, and water the Sprig of Understanding, that the Divine Fragrance may flow out : So thou Reader shalt be filled with God, and the Rays of the Divinity will enoble thy Thoughts, adorn thy Speech, and direct thy Ways. See to it then what Sort of Religion or Principles you embrace, and be very wary what you take upon Trust. A Religion built on fallible, human Tradition, is fallible, and human. Why should that be infallibly depended on, or how can that be safely

safely credited, which is not erected on infallible Principles, but on Things that are, or may be uncertain; or if they are true, we cannot know them to be so? Obscurity and Uncertainty are the best Cloaks for Error to wrap itself in. Custom introduced by Tradition, consecrates and gives it a Sanction. But fundamental Principles of Truths, necessary for Man's Knowledge, are clear, and certain: True Philosophy founded on Nature's Laws, presents to Man's View an infallible Rule of useful Knowledge, and right Conduct. This is the securest Rest, the safest Retreat from the Tempest of giddy Opinions, that as Rocks, destroy Mens Reason, and as Sands, swallow up their Understandings. Those Laws of Religion which demand the Obedience of all, should be evident enough to convince the Reason of all. To be enjoined to believe what is not only precarious, but improbable, or to be damned, is Cause sufficient to reject the Imposition. There is a World of Reason to despise that Authority, which despises the Authority of the Reason of the World; and what makes no Use of Man's rational Faculty, renders it useless: These Powers not exercised, are rejected. And if aught else is preferred in their Stead, it is to thrust them out. No Man can love God the Giver, that disesteems or neglects Reason, which is his Gift; for all that can be known of God by Man is known only by this Light. This is all the Image Man has of the Divinity, 'tis this alone which exalts him above all other Creatures on this Globe. This is the Ray of

Heaven in Man, which NEVER WAS, NOR CAN BE excelled by any supernatural Revelation, pretended, or real; for a greater, or more glaring Light must dazzle the human Mind, but cannot enlighten it. If greater ever was, or could be given, that it may be made serviceable, it must be made rational: A less cannot direct Men, and a greater must distract them: Both these display no Certainty, or Truth. What is above our Comprehension, is of no Use to us. And those Things that puzzle the Wit of Man to reconcile, and defend, which if they could be done, are no clue to guide the reasonable Mind to Wisdom and Virtue, are of no Service to Man, tho' long Harangues may be made thereon: For what Truth is it, the Wit of Man cannot contradict? Or what Falseness is that, which he cannot say something in Favour of? But I am sensible all that can be said, will be to little Purpose to disprove the plain Dictates of natural Reason, to those that can see the Light of it. In the Case of Religion, there is no Medium; what is not infallibly right, is infallibly wrong. Therefore this Enquiry tends to found Religion on the Basis of Reason, and right Action, on fixed and eternal Principles; tho' it may chance to subvert the false Foundation of an Historical Faith, on which the Deities of *Jupiter Ammon*, the *Delphic Apollo*, the *Ephesian Diana*, and every Man-made God, or Woman Goddess, that ever was in the World were founded. If Traditional Faith be sacred, without the scrutinizing Eye of Profane Reason, their Divinities are

are unquestionably equal. Or if the Belief of romantic Facts, and absurd Notions, will awe a Man into Godliness, no doubt but Faith in any of those Gods had a very godly Tendency.

Mr. *Tipping Silvester*, like an honest Church-man, has wrote his *Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus vindicated* for the Use of the Church; therefore, I shall say but little to it, being determined not to rob it of such a Treasure, but leave him and the Church in quiet Possession of such Arguments as are fit for them only to use. Yet, as I go along, if I find any Thing worthy my Notice, I shall take it into Consideration: And if I meet with any *Blunders and Errors* in my Way, (to one Kind or other of which all Men are subject) I intend either to pass them over in Silence, or treat them in a manner not unbecoming the Dignity of a MORAL PHILOSOPHER.

Mr. *Samuel Chandler* has pretended to answer the Resurrection considered without naming the Book, out of a pious Care to his Readers poor Souls, lest they should eat of the Tree of Knowledge, and be damned by our Lord God the Priest, who is the only Lord God that ever prohibited the Feeding on that Fruit; or lest they should eat of the Tree of Life, that is, the Tree of Understanding, (*Prov. iii. 18.*) and live for ever without Dependence on his Instructions, and the servile Fear of his woful Denunciation, of being expelled the Paradise of Fools. For a general Confutation of all he has said, I shall only shew how he has done it himself: His verbose Work is laboured Quibbles, strained Sense,

far fetched Meanings, Guesses, and proofless Assertions instead of Arguments. And being conscious to himself that he has wrote much and little to the Purpose, he rests the Matter with his Reader soon, to consider what is of REAL WEIGHT OR CONSEQUENCE; (p. 170.) so that this Piece of his, is of no real Weight or Consequence, because what he allows to be such, is yet to come. But as his Heat has singed his Reputation, as a Writer, to defend the Character of *Joseph* and his Brethren; I am apprehensive he will have enough to do to justify his own and theirs.

Mr. *Chandler*, in his Sermon, on the necessary and immutable Difference between moral Good and Evil asserted and explained says, p. 36.

1. *We may see the great Wisdom of God, and his great Goodness to Mankind, in making those Things, which are of the greatest Importance to them, and in which their Duty and Happiness is most directly and essentially concerned, to be so exceeding evident and plain to them, as that if they will but distinguish and discern them, as they can any sensible Objects with their Eyes, or such Things as are pleasant and wholesome, by their Taste and Palate. Therefore moral Knowledge and Practice is of the greatest Importance, and that Faith the least, that is the least evident.*

2. *We may infer from what hath been said, how strong and unchangeable all Men's Obligations are to the Practice of Religion and Virtue; as unchangeable as the very Nature and Reason of Things, and as their Inclinations are to pursue Pleasure before Pain, and to embrace Happiness*

ness in Preference to Misery. If Religion and Virtue are founded on the strong and unchangeable Obligations of the very Nature and Reason of Things, then that Faith, which is contrary to the Nature and Reason of Things, is no Religion nor Virtue; and consequently, there is no Obligation in Reason or Nature to receive it.

3. *We may infer the great Folly and Absurdity of Men's giving favourable Names to Vice, and endeavouring to screen the Malignity and Deformity of it, by the honourable Appellations of Virtue.*—Thus some Men, who are sordidly penurious and covetous, would fain have it all pass for Frugality, and the commendable Care of their Families and Friends. Revelling and Drunkenness is changed into Good-nature and Fellowship. Lewdness wears the genteel Name of Gallantry and Politeness. Ambition and Envy cover their Deformity, and become reputable and popular, by putting on the Garb and Merit of Patriotism. Censure and Reproach, Reviling and Scandal put off their Fury Dress, and make their Appearance in the sacred Habit of Sanctity and Zeal. Thus changed, not in Nature, but Appearance and Name, Vice is sometimes embraced and harboured as a Heavenly Virtue. But is not such a Conduct an Argument of the extreme Folly? Can any one imagine, that by miscalling Vice, they can transform it into a real Perfection, and thus confound the unalterable Nature and Differences of Things? Should Satan dress himself like an Angel of Light, he would be Satan still; his Nature would continue the same, though his Appearance was altered; and his Qualities be truly devilish, under the most radiant Dress of celestial Glory, &c.—I may add,

a stupid Credulity, the Belief of Lies and Nonsense, wears the sanctified Mask of Faith in God, and Dependence on his Word: Further to apply this in almost his own Words: Whatever is contrary to God and his Laws, to the Truth and Reason, and the immutable Nature of Things, and to the true Honour of God and Happiness of Men, palliate it as much as you please, and call it by whatever favourable Names you will, harbour it in your Breasts and it will defile you: Indulge it in your Lives, and it will sink you under substantial Guilt: Compare it with the Rule of Reason and the Law of God, (that is, the known Laws of Nature, the eternal Rules of the Relations and Fitness of Things) and it will immediately appear in its true Deformity.

All this may be said of that Faith which is set in the room of, and substituted for Righteousness. If Faith be not in itself Righteousness, to impute or esteem it such, is a Deception, is Hypocrisy, and consequently a very malignant Vice. Thus Faith makes Men believe they are what they are not, that they are really righteous, when they are habitually wicked. I say habitually, for it must be Habit in Ignorance that can thus debauch the Understanding, and debase their Reasoning Faculties; thus to put one Thing for another, 'tis calling Evil Good, and Good Evil; 'tis palpably putting Darkness for Light, and Light for Darkness, to represent as some do, that all Men's good Works or moral Righteousness out of, or without Faith, is Sin; but that Faith itself is Righteousness without Works. This is an unrighteous Cheat to obound

obtund the Pangs of Conscience, and exclude the Rays of Reason from enlightening it. How can believing a Story that is told, be Holiness? Belief and Holiness are different Things: That there is Virtue, Value, Merit, Worth, or Righteousness, in barely believing a Set of Principles, or a certain Story, is Partiality, and Partiality is a Sin; 'tis to be partial in Judgment, which is an unrighteous Thing. So that 'tis so far from being Righteousness, that 'tis the very contrary. That the embracing a certain Opinion should bring one into the good Opinion of Deity, is surely to be much opinionated; this favours of little Reason and much Self-conceit. One would scarce believe this to be as true as the Gospel, if one did not know it to be Gospel, or if the Preachers of the Gospel did not affirm it to be so. But surely it is false Righteousness to believe a false Story, if it be true Righteousness to believe Truth. If this be the Point, that Faith is Virtue, or Virtue Faith; which however will not be granted by me till I see it proved. How careful should Men be that they are not deceived in having that true Faith or Righteousness which is acceptable to God, and not by Faith be deluded with spiritual Sorcery, with a Faith that upon Examination proves manifestly wrong. To believe Things dishonourable of God, is surely bringing no Honour to him; and is, I think, if any Thing be, a Sin against God. As to believe God cannot, or will not shew Mercy to guilty Persons, unless he takes Vengeance on an innocent Person; that he will not save

the Unrighteous, unless he condemns the Righteous; that God the Father is not good nor beneficent to Man, unless God the Son makes him so; and that God the Holy Ghost is implacable, and will not forgive Sins committed against himself; nor the Son forgive those that do not believe in him. Is this Faith called Righteousness which makes the Gods unrighteous! And is this the Faith that must save Mankind, which damns both Gods and Men. Lord save us Infidels, or we perish! O good God, we can sooner be damned, than have so damned an Opinion of thee, so unrighteous a Faith, and believe it Righteousness. Why didst thou not, O God, make us as stupid as Believers, that we might believe these Things and be saved. If thou art no more gracious than thy Worshipers make thee, thou wilt have but little Worship from us, however fond thou mayest be of human Worship: We will not seek other Gods to provoke thee to Jealousy and Anger: We shall sooner herd with Atheists, and believe with Fools, that there is no God, than that there is such a God as Knaves represent thee. And if thou damn us for this, we are damned with a good Conscience, and Hell cannot be Hell if that be there. So that if our Bodies be quiet, our Souls will be safe enough. If there is no material Fire in Hell, there is no Immaterial that can hurt honest Infidels.

Why should any People's believing what they are told, make them more pleasing to their Maker than those that do not: That think with Reason the Story had not

not God for its Maker; and if it had, Man has told it since; and if it be truly said, that *every Man is a Liar*, then to believe any Story, not immediately told from God himself, is not believing in God, but believing a Liar. But is crediting Things with Reason, or not giving Credit to them without, not having Faith in God? Or does taking Things upon Trust make us the wiser or the better Men, certainly the contrary; for it makes us the more stupid, and what Villainy may not a stupid Wretch commit! Implicit Faith then is so far from making Men better, that it makes them worse, it makes them Fools, and may render them Villains. Add to the Stupidity of the righteousness of Faith, a Measure of godly Zeal, and these two religious Qualities, are capable of making any People the vilest in every Respect that it is possible they can be: No Ingredients from the Sink of Hell can make them more compleat Devils, or more infernal Furies.

He that believes and vindicates false Things, is an Enemy to Truth. He that believes what is dishonourable to God, and pernicious to right Action, embraces ungodly and unjust Principles, and these put into Practice, he is unrighteous in Fact. 'Tis no Wonder, if such an evil Tree has produced so much evil Fruit. Sentiments contrary to Truth and good Manners cannot be good, cannot be of God, if God be good. *Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, nor Figs of Thistles*: And as you may know the Tree by its Fruits, so you may know the Fruits by the Tree if ever it be pregnant. *Be*

not deceived, evil Communications corrupt good Manners. Why has any one Religion been worse in its Consequences than any other? It must be because it was worse in its Nature. The Child commonly takes after the Parent, bad Practices naturally flow from bad Principles. There is no Evil done so heartily as the Evil that is done for God's Sake; nothing but the most perverted Faith can teach Men to hate Father and Mother, and Wife and Brethren, and Children, and one's own Life for the Cause of Religion: 'Tis Irreligion in the most pernicious Degree. No Sort of Religion can require it but the most assuming Tyranny; and no religious Creature can practice it, but such as are sunk into the most abject Slavery, into the Dregs of spiritual Infatuation, and enthusiastic Bigotry. That Faith then that is not right, is unrighteous; and therefore is so far from being Righteousness, that it is Sin to harbour it, the very Seed of Sin, a Serpent in one's Bosom. Let a heavenly Ardour then, O Reader, rouse your lethargic Soul, bruise its Head, and break its Yoke from off your Neck; for this is the Cause of Truth, of Goodness itself, and of pure Religion: For though Men may believe bad Things, and practice good; may entertain a false Faith, and yet love Truth; it is because they are ignorant that their Belief is false, and therefore naturally prejudicial to Truth, and productive of Evil. *Let us then (in Mr. Chandler's Words) return to the original Truth and Simplicity of Things; nor deceive ourselves by misrepresenting or overlooking them. Let Scandal,*

del, Reproach, Censoriousness, and rash Judgment ever be abhorred as certain Proofs of a distemper'd, envious, and bigoted Mind; and as sure Marks not of a religious, but of an enthusiastic and superstitious Zeal, that hath neither Knowledge to enlighten it, nor Reason, Humanity, or Conscience to direct it.

That the Truth of a Religion should be founded on barely believing it to be true, shews its Foundation is established on Credit; and that if it be discredited, the Truth disappears. To say that Belief is the Basis of Man's Acceptance with God, is to say that our Acceptance with God is imaginary. To suppose Faith to be Man's principle Virtue, or Righteousness, is to destroy the very Nature of Virtue, and of Righteousness: For this consists in Purity of Heart and Manners, but much Faith may be where there is little Goodness, or none at all; therefore Goodness and Faith are distinct Things. And, indeed the Men of Faith give it up, for they dare not stand the Battle, they never enter the Lists of Disputation with us. Our Contention is only with those that have mixed Reason with Faith, that have made a Linsey-woolsey Garment; and, like the old Samaritans, worship the Lord and their own Gods.

I shall conclude with observing the Arts made Use of for Arguments, by those who are on the wrong Side of Reason, which the CLEARER and others in this Controversy furnish me with the Knowledge of.

1. To misrepresent their Adversaries Arguments, Meaning, and Intention, by presenting

Things in false Lights and Colours, in order to confound and puzzle the Cause, by a Maze of little Artifices not easily to be described, to delude the Understanding of the Readers.

2. To strain the apparent Sense of Scripture when it does not suit their Purpose, which, if it cannot be done by the *English* Translation, to give such a new Interpretation to the Language of the original Text, (as without being reduced to an Extremity themselves, would never have thought of) to make it speak different from what it does: And to charge their Adversaries with wretching the Sense of the Scriptures, who by taking it in its own natural Sense, plain to common Understandings, shew to them their own Absurdities.

3. To render contemptible what they cannot answer, to use any Sort of mean Insinuations to discredit their Adversaries; thus Infamy sometimes passes for Argument, and the Detraction of a Man's Character, Qualifications, or Abilities, for the Determination of the Debate.

4. To confound the Reason of the Subject with a Multitude of Words, as Dr. Garth says, is the Practice of Quacks in other Cases:

The Patient's Ears remorseless be affails,

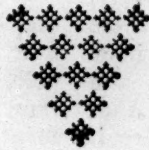
Murders with Jargon when his Medicine fails.

5. To slip softly and silently over the most weighty and essential Points, and to make the most of the least Advantage; to triumph and insult over the least Slip, as if that very Error, tho'

of no Consequence to the Point in Debate, was the very Life and Soul of it, and that conquering Point, which gained them an entire Victory.

6. To take Questions begged, for Things granted; Assertions, for Proofs; and the Evidence excepted against, to prove Facts in Dispute, as indisputable Evidence; and from thence to argue and harangue, in order to stir up the Prejudices of Education, and inflame

the Passions of those, whose Understandings being deluded with their Leaders mock Piety, romantic Divinity, and ostentatious Shew of Devotion for the pretended good of Souls, are ever devoted to their Service. By these little Arts they are secure of Victory, and ever gain the Ascendant in the Judgments of those that are determined humbly to obey, and be under the Direction of their spiritual Commanders.





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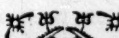


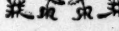
Resurrection Re-considered :

I N A

D I A L O G U E

BETWEEN THE

CONSIDERER AND HIS FRIEND.

Conf.  REJOICE to see
 I you my ve-
 rygood Friend!
 This is an ac-
 ceptable Visit,

and the more so, because you come at a Time when I have Leisure for Conversation, and wanted an agreeable Companion. I hope you are come to spend the Evening with me.

Friend. I am so, and the Joy is reciprocal ; what you receive, you give ; so both are Gainers.

C. Nothing can be more agreeable to me than such a Visit from such a Friend. Come, sit down.

F. This happens according to my Wish, that I have found you thus at Leisure ; for I am come to discourse with you on an Affair of Importance, which you are concerned in.

C. 'Tis an Instance of great Favour and Friendship.

F. But as our Friendship, so our Concern is mutual.

C. Frankly disclose it then, without Ceremony or further Delay.

F. I am come to discourse with you concerning *The Resurrection Cleared*, and your other Opponents, in a grave and serious manner ; because, in *the Resurrection of Jesus Considered*, they complain of your using so serious a Subject with too much Levity.

C. They will always find Occasions of Complaint, let a Subject be handled as it will. Their present Interest in it, makes them affect Gravity ; which is to me an Occasion of Laughter, to observe how seriously they jest.

F. They complain of this Disposition of yours as Ill-manners, in exposing such grave Subjects to Ridicule.

Z 2

C. They

C. They are grave indeed to him that believes them, but as I happen not to be of the Number, I cannot think myself guilty of the Impeachment. Suppose I was disturbed in my Brain, ought I to esteem my Physician guilty of Ill-manners, because he prescribes Diversions for my Cure. This Complaint is all a Jest: I think I have treated the Subject devoutly. The Defenders always complain of the manner of doing it, because they would not have the Matter enquired into at all: Therefore it is no Wonder that all who have ever wrote on these Subjects, have been complained of as treating them disagreeably. They think it Ill-manners not to swallow the whole, but none to slander and abuse those that cannot. They can bear no Ridicule in these Affairs, but delight to see whole Volleys of Satyr and Lampoon discharged on Subjects which not themselves, but others esteem sacred, as if they thought it the best Way of exposing serious Folly. Besides, too much Seriousness is Sourness; I think, to be pleasant and sincere, renders a Man's Company the most agreeable.

F. But I would not only talk with you of the manner of handling the Subject, but of the Matter, or Subject itself: I would propose the *Clearer's* Arguments, and hear your Answers. Whereby you may do Justice to yourself, and give Satisfaction to an enquiring Friend.

C. Come on, I like the Proposal, have read the Book, and there it is. Pray do not omit any Thing in it that is remarkably good or bad, true or false.

F. May your Conduct equal

your Courage: Prepare, and expect no Favour.

C. I am prepared.

F. The *Clearer* in the Beginning of his Book represents you in Distress, and p. 17. complaining grievously that all the Evidence is on the Side of the Resurrection.

C. I believe the Defenders have more Cause to make grievous Complaints that what Evidence they have is no better, and find themselves in greater Distress how to make it harmonize than they could wish. The Distress is apparently on their Side, but he says this, that it may be thought to be on mine, though I find myself in none about it; and do not doubt but they would willingly change Sides, provided they could keep their Livings. 'Tis well for them that the keeping them does not depend on their proving the Fact in Question; if so, they would be distressed indeed. I must own it is a great Hardship on the Clergy, that they are obliged to profess to believe what is out of their Power, as reasonable Men; for Faith is not formed by the Will, but the Judgment. I think, therefore, that these of all Men are the most to be pitied, who are necessitated to sell their Liberties for their Livings. But if instead of being enjoined to believe what they profess, they were allowed to profess what they believe, to worship God, and instruct Man, *any Way* which might be conducive to the common Tranquility, according to their Consciences and Judgments, no Men could themselves be, or make others more happy. This would as much encourage Learning and Knowledge, as the imposing cer-

tain Modes of Faith and Worship tends to discountenance them, by stinting Mens Understandings.

F. You seem to have a Latitudinarian Faith.

C. 'Tis agreeable to the Gospel. There I read that Jesus was an Enemy to his Disciples exercising Authority over one another; *Ye know*, said he to them, *that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise Authority over them. But it shall not be so among you: But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be Chief among you, let him be your Servant.* You see the Gospel Government is a Republic where all under Jesus are equal: And he has not as a King substituted any Vice-roy in his Room. But let us return.

F. The Clearer says, * *An Author of so much Vivacity, and so full of himself, can hardly be expected to keep the dull Road of Reasoning. His Wit will sometimes run away with him, hence proceed so much Pertness and Spirit in his Performance, and witty Conceits in serious Argument.*

C. It is plain, he was seriously confounded when he read it. I think his Zeal carries him out of the Road of fair Reasoning. His Judgment of me has nothing to do with the Argument, tho' he builds his whole Argument upon it.

F. The Clearer quotes you saying, "In my Opinion, great Judgment and great Faith are such Contradictions, that they never unite in one Person." And comments on it thus: *I dare say, he did not make this Declarati-*

on on any Suspicion he had of his own Judgment.

C. I dare say he does not make any Declaration against me, upon any Suspicion he has of his own want of superior Judgment, but thinks he has quitted Scores with me at least; or else is willing it should be thought so.

F. Again, you said with respect to Miracles, *every real Miracle is an Absurdity to common Sense, and contrary to the Attributes of God.*

C. Yes it is so, according to my understanding of Miracles, and the Divine Attributes, if Wisdom and Goodness, and Unchangeableness are the Attributes of God.

F. After these express Declarations one would wonder (he says) how you could propose yourself to the World as a proper Person to make a fair Examination of the Evidence of the Resurrection, which is both the greatest Miracle, and the greatest Article, of the Christian Faith.

C. What! because a Man expresses his Sentiments fairly and honestly, is he not therefore fit to enquire into an Argument?

F. He says, he must needs commend you for the open and frank Declaration of your Principles in respect to Religion. *Some have pretended Friendship to the Gospel, that they might the more successfully undermine the Foundation of it; but you act with more Bravery, and more Honesty.*

C. I do not value myself upon his Commendation, for I cannot think he intended me any; if he did, he contradicts himself, which he has too much Sense to do, at least to intend; for if he commends me for my Honesty, why does he object against my being

a proper Person to make a fair Examination?

F. He objects against your Understanding, and thinks you prejudiced.

C. It is because my Understanding is not under his Direction, and prejudiced as his is. But the less I have, the less is his Conquest. Perhaps he will not allow any one to be a proper Person to make a fair Examination of the Resurrection, but he that believes it. And I would fain know, how such an one can be a proper Person. The stronger Faith, the greater Partiality: How a partial Man can be one proper to make a fair Examination, I cannot conceive, and believe he cannot prove; therefore, since he himself professes to have a strong Faith in the Resurrection, and in Miracles, he cannot be a proper Person. Now supposing a Doubter the only Man fit to enquire, and that neither he nor I are such; if he will allow himself a fit Advocate on one side, he may grant me fit to object on the other; and by virtue of our Arguments, let the enquiring Reader make an Examination, and judge of the Matter; for this is my View and Intention.

F. No, but the View you had in answering the *Trial of the Witnesses*, he expresses in your own Words in *that Answer*; * “ My design is to promote that “ Veneration for Wisdom and “ Virtue, which has been debased and degraded by Faith, by “ a Faith which has not sent “ Peace on Earth, but a Sword. “ — Where this foolish Faith “ bears Sway, the Tree of Know-

ledge produces damning Fruit: “ But under the benign Influence “ of GEORGE our King, in this “ glorious Day of Light and “ Liberty, this Divine Hag, and “ her pious Witchcrafts, which “ were brought forth by Darkness, and nourished by Obscurity, faint at the Approach of “ Day, and vanish upon Sight.”

C. Very well, these were my Words, and what then?

F. Why then, he says, *The Faith which the Gospel proposes in Jesus Christ, the ever-blessed Son of God, and the only Name under Heaven by which we may be saved, is here, with an astonishing Degree of Impiety, called a divine Hag with pious Witchcrafts.*

C. All this is Conjurament and Witchcraft, with the Mask of Piety, to stir up Mens Prejudices, and inflame their Passions. But go on.

F. *Unhappy Man* (says he) *what could he mean by this? I pity him from my Heart.*

C. Artifice all! Proceed.

F. † *But what* (says he) *could he mean by abusing the King, unless he had a Mind to shew, that he is just as good a Subject as he is a Christian?*

C. Unhappy Gentleman, what does he mean to mistake for the Faith of Christ, the Faith I had described, “ which debases and “ degrades both Wisdom and “ Virtue, which has not sent “ Peace on Earth, but a Sword;” or that to call such Faith, a *Divine Hag with pious Witchcrafts*, is any Degree of Impiety? Or that I am to be pitied on this Account? Or that I have abused *the King*, by saying, that under *his benign Influence*,

Influence, in this glorious Day of Light and Liberty, this malignant Faith faints and vanishes away? Which is a Glory that will immortalize his Reign. For still we perceive the Gospel flourishes among us in the best and most glorious Light it ever did; and consequently the purest Faith of it remains, and triumphs with auspicious Sway under his present Majesty's Government and Protection. Therefore I really pity this Gentleman, thus to misunderstand and misrepresent the Faith which the Gospel proposes in Jesus Christ, for the Faith which has long reigned in the Christian World, which has discovered itself an Enemy to Peace, and Love, and Knowledge: For a Faith which is declarative of Destruction by Fire, and Sword, and Variance, and eternal War, the gnawing Worm of never-dying Enmity among Mankind, and the Fire of Contention between the nearest and dearest Relations that never can be quenched. What does this Author mean, thus to abuse the Heavenly Majesty of his Spiritual King Christ Jesus, to ascribe so pernicious a Faith to him? And by so forced an Insinuation, as he makes use of, to excite the Civil Power to give the Reins to so barbarous, so bloody, and so diabolical a Faith, that the King may be his Slave, and Priests may rule over him; but plainly to prove, that he is equally angry, as he is mistaken.

F. Every serious Man (he says) will read these Passages with Abhorrence; and they are a Warning to every Reader to be upon his Guard against the Representations made —

by so determined, and so inveterate an Enemy.

C. On so pernicious a Faith, every unprejudiced Person must look with Abhorrence, and be upon his Guard against the Professors of it, whether they are induced to it by their own Blindness, or by Bribery; all such are to be pitied, as wanting Sense or Shame. I hope you see clearly, that this Expression is more applicable to the *Clearer* than he is aware of, and turns to my Advantage: For I would have all Men upon their Guard, by what Compass they direct their Judgment and Conduct; 'tis an Affair of Moment, and will not, by those that are wise, be taken upon Trust. *Let Men be always upon their Guard, what they are taught to believe and do.* Let Arguments be weighed, and the Reason of Things impartially considered: And let not Men be deluded by holy Names, and a Face of Godliness: Since generally those that Holy Mother-Church calls *Saints*, (who have existed nor merely in Romance) have been the *wilest* of Men; therefore, as in common, *Saint* and *Villian* have been the same, they ought to be looked on in general as synonymous Terms. They that have affected to appear more sanctified than those, who have been morally honest, have only been so much more inwardly, secretly, and artfully wicked. Therefore, my *Friend*, if you would not be bubbled out of your Understanding, Reputation, Substance, Friends and Life, by malicious Arts, Slander and Villany in every grave and holy Shape,

when you see a Saint look to your Self. And take special Care, that the artful Insinuations of interested, prejudiced, and cunning Men to raise popular Clamours, be not mistaken for plain and useful Truths, nor bear them down. Permit a little Digression on this Subject: 'Tis a tender Point, and the Clearer is pricked with it: There are surprising Expressions ascribed to Jesus Christ in our Gospels, that he should declare, *Luke xii. 49 to 53. I am come to send Fire on the Earth, and what will I if it be already kindled?* What does this mean?

F. Perhaps this may mean the Fire of the Holy Ghost, for John the Baptist said of Jesus, *He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire.*

C. When there is no infallible Rule to find the Meaning of Scripture, all Interpretations are Guess-work. 'Tis very hard to mend such Expressions, and 'tis very hard to believe, that God should deliver himself in such a manner as wants mending.

F. It is an Act of common Charity, to give the best Construction to Mens Words.

C. But 'tis also an Act of common Prudence, to endeavour to penetrate to the right Sense of them, to avoid imposing on ourselves, and being deceived. However, this Sentence might easily pass with a spiritual Meaning, as you say, if what follows did not seem to prevent it; for lest we should be deceived by doing it, Jesus is said to tell us plainly: *Suppose ye that I am come to give Peace on Earth? I tell you, nay; but rather Division: For from henceforth there shall be Five in one House divided, Three against*

Two, and Two against Three. The Father shall be divided against the Son, and the Son against the Father: The Mother against the Daughter, and the Daughter against the Mother: The Mother-in-law against her Daughter-in-law, and the Daughter-in-law against her Mother-in-law. Agreeable to Matt. x. 34. 35, 36. Think not that I am come to send Peace on the Earth: I came not to send Peace, but a Sword. For I am come to set a Man at Variance against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter-in-law against her Mother-in-law. And a Man's Foes shall be those of his own Household.

F. Does the Gospel then require People to be unnatural? Was it designed to loosen all natural Ties, and bind us with unnatural Chains?

C. I am persuaded the Writers knew the Meaning, and their Aim. That the softest, strongest Ties of Nature might not hinder the Propagation of the Gospel, 'tis added, *He that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me: And he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his Cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.* And, as if all that was too little, *Luke (xiv. 26.)* tells us, that Jesus said to the Multitude, *If any Man come to me and hate not his Father and his Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Brethren, and Sisters, yea, and his own Life also, he cannot be my Disciple.* This must have a great Effect upon the Fears of credulous Men: If such a Declaration from the Author of any other Religion could be found by Christians, and it was not their own Property

ty only, they would account it a Declaration sufficient to condemn the whole. Those that endeavour artfully to explain it away, shew how much they are ashamed of it; but such Passages still are, by which designing Men have an Opportunity always to understand them as they please, or as they suit their Purposes: These unexplained, one would think cannot be the Word of God; and expounded, are the Words of the Expounder only.

F. Perhaps *Jesus* only meant prophetically, that not Peace, but Fire and Sword among Men, would be the Consequence of his Mission.

C. Then he was a true Prophet, if he meant this would be the Spirit of Christians: But if *he* came to send this terrible Messenger of his Vengeance, one would think he had better never have come, than come on such an Errand. Let us pray the Father to save us from the Wrath of the Son! A Man had need to work Miracles that teaches such a Doctrine is of God; and all are too little to make the reasonable and moral Part of Mankind believe. The Romanists do well to *hide these Things from the Wise and Prudent*; for they, instead of believing them to be *the Bread that came down from Heaven whereof a Man may eat and not die*, may mistake them for strong Poison from an opposite Climate and distant World, or indigestible Cinders from the burning Furnace.

F. But when the Apostles were sent abroad to preach, they were to bless the Places where they went, with Peace.

C. That was but a verbal Sa-

lutation: However, supposing they carried Peace wherever they went, if those to whom they went did not receive them, *their Peace was to return to them again*, they were to take their Peace away with them, and therefore leave none behind. The Peace that *Jesus* left, was only to his Disciples, as the Gospel acquaints us, but the bitterest Execrations are poured out on all that do not believe.

F. But *Jesus Christ* declared, that *the Son of Man* was not come to destroy Men's Lives, but to save them.

C. No, not to destroy them by Fire from Heaven, in the manner the Apostles, those Ministers of Mercy wanted him to call for. If the Saints were armed with *Jove's* Thunder, what terrible Work would they make! When *Jesus* gave the *Jews* a Parable relating to himself, in the Application, among other Judgments of Rewards and Punishments to be given, when he had received the Kingdom, he says, *Luke xix. 27. Those my Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me.* And at another Time, he said to his Disciples, *Luke xxii. 36. He that has no Sword, let him sell his Garment and buy one: These are Things of the same Nature.* The Apostles and the Holy Ghost seemed to understand this Meaning, if they killed *Ananias* and *Sapphira* his Wife with the Fire and Sword of the Spirit. If the Story of it be true, they soon learned their Lesson, and soon began to practise it.

F. You seem to question the Truth of it?

C. 'Tis

C. 'Tis out of Respect to the Apostles that I do. You know I am an Ubeliever, and these Things make me so. I cannot tell how to account for them, but having a charitable Faith in the Lord *Jesus*, chuse rather to believe, that some evil Spirit has been meddling and sowing Tares among the Wheat; that some who professed themselves his Disciples have belied their Master; to the End, that because he did not reign, they might reign in his Stead.

F. You said, if the Saints were armed with *Jove's* Thunder, what terrible Work would they make; but they are so armed, if we believe what we read; *sc.* their Power of working Miracles, and remitting and retaining Men's Sins; and some Doubts arise in my Mind concerning the Legality of the Apostle's putting *Ananias* and *Sapphira* to Death, supposing their Tale is true.

C. But I have a Multitude of Doubts and Objections besides, *viz.* the Reasonableness of such Faith, or Dependance on Providence, as prevents Care and Labour for the Necessaries of Life. And the giving away all Men have, for the Sake of Religion, which is recommended in the Gospel. The Justice of preferring a single Life before a married State, and of making that an intolerable Yoke, when it happens wrong, by allowing no Divorce to set it right, whereby *Christ* is no Redeemer to married People. The Prohibition of revenging the Breach of Peace and Faith, receiving Injuries in Body, and the Loss of Goods without prosecuting the Offenders, and inflicting

legal Punishments upon them; and of fighting in Defence of our Lives and Properties, which encourages Imposition and Villainy. The Necessity of Faith above Righteousness, and of believing absurd Principles, inexplicable Mysteries, and Facts improbable, if not absolutely impossible, are such Whirlpools to human Minds, that they absorb all common Sense, and utterly destroy the Use of Mens reasoning Faculties in Matters of Religion. Those Preachers of the Gospel, who are Men of Sense and Learning, are perpetually holding out to us the fairest of its Morals, but draw a dark Veil over these Things, as we most now do.

F. Indeed they will lead us too far from the End designed at this Time, and therefore we must refer the Discussion of these Points till another Opportunity. The *Clearer* insinuates, that you was so little qualified to write an Answer to the Trial of the Witnesses, that you did not understand it when you published your Answer, but mistook sometimes the Objection for the Answer to the Objection, and sometimes vice versa, and ascribed to the Author of the Trial, the very Opinion he was confuting.

C. This is a heavy Charge: Let us see how it is made out: Perhaps I may have committed some Errors as well as the *Clearer* and other Writers. I make no Pretensions to Infallibility. Those I have been guilty of, I believe will be found in the Skirts of the Argument, and Mode of Expression, not in the Argument or Subject itself; which all unexperienced Disputants, and unwary Writers are liable to, but such are of little

little or no Consequence to the Point in Debate.

F. His two first Instances are, what are mentioned in the first Edition, and left out in the other.

C. And therefore he, resolving to take all Advantages, was determined not to leave them out in his Remarks.

F. In your first Edition he says, p. 5. *You have charged the Author of the Trial with founding Faith on Education, and writing in Favour of that Opinion.*

C. These are my Words: "The Author of the Trial says in Favour of this Faith, which is the Effect of Education." Now certainly the saying something in Favour of it, is one Thing; but founding Faith upon it, and writing in Favour of that Opinion, is another. Therefore this Accusation being not rightly stated, falls of Course. One Quotation I afterwards made from the Trial in the same Edition, p. 11. shews how far I was from charging that Author with what this accuses me of. "The Gentleman is pleased to say, the mere Antiquity of the Resurrection I give up; for if it was not good at first, it cannot be good now." This is very fair.

F. The Clearer says, *To support this Charge you quote from the Trial the very Words that disclaim that Opinion*; and to make this good, he mentions one of your Quotations, and leaves the other out. But what if I join your two Quotations in one, as it stands in the Trial.

C. Be pleased to do so, and read it there.

F. Trial, p. 20. *The Gentleman's Observation, (i. e. the Objector's)*

That the general Belief of the Resurrection creates a Presumption that it stands upon good Evidence, and therefore People look no further, but follow their Fathers, as their Fathers did their Grandfathers before them, is in a great Measure true, but it is a Truth nothing to his Purpose. He allows that the Resurrection has been believed in all Ages of the Church, that is, from the very Time of the Resurrection: What then prevailed with those who first received it? They certainly did not follow the Example of their Fathers. Here then is the Point: How did this Fact gain Credit in the World at first? Credit it has gained without doubt. If the Multitude at present go into this Belief through Prejudice, Example, and for Company's Sake, they do in this Case no more nor otherwise than they do in all other Cases. And it cannot be denied but Truth may be received through Prejudice, (as it is called) i. e. without examining the Proof or Merits of the Cause, as well as Falshood.

C. This I imagined to be said in Favour of that Faith which is the Effect of Education.

F. And 'tis what may reasonably be said.

C. For any educational Faith I grant, and proves, that a Faith which is the Effect of Education, is not always wrong. Therefore those Quotations I made from this Passage, were only to introduce the Fitness of Enquiry, which, in my next Edition, is better expressed without them.

F. But the Clearer says, you charge the Author of the Trial with founding Faith on Education, and writing in Favour of that Opinion, and puts those Words in Italics, to make his Reader believe they

they were yours, to support his Charge; as to support yours, he says, you quote from the Trial the very Words that disclaim that Opinion.

C. Then this Charge had no Support, and his has as little. But as it was not my Intention then, neither am I disposed to support it now.

F. The Clearer says, 'tis marvellous how you could read, could transcribe those Words into your Book, and not feel that the Meaning and Intent of them was to lay the Force of Custom and Education quite out of the Case, and to bring the Question to rest upon the original Evidence of the Resurrection at the first, before Custom or Education could possibly have any Influence.

C. This is also my Intention, therefore let him not be angry with me, for I join Issue with him in this Point. But if I had been as wrong as the Clearer charges me to be, or as wrong as he is in charging me, I had dropt this Passage, by his own Confession, in my new Edition, leaving it as a Pattern to others, when they feel what is right, to drop what is wrong. As 'tis scarce possible for any to be faultless, none should presume nor exult. In small Things 'tis easy to err, or to shew the Error of another.

F. But here is the Point: How did this Fact gain Credit in the World at first? Credit it has gained without Doubt.

C. I have had Occasion to examine Origen against Celsus, and if we may be permitted to draw an Answer from thence, it appears, that the want of strict Examination into the Report, gave it Credit in the credulous World at first. Celsus says, "that some of the

" Christians, neither examining
" what it was they believed, nor
" caring to be examined, used
" this Expression: *Do not examine
" into Matters but believe, and thy
" Faith will infallibly save thee.*"

F. What says Origen to this?

C. He says, That our blessed Saviour would have Persons of mean Capacities, and under some peculiar Circumstances, to believe without a severe Examination; since otherwise we cannot suppose that the Gospel would be of any real Advantage to them. — The Method of strict Examination being for Reasons (says he) before given impracticable, what better Way could one have contrived and taken, more suited to the Genius and outward Circumstances of the common People, than that which our blessed Saviour took for the Conversion of a degenerate World.

F. What were those Reasons?

C. They are comprehended in these Words, which seem to grant the Reasonableness of Enquiry, though at the same Time they discourage it; viz. *The sublime Doctrines of the Christian Religion are not more involved, and attended with greater Obscurity than many Opinions of Philosophers. If all Men could conveniently leave the Concerns of Life, and had Leisure, Inclination, and Ability to examine, 'twould be better for them to build their Faith on rational and convincing Arguments, than take Things on Trust.* You may perceive his Reasons are, the Obscurity of the Doctrines, which required Men's leaving the Concerns of Life for Leisure to examine; and their having Inclinations and Abilities, which were such Difficulties, that
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the greatest Part of Mankind had neither Abilities nor Inclinations to surmount them.

F. Does Origen then justify Men's Belief of Things they don't enquire into?

C. These are his Words: Since our Adversaries are continually making such a Stir about *our taking Things on Trust*, I answer, that we who see plainly, and have found the vast Advantage that the common Sort of People do manifestly and frequently reap thereby, who make up by far the greater Number; I say, we who are well advised of these Things, *do professedly teach them* to believe, without a severe Examination, who cannot neglect their worldly Business, and spare Time enough to make long and exact Enquiries into the Grounds of our holy Religion.

F. Origen excuses an exact and strict Enquiry.

C. Unless the Enquiry be strict and exact, it may as well not be at all; for in that Part which is slubbered over, may lay the Deceit. We see from this Confession of Origen's Doctrine of Christianity, viz. the Necessity of Faith, without a strict Examination into the Foundation of it, or from their avowed Practice to take Principles upon Trust, the Resurrection of Jesus might gain Credit in the World at first, and that the common People, who make up by far the greater Number, did then, as they do now, take it upon Trust; and no doubt but their Teachers taught it then as they teach it now for Interest, were it not for this, the Teachers themselves would deny it.

F. His next Impeachment is, *

that you say, 'Tis argued the Apostles were sincere, therefore what they reported was true."

That you do not directly charge the Author of the Trial with arguing thus.

C. And therefore he might have passed it over as what did not concern him; but to do so, would not answer his Design: He thought he could make some Advantage of it.

F. To persuade the Reader, that the only Thing you have made clear is, that you did not know what you were writing about.

C. Why, the whole Trial is to shew that the Resurrection was real Matter of Fact, evidenced by the Report of the Witnesses; and that the Sincerity of the Reporters, is an Argument of the Proof of it. And I think this is the whole Argument: For what Proof have we that the Reporters of the Fact were not deceived, but their Report? And what Proof have we of the Truth of their Relation, but the Persuasion of the Sincerity of the Relators? And what other Proof can be given to any, or what Sort of Proof can be given to those that believe them insincere? Attend to what the Author of the Trial says, p. 65. *Presumptions are of no Weight against positive Evidence; and every Account of the Resurrection assures us, that the Body of Christ was seen, felt, and handled by many Persons.* And Page 104. *Now if you will allow the Sufferings of the Apostles to prove their Sincerity, which you cannot well disallow, and consider that they died for the Truth of a Matter of Fact which they had seen themselves, you will perceive how strong the Evidence is in this Case. In Doctrines and Matters of Opinion, Men mistake perpetually,*
and

and it is no Reason for me to take up with another Man's Opinion, because I am persuaded he is sincere in it; but when a Man reports to me an uncommon Fact, yet such a one as in its own Nature is a plain Object of Sense, if I believe him not, 'tis not because I suspect his Eyes, or his Sense of Feeling, but merely because I suspect his Sincerity; for if I was to see the same Thing myself I should believe myself; and therefore my Suspicion does not arise from the Inability of human Senses to judge in the Case, but from a Doubt of the Sincerity of the Reporter; in such Cases therefore, there wants nothing to be proved, but only the Sincerity of the Reporter; and since voluntary Suffering for the Truth, is at least a Proof of Sincerity, the Sufferings of the Apostles for the Truth of the Resurrection, is a full and unexceptionable Proof.

F. So then you charge this on the Author of the Trial now, tho' you did not before. The Clearer says. Whomsoever you mean to charge with arguing thus, it shows plainly you never understood the Use or Force of the Argument drawn from the Topic of Sincerity, which is never applied to prove the sincere Reporter delivers nothing but Truth, for he may be, and often is, imposed on himself; but is used merely to show, that he is not a Deceiver himself, and acting with a Design to impose on others.

C. I wish none of my Antagonists have any such Design, whose Understandings there is no Room to question. 'Tis certain, that Origen quotes from the Epistle of Barnabas, That Jesus chose such Persons to the apostolic Function as were wicked to the last Degree. And these are those whole Sincerity we

are to depend upon. And yet we see the Historian's positive Evidence of no natural or probable, but supernatural, and therefore improbable Fact to Reason, tho' not to Faith, is proved by Sincerity, and their Sincerity by their Sufferings; and that this alone, for nothing else can do it, is to prove the History true, that they were not deceived themselves, nor had any Design to deceive others.

F. There is little Reason then for the Clearer's Reflections that, some kind Friend pointed out this Mistake, and it disappears upon the new Edition.

C. This same kind Friend, which this Gentleman more than once upbraids me with, who advised these Alterations, is what I am ignorant of. But if my Amendments were by such Monitions, it appears I am not incorrigible, but willing to know, and amend my Faults, and reform my Errors as soon as I discern them. I am not so vain as to think I stood in no Need of the Assistance of some able Friend. No doubt but more Time, and the Direction of better Judgment, would have added a Grace to my Performance. I do not Question but the Clearer, and some others of my Adversaries, are much better Disputants than I, and can make the worse, appear the better Reason, to perplex and dash maturer Counsel. And that himself no doubt received Aid and Improvements from the Judgment and Advice of the learned Author to whom he inscribes his Sheets: I had no such Helps. To wife and learned Heads, and an Auxiliary of more than 200,000, upon Occasion, that have nothing else to do, being kept

kept in Pay on Purpose to fight for the Church Militant, are certainly able to bear down one undisciplined Volunteer in this literary War, if the Goodness of the Cause alone did not support me.

F. But if this was not a Fault in the first Edition, was it not a Fault to leave it out in the next?

C. This Argument was not so fully expressed as it ought to have been, for I affected Brevity too much. But, concerning the Alterations made in the new Edition, once for all I give these Reasons: I thought it proper to leave out some Things less necessary, that I might make room for others more material, which are not in the first; and to amend and shorten the Expressions, that it might excel the pirated second Edition at the same Price. If this spurious Piece had not appeared, I had no Intention to expose it so publicly, or reprint it.

F. The Clearer, * accuses you of charging the Words of A the Objector, to B the Author of the Trial, and which, he says, will hardly pass for a Mistake only, having received the Approbation of your second Thoughts, by a Place in your new Edition. For, says he, the Person designed by B in the Trial, p. 30. or the Author of it, repeats the Objection of A the Pleader against the Resurrection, which let us turn to. It runs thus: *There is but one Observation more which the Gentleman (i. e. A) made under this Head, Jesus (he says) referred to the Authority of ancient Prophecies, to prove that the Messiah was to die and rise again; the ancient Books referred to are extant, and no such Prophecies (he says) are to be found.* Now, whether the Gentle-

man can find these Prophecies or no, is not material to the present Question. It is allowed, that Christ foretold his own Death and Resurrection; if the Resurrection was managed by Fraud, Christ was certainly in the Fraud himself, by foretelling the Fraud that was to happen; disprove therefore the Resurrection, and we shall have no further Occasion for Prophecy. On the other Side by foretelling the Resurrection, he certainly put the Proof of his Mission on the Truth of the Event. Whether it be the Character of the Messiah in the ancient Prophecies or no, that he should die and rise again, without doubt Jesus is not the Messiah if he did not rise again; for by his own Prophecy, he made it a Part of the Character of the Messiah.

C. Well, what is the Accusation?

F. The Accusation is in these Words: *Is it not manifest to Sight, that those Words, † "The ancient Books referred to are extant, and no such Prophecies are to be found," Express the Sense and Opinion of the Objector to the Resurrection?* But that you charge it to the Author of the Trial, as his own Sentiment, which you would not have done, had you quoted the Passage fairly. For this Reason you have altered it, and left out all the Words which expressly refer the Opinion to the Objector.

C. In this very Instance, he is guilty of the very Fault he accuses me: For to make me culpable he has perverted my Quotation, and himself has represented me charging to the Author of the Trial, as his own Sentiment, the Exceptions of A, the Objector. For this Reason, he has altered, and left out all the Words which are expressly those of B, the Author

thor of the *Trial*, and applied them to A's Exceptions. Therefore I have placed them in two

opposite Columns, that the Reader may the more easily perceive my Meaning:

In my first Edition, p. 20. my Quotation is thus:

The Author of the *Trial* says, that *Christ foretold his own Death and Resurrection*; therefore, if the *Resurrection was managed by Fraud*, he was certainly in the *Fraud himself*, by foretelling the *Fraud that was to happen*. And though the Gentleman grants, that *Jesus referred to the Authorities of the ancient Prophecies*, to prove that the *Messias was to die and rise again*; and that though the *ancient Books referred to are extant*, and no such *Prophecies are to be found*; whether these *Prophecies can be found or no*, 'tis not material to the present Question: Because, says the Gentleman, *disprove the Resurrection*, and we shall have no further Occasion for *Prophecy*.

F. This Quotation of yours begins differently in your new Edition.

C. Yet it begins with the Words of the Author of the *Trial*, thus: Mr. B. says, (p. 11.) That *Christ Jesus declared himself a Prophet*, and put the Proof of his Mission on this, that he should die openly and publicly, and rise again the third Day, and (p. 30.) that though *Jesus referred*, &c.

F. Here the Words, though the Gentleman grants, are omitted.

C. I know not by what Means this Error happened; yet, I think, it is implied that the Words which follow, are an Objection that stand in the Way. But why then was not this Omission complained of, which is the only Fault that

The Clearer says my Quotation stand thus:

"The Author of the *Trial* (or Mr. B) says, that though *Jesus* referred to the Authority of the ancient Prophecies, to prove that the *Messias* was to die and rise again; that though the ancient Books referred to are extant, and no such Prophecies are to be found; whether the Prophecies can be found or no, 'tis not material to the present Question."

ought to have been, and not a false one urged and insinuated. I fear I shall find more such unfair Quotations and Complaints, and since this is evidently one, his own Application be to himself, viz. *This will hardly pass for a Mistake only*; I shall leave his fair Dealing to be tried upon a Comparison of the Passage, as it stands in the *Trial*, and as it is transcribed into my Answer, and the Clearer's Representation of it: And let him account to his Readers, if he can, for having so grossly imposed on them. It is plain, I had no Intention to misrepresent the Author's Meaning, as he insinuates, for the Page is referred to, and the Book itself is recommended to the Consideration of the Reader. It is vexatious

tious to spend so much Time and Labour in making large Quotations on such immaterial Points; but I having to do with an artful Adversary, am obliged to it, to set Matters in a clear Light.

F. The Clearer says, that the only Thing here proper to be charged on the Author of the Trial, is expressed in these Words, *Whether the Gentleman (i. e. the Objector) can find these Prophecies or no, is not material to the present Question.*

C. Yes, the Words going before the Exceptions, which I have mentioned, and he has omitted, as well as those that follow, are properly that Author's. Though if those he has quoted do express the Sense of the Objector, the Author does not resolve it; therefore it remains good: Why then is it not material?

F. * *I think (continues he) this is said very justly; for surely Believers are not to wait for the Evidence of Prophecy, 'till Infidels can, or will see it.*

C. Believers do not wait, whether they have Evidence, or no; but why are they to be so hasty, as not to let Infidels see the Evidence of Prophecy, if any is to be seen?

F. Because the Argument from Prophecies, in this Case, is given up.

C. Why was it given up, but because the Prophecies and the Facts they are said to relate to cannot be found, or do not correspond?

F. The Clearer objects, that the present Question related to the Truth of the Resurrection considered merely as Matter of Fact; and as

Facts must be proved, not by Prophecy, but by historical Evidence, it was impertinent to talk of Prophecy, when the Enquiry concerned a mere Fact only.

C. I thought it material to the present Question, as it concerned the Credit of the Witnesses; for with what Reason should that Evidence determine a Fact suspected, when the Case affords just Reason to suspect the Evidence? For the Witnesses pretend Prophecies to precede Facts, which want Probability; and Facts to answer Prophecies, which themselves seem never to have found. Therefore it was very material to the present Question of the Fact of the Resurrection, to prove their Correspondence, in order to corroborate the Credibility of the Evidence. Ought not this Matter of Fact to be proved by credible Evidence? If they are not to be believed in one Part of the Story, for what Reason should they be credited in the other? Why should not the Subject be considered with all its Accidents, and those especially on which it is founded; and have, ever since its rise, been the grand Subject of Debate between Jews and Christians. For Christianity was at first only looked on by the Jews and Heathens, as heretical Judaism.

F. But 'tis complained that you, for want of Discernment, or something else, say, *It is granted, the Gospel-Historian suggest, there are Prophecies which are not to be found in the Books they refer to, but this is not material: You leave out the Words, to the present Question, and go on.*

A 2

C. And

C. And what then ?

F. Why then, you only appear to be hunting down a great Blunder of your own ?

C. Were those Words, to the Question, so very material then ? Pray what was the present Question ?

F. The Truth of the Resurrection, considered merely as a matter of Fact.

C. Is not that plainly understood ? Could I mean any Thing else ? This Complaint seems to be made for want of Discernment, or something else. I find, when Men resolve to complain, if they cannot make *just* Complaints, it will not hinder them from complaining. The Art of this Gentleman, I perceive, consists in setting me in a bad Light ; that by this, what Credit I am robbed of his Arguments may gain. I am very sorry we must be delivered, by such Stuff, from what is material to the present Question.

F. The Clearer alledges, * That you have produced Words out of the Trial, and expressed them as the Sense of the Author himself, by which artful Abuse of Language, to make the Reader imagine that you have convicted the Author out of his own Mouth. Two Instances are given for Proofs :

C. This is an Accusation of a Crime so far distant from my Design, that I thought could never have come into any Man's Head. Repeat the first.

F. In the 14th Page of the Trial, the Objector says, *In other Cases, the Evidence supports the Credit of the History, but here the Evidence it self is presumed on upon the Credit which the History has*

gained. In p. 8. of your first Edition, you introduce it thus ; *'Tis true, that in other Cases the Evidence supports the Credit of the History, but here the Evidence itself is presumed only upon the Credit which the History has gained.* In p. 6. of your third Edition, it is thus introduced : *If upon Enquiry it be found, that tho' in other Cases the Evidence supports the Credit of the History, yet here, &c.*

C. I believe no Reader understood those Expressions, but in the Light I intended them ; not produced as the Sense of the Author, but made Use of as the fittest, by which to express the Sense of my Argument on the Subject, without regarding whether they were the Words of the Objector, or the Author, or having any Design of fathering such a Sense on the Author of the Trial. I think the manner of introducing the Sentence complained of, is sufficient to clear me from this Accusation.

F. The Clearer says, *You was made sensible of this Mistake, and tho' the Passage still stands, and very improperly, in your new Edition, yet you have taken some Care to cover the Blunder, by dropping the Reference to the Trial.*

C. But the Misfortune is, I do not know who made me sensible of the Blunder, nor that it is such, whether the Reference to the Trial be made or not. The very quoting the Trial, I thought, would clear me of the Imputation of expressing the Words quoted as the Sense of the Author himself. What is the other Instance ?

F. The Author of the Trial, to shew that the Jews, in guarding the Sepulchre,

Sepulchre, betrayed a secret Conviction of the Truth of the Miracles performed by Christ in his Life time, says, *Trial*, p. 38. "For had they been persuaded that he wrought no Wonders in his Life, I think they would not have been afraid of seeing any done by him after his Death." *The Author of the Trial, to shew the Inconsistency of Woolston's Scheme,* says, p. 39. Surely this is a most singular Case; when the People thought him a Prophet, the chief Priests sought to kill him, and thought his Death would put an End to his Pretensions; when they and the People discovered him to be a Cheat, then they thought him not safe, even when he was dead, but were afraid he should prove a true Prophet, and according to his own Prediction rise again." You quote the Words thus in p. 38. of the first Edition, and p. 29. of the third: "There is no Reason then to suppose they were afraid of a true Resurrection, or that they were convinced of any Miracles said to be done by him. But they being persuaded he performed no Wonders in his Life, were not afraid of seeing any done by him after his Death. Therefore, that they should kill him, that his Death might put an End to all Pretensions, yet think him not safe when he was dead, is, I must own, a needless and preposterous Fear, and a most singular Case, as the Gentleman (meaning the Author of the Trial) rightly expresses it," p. 38, and 39.

C. Who sees not that the Au-

thor of the Trial wrote this to shew an Inconsistency in the Scheme he opposed, and that what I wrote is to shew the Consistency of mine in his own Words; and therefore quoted the Place where they are to be found in the Trial, directing the Reader thereby to judge of both, and observe how they were applied? Is it any Injustice to the Author of the Trial, that I have expressed the Force of my Argument in Words or Expressions borrowed from him? Since, I think, no body but the Clearer would offer to charge me for so doing, as he does: That by an artful Abuse of the Language in the Trial, I would make the Reader imagine any Thing else, than that I have illustrated my Argument against him in his own Words. Since I referred to the Place from whence I borrowed them, the Reader is to see and judge for himself. And the References were evidently done, to shew to what End we both applied them, tho' sometimes to different; because they seemed to me to suit my way of Reasoning as well as his. But, perhaps his own Arguments turned upon him, alter the Case: Tho' I have been used to think, that the same Arguments were alike good, when the Cases were alike.

F. The Clearer complains that, amongst other Things amazingly acted, you reckon this for one: * "That St. Matthew should be admitted as an Evidence in a Court to prove a Fact, when he was absent; and for this you refer the Reader to the Trial, p. 42. And that the Page referred to has nothing of St. Matthew in it,

A a 2

it, but of the *Watch*, concerning whose Report of the Disciples stealing away the Body while the Guard slept; there the *Objector* is asked, *Whether he has any Authorities in Point to shew, that ever any Man was admitted as an Evidence in any Court to prove a Fact, which happened when he was asleep?*

C. And I, in return, made the other a Matter of like Wonder, concerning St. Matthew's telling what a Privy Council of the Jews did, about bribing the *Watch*, thinking it pretty near a parallel Case.

F. He supposes you guilty of a great Blunder, not to know the Difference between an Historian, and one produced as an Eye-witness.

C. But who ever produced the *Watch*, as Eye-witnesses, when they were asleep? They could not pretend to be such, they owned the contrary by saying, what they reported was done when they were asleep. And as some body must be supposed to acquaint Matthew with what the Privy Council said, and acted, so some body, with no less Probability and Proof, may be supposed to acquaint the *Watch* when they were awake, who stole away the Body, which before they slept they saw secured, but afterwards gone, and the Sepulchre broke open. Or if the *Watch* only supposed by whom the Thing was done, and could attribute it to no other more probable Cause, I think, in this Case, they were as much Historians as St. Matthew was, and relate Things on equal Credit. Therefore, in this Case, the *Watchmen* and St. Matthew are to be considered equally

as Eye-witnesses, and Historians; Nay, if there was a *Watch* set, 'tis not improbable they were used by Pilate, rather as Spies to observe, than as *Watch* to prevent any Thing, and so might pretend Sleep, whilst they let the Disciples steal away the Body, or might be their Confederates.

F. The Clearer draws this Inference from his Remark on this Passage: *It shews how well qualified you are to determine on the Credit of the Gospel Historians, when you do not apprehend the plainest Thing relating to Evidence, what is necessary to give Credit to an Eye-witness, and what to an Historian. After these Instances, there is little Reason to expect from your Hand a judicious, or a fair Answer to the Trial.*

C. This Gentleman's angry Disposition has induced him to make too hasty Conclusions. Or else it is by this Art, he attempts to establish his Arguments, or bring them to a Crisis to invalidate all mine. His insinuating a Distinction where there is no Difference, shews how well qualified he is to misrepresent his Antagonist, and deceive his Readers.

F. The Clearer says, * The Resurrection considered, is plainly a Piece of Patchwork, and has but little in it to entitle it to be called, An Answer to the Trial.

C. It is so far from being a Piece of Patchwork, that it is nothing else but Patchwork picked in Pieces. The best that can be done with bad Stuff, which Traders attempt to put off, is to shew how bad it is.

F. The Clearer asks, Have you weighed the Arguments on both Sides of

of the Question, as stated in the Trial, and shewed where the Author of the Trial either dissembled the Force of the Objection, or failed in the Answer to it? Nothing like it, says he.

C. Is he angry because I have not charged the Author with any Thing mean or base? No, I do not so much as pretend to it. I thought it enough to examine his Foundation, whether Arguments brought from thence, are sufficient Proofs of the Fact asserted, and believed.

F. The Clearer says, you have found an easier Method of making an Appearance of an Answer to the Trial.

C. I own, I found it no hard Matter to make a real Discovery of the Insufficiency of the Evidence, by which the Cause was tried.

F. He continues, that some Passages taken independently of the Argument of which they are a Part, you have singled out to furnish Matter of Controversy. But as these were too few in Number to make a decent Appearance of Quotations from a Book, which you professed to answer, —

C. Many Quotations are to me, I own, a laborious Piece of Work, therefore I made as few as possible; but I endeavoured to take such Passages as contained the main Force of the Subject.

F. Let me go on: You have, he says, taken the Liberty to use the Language of the Trial to your own Purpose, and have distinguished it in Italics, and referred the Reader to the Trial, even where the Words, by the Additions and Alterations made by you, are turned to a Sense

directly contrary to that in which the Author of the Trial used them. And by this little Art, you appear, to an unwary Reader, to be quoting and confuting the Trial of the Witnesses.

C. If I have used the Language of the Trial to my own Purpose, I know of no Injury I did, or designed the Author by so doing. And quoting the Trial, I thought was very fair, that the Reader might see to what different Purposes the Words were used, and that I had no Intention to impose upon him, or pervert the Sense of the Author. Whether References had been made or not to the Trial, I do not see how the Reader could misunderstand the Matter.

F. But as much as you have perverted, altered, and misapplied the Passages taken from the Trial, says the Clearer, * it is nothing in Comparison with your Abuse of the Writers of the New Testament, whom you treat as Impostors and Cheats, and void even of Cunning to tell their own Story plausibly.

C. And if they do not tell their own Story plausibly, am I to blame?

F. Yes, to tell of it, and charge them with it.

C. I take the common, natural, literal Sense of Scripture to be the Meaning. I do not examine it with the Criticisms of a Grammarian; for I am told, the Disciples of Jesus were ignorant and unlearned Men, they then could not write grammatically, its rather a Question, whether they could write at all. Peter and John are confessed to be such; Acts ix. 13. who then wrote Peter's Epistles,

A 2 3

ties, and *John's* Gospel, Epistles and Revelation, is worth Enquiry, if it could be found out. And that illiterate *Hebrews* should write in *Greek*, is solvable by nothing but Miracles, which is capable of making every Thing, any Thing, or Nothing. Nor had they any spiritualizing Notion, for they were always forced to ask their Master the Meaning of his Parables; and if at any Time they were afraid to do that, for fear he should upbraid them with their Dulness, they remained ignorant.

F. The Clearer says, you have charged St. Matthew with forging a Prophecy, (first Edition, p. 28. third, p. 20)

C. I observed, that the Sign given to that evil Generation was never fulfilled to them; therefore, I conjectured it was not given by Jesus Christ, but was Forgery, which I did not therefore ascribe to St. Matthew. Or otherwise, I supposed it might be misrepresented by Transcribers. Could any Thing be more modest? Let him prove the Genuineness of St. Matthew's Gospel if he can, and answer Mr. John Potter's ingenious Treatise called, *The Authority of the Old and New Testament considered*; where he has proved, that the two first Chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel are a spurious Addition, and shewn other Interpolations in the *New Testament*.

F. And Matthew, Mark and Luke, are charged with fraudulent Designs; (first Edition, p. 31. third, p. 23.) and again, there is Reason, you say, to suspect all the Predictions of the Resurrection in them, to be Forgery

C. In Things that do not a-

gree, there is not the Appearance of Truth; and when we find this, it is natural to suspect some Reason: Therefore I supposed that there was Forgery in the Text, of which I conceive the Disagreements are a Proof. I thought it better to do this, than to ascribe Lies to God, or Fraud to his only Son, or his Servants, the holy Apostles. I would not be thought so prophane as to blaspheme the Characters of the Saints, whose Piety, Wisdom and Sincerity, is not to be questioned. Their Inconsistency, therefore, I imputed to others. The Translator of Origen against Celsus says, the Scripture is corrupted in the Original; these are his words, (Preface, p. 9.) Nay, the Greek and Hebrew Text of the Scriptures, those sacred and refreshing Fountains of living Water, have been shamefully polluted by human Additions, and cursed Innovations.

How then have I abused the Writers of the *New Testament*, as the Clearer would insinuate, that Matthew is charged with forging a Story of the Watch, and that there is Reason to suspect all the Predictions of the Prophecy of the Resurrection to be Forgery, since their Disagreements in the fulfilling those Prophecies can signify no less.

F. The Clearer, p. 19. says, that Celsus lived at no great Distance from the Apostolic Age: Did he know any Thing of the Corruption of the Gospels?

C. Yes, Origen repeats Celsus's Words saying, that "some of the Christians, like Men intoxicated with Fumes of Wine, who do not mind at all what they say or do, have altered
" the

" the original Text of the Gospels, so that they may admit of various, and almost infinite Readings. And this, (says he) I suppose they did out of human Policy, that when we press them home with an Argument, they might have the larger Scope for their pitiful Evasions."

F. How does Origen answer this?

C. He confesses, that the original Text of the Gospels had been altered by three Sects, viz. the Followers of Marcion, Valentinus, and Lucian. But thinks 'tis no convincing Argument against the Truth of the Christian Religion, that some Persons have had the horrid Impudence to corrupt the Gospels themselves, and so have given an unhappy Rise to numerous and most impious Heresies. A glorious Confession to Truth by Origen, but not to the Truth of the Gospels! The Christians not only corrupted the Gospels, but as Mr. Toland says, forged Books on one another, and wanting Heathen Testimony, forged them too, as well as, 'tis likely, were imposed upon by the Forgeries of Jews and Heathens, who in the mean while laughed in their Sleeves at the Credulity of Christians.

F. But while you charge the Saints with Inconsistency, the Clearer charges you a Sinner with the same.

C. How?

F. St. Matthew has given an Account of guarding and sealing the Sepulchre; the other Evangelists say nothing of it. Upon this, you say, they tell different Stories. How so? Says the Clearer, Does a Man who says nothing of a Story, tell a differ-

ent Story, or contradict the Story? Yet this, says he, is the Considerer's Logic, and to prove it, refers to first Edit. p. 36, and 37. third, p. 27.

C. The Words there are these: " But why do these Evangelists tell different Stories? St. Matthew shews one, about guarding and sealing the Sepulchre; St. Mark and St. Luke another, which shews it was neither guarded nor sealed; St. John to the same Purpose, but different from both?" That is, St. John tells about spicing the Body, in a different manner than was by Mark and Luke, before mentioned; whose Relations are irreconcilable, as their Defenders may find, if God give them Understanding: Therefore the Sense of my Words is obvious, and easy to be understood.

F. The Clearer continges, that you say expressly, in a like Case, " St. John says not a Word of it, but denies it all;" first Edit. p. 32. third, p. 23.

C. There indeed he has me, and I must get off as well as I can. A little of that Christian Charity he bestows upon the Scriptures, sometimes to help their natural Sense, and frequent Infirmities, are unhappily wanted to this Expression. The Words of mine are: " I have not mentioned what St. John says of Christ's foretelling his Resurrection to his Disciples, lest it should be thought I stifled his Evidence; I have examined him, and find he says not a Word of it, but denies it all." That is, St. John says not a Word of what the other Evangelists say of Jesus's foretelling his Resurrection to his

Disciples, but on the contrary denies it, by saying, *They knew not the Scriptures, that he must rise again from the Dead.* But if these Remarks were given for Arguments, it is a Sign the Clearer was distressed.

F. The Clearer says, * *Upon this Kind of Reasoning, if it is Reasoning, you charge all the four Evangelists with Forgery; and suppose, "that Matthew's Story being detected, Mark and Luke tell another; theirs being also confuted, John comes and tells a Story different from all theirs."* And this vehement Charge is founded on this only, that Mark, Luke and John say nothing about it.

C. This is so far from being the only Thing, that by Reason of the Clearer's vehement Charge of me, the only Thing upon which my Supposition is founded, is overlooked by him: That is, the Inconsistencies and Differences in the Histories, which cannot be reconciled without more Forgery.

F. He goes on: *At this Rate, how easily may all historical Facts be confuted? It is but saying the Histories are forged, and it requires no good Head, provided there be a good Face, to say it of any History in the World.*

C. But if this Gentleman errs in his Charge, his Consequence likewise is an Error.

F. But you, says the Clearer, not content to charge the Evangelists with Forgery, have forged Things for them by saying, † "Some believe that Absurdities and Contradictions are possible to the Power of God: That he can raise up Children from the Loins of Abraham out of the Stones of the Streets." You plainly saw, that

the Passage, as it stood in St. Matthew, afforded no Colour for this Abuse, and therefore you add, from the Loins of Abraham. I desire the Reader, says he, to consider whose Forgery this is?

C. I desire the Reader to consider, that I only expressed it by the Absurdity of some Men's Faith. 'Tis known, that the Jews valued themselves for being the Seed of Abraham, as those to whom the Promise was made: *In thy Seed shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed.* Now we are told, that the Promise was made to the Seed of Abraham in Isaac: *In Isaac shall thy Seed be called,* (Rom. ix. 7.) who is supposed to come out of his Loins: *Gen. xv. 4.* But if Isaac was the Son of Abimelech, then he was only a Son to Abraham by Faith, and came not out of his Loins. How am I guilty of forging Things for the Evangelists? Since I did not fix it as the Sense of those Words, for I know not what Sense to make of them, supposing John, when he spoke, pointed to some Stones on the Earth, at that Time, as he seems to have done by the Words, *these Stones.* How they could be raised up Children to Abraham, more than to any other Man, I confess I can no more apprehend, than that such Children should come out of his Loins. But if every one that cannot understand, or misunderstands a Text of Scripture is guilty of Forgery, I believe I have all the Christians in the World on my Side. There are many Things I cannot conceive, that perhaps others can. Nor can I see how I am guilty of Forgery, if I express my Conceptions

* Page 14.

† Page 15.

tions by adding some Words to the Text to explain it; in many Places it cannot be understood without; Whoever would understand such Texts, it must be according to the Forgery of their own Understanding. I cannot see any Reason of Complaint but this; that we should not forge any Sense of these Things for ourselves, but our Divine Blacksmiths, whose Business it is, are to forge Things for us; because by this Craft, they have their Wealth. Their Interpretation is the Image that comes down from Jupiter. This is their Holy Ghost, which is to guide us in to all Truth; and thus have we received their Holy Ghost from the Beginning.

F. The next Thing puts this Gentleman in a Maze, these are his Words: *At Page 67 of the first Edition, and 54 of the Third, there occurs one of the most extraordinary Passages that is any where to be found, and shews with what Conscience the Considerer applies Scripture to his Purpose.* "That Jesus at his last Departure, according to St. John xxi. 19, 20. leaves us at all Uncertain- ties, and went like a wandering Jew the Lord knows where." The Clearer states the Case thus: *Our Lord, after his Resurrection, foretels Peter by what Death he should glorify God. St. Peter enquires what was to become of St. John? Our Lord says, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me, i. e. What is it to you what becomes of him? Do you follow the Example I have set you, and glorify God by your Death.*

C. Is this Sense past all Dispute?

F. One would think so by his Inference, for he adds, *one may sometimes see what Handle People take to misrepresent Scripture; but in this Instance, it is difficult to discern what could lead to this wild Conceit.*

C. I answer, nothing but the apparent Meaning of the Words themselves: When Jesus had said unto Peter, *Follow me*, Peter turning, about, seeth the Disciple whom Jesus loved following, and seeing him, said, *Lord what shall this Man do?* Jesus said to Peter, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.* Was the Disciple whom Peter then saw following Jesus, suffering Death for his Master, or in bodily Motion? When Peter turned about, and saw him following, did he turn from his Master's Precept of suffering Death for him, or was that turning, a bodily Motion? If both these Disciples were so moving; they acted according to their Understanding of the Precept. And since they did not understand it in the Clearer's Sense, but in the Sense of bodily Motion, as the History shews, I beg to be excused. But at this Rate, how easily may the apparent Sense of Scripture be explained away. These Instances, which the Clearer has not selected, but rather invented, shew how fair an Adversary he is; and help the Reader to form a Judgment what those other Passages are, which he complains of, but does not mention.

F. Before the Clearer comes to the Points which more immediately affect the Evidence of the Resurrection, he takes Notice of what was dropped at the Close of your Introduction, which relates to the Credit of Revelation in general

neral concerning Inspiration; *
 "That what is the Founda-
 "tion of any, much less of eve-
 "ry false Religion, cannot be
 "the Foundation of the true."
 To this the Gentleman objects
 thus: *What poor Sophistry is this!*
Cannot this great Considerer see the
Difference between a real and a pre-
tended Foundation? Let him try it
in his own favourite Virtue, Sincer-
ity. Sincerity is, by common Consent,
the very best Foundation of a good
Character, and therefore all Knaves
pretend to it. Will the Considerer
in this Case say, that which is the
Foundation of every bad Character,
cannot be the Foundation of a good
one?

C. I cannot understand that this
 is a parallel Case. Every Man in
 the World knows there is such a
 Principle in human Nature, as
 Sincerity. But who knows *super-*
natural Inspiration? Does it not
 consist in the Imagination only?
 And what is it then but an imagi-
 nary Principle? I believe, none
 of my Antagonists, nor the Great
 Clearer himself, will pretend to do
 it any more than I do. How can
 they then contend for the Truth
 of what they know nothing of?
 Truth is founded on Realities;
 Falstiy on Fiction: That which
 is in its own Nature false, cannot
 produce Truth. Besides, pretend-
 ed Sincerity is not the Foundation
 of every bad Character, but pre-
 tended Inspiration is the Founda-
 tion of every false Religion, they
 can be founded on nothing else.

F. The Clearer says, the Passage
 from the Trial about Inspiration,
 † was produced only to give you an
 Opportunity of entering into your
 darling common Place of abusing Re-

velation, and drawing together
 what has been retailed an hundred
 Times over by all the little Traders
 in Infidelity, and has been as often
 answered to the Satisfaction of all
 sober Enquirers.

C. Of his Party only: Of those
 poor humble Souls that are con-
 tent with any Words their Leaders
 give them instead of Reasons; be-
 cause they have Faith to believe
 them and no Body else, and their
 counterfeit Coin to be true, which
 will not pass current in other
 Hands. I deny that my Objections
 are answered, therefore need not
 reply. But was willing, in Conver-
 sation with you, to vindicate my-
 self, and shew the Weakness of their
 Answers. If all little Traders in
 Infidelity, that is, if all Infidels
 (for Infidelity is no Trade, tho'
 Faith is) perpetually urge the
 same Objections, it seems to me,
 they have the best Pretensions to
 true Inspiration, if there be any
 such Thing, since they so greatly
 harmonize. For my Part, I re-
 ceived my Objections from none;
 but am glad to hear, that though
 I am the Maker of my own, o-
 thers have made the same an
 hundred Times over. When clear
 and effectual Answers cannot be
 given, the same Objections will
 ever be made, and stand good.

F. The next Point that more
 immediately affects the Credit of
 the Resurrection is, the Nature
 and Quality of the Evidence. The
 Clearer says, you begin with com-
 plaining grievously, that all the E-
 vidence is on the Side of the Resur-
 rection, and that you can find none
 against it. And this you think is a
 very hard Case upon you.

C. But much harder to defend
 the

the Evidence that is on the Side of it. This I delivered not by Way of Complaint, but to shew the little Reason to expect what so plainly appears.

F. He adds, *If you should take it in your Head to prove, that Cæsar was not killed in the Senate-house, you might begin with the same Complaint; for all the Evidence would be on one Side, and all against you.*

C. True: And if the Evidence for this Article of Faith was as probable, and as well attested, it would be no more questioned than that is. But if *Cæsar's* Death had no better Evidence than the Resurrection of Jesus, 'tis likely the Clearer himself might question it. If he should take it in his Head to disprove the Ascension of *Romulus*, though all the Evidence be on one Side, and all against him; yet, I question much whether he could believe it, even though he was hired to it. That *Cæsar* was killed in the Senate-house, there is the concurrent Testimony of *Cæsar's* Friends, as well as Enemies, both as to the Fact itself, and its Consequences; therefore 'tis incontestible. But the stabbing *Cæsar* in the Senate-house, might fail of Credit on unknown and disagreeing Evidence, though all combined to assert it. A miraculous Fact on such bad Evidence, is much more incredible. Any Action said to be done by Man, which is above human Power, seems to me to require more than human Proof: But if it have less than reasonable Proof, it is incredible to Men that reason about it. Mr. Lacy, one of the French Prophets, published a Book in London, entitled, *A Cry from the De-*

sart; in which is an Account of a famous Miracle, done by Mr. Clary at Cannes near Serignau, in France, August 1703, and by them said to be attested by a Thousand; which I do not know was ever contradicted, though no Body but themselves believed it, if themselves did. What may they not say of Whitefield some Ages hence? Is it not miraculous that he should, without any Bribe of Loaves and Fishes, draw together so often, five or seven thousand Men, besides Women and Children, to listen with Attention to the charming Nonsense of his Preaching.

F. The Clearer says, * you imagine there was anciently a great Stock of Evidence against the Truth of the Resurrection; but that it has been unhappily lost, or destroyed; because you said, " That Books have " been wrote by Porphyry, Celsus, " and others, which contained " what the Christians thought " were best answered by stifling " and burning. That it is well " known from some Fragments " of them in Origen, that they " contradicted what is related in " the Evangelists." Fragments of Porphyry, in Origen, could not be, for Origen was dead before Porphyry set Pen to Paper.—Porphyry could not be above Twenty-one Years old when Origen died.—There was about an hundred Years between Celsus and Porphyry.

C. This may be true: I am sensible there is nothing of Porphyry in Origen, nor did I intend to say there was, I only meant to say, some Fragments of Books in Origen; but 'tis so negligently expressed, I own, that my Sense may

may be here easily mistaken, without straining the natural Sense of the Words, as they are carelessly thrown together. If the grand Fact in Debate was liable to the like Exceptions, then indeed, the Evidence of it would be cleared. I am sensible this is an Error in my wording it. It should be read thus: It is well known from some Fragments of the Books of Celsus in Origen, that they contradicted what is related by the Evangelists.

F. And so do you, says the Clearer, but what then? Is the Credit of any History the worse, because it is wantonly contradicted, without Evidence or Authority, of any Sort, to support the Contradiction?

C. No. But that I contradict it wantonly, is what cannot be proved. And that the Credit of this History is without harmonious Evidence, or the Authority of Reason, is what they cannot disprove.

F. Celsus and Porphyry were just such Witnesses, the Clearer urges, against the Gospel, as you are; and for Want of Evidence to contradict the Evangelists, they were forced to rely upon the Disagreements, which they supposed were to be found in the several Accounts given by the Evangelists.

C. And these Arguments were the best they could use, against them that were capable of believing no Evidence but their own, and resolved to deny whatever contradicted it. It was best to shew such, the Contradiction of their own Evidence, which they could not deny. The best and only Way of Reasoning with Men, is by Arguments drawn from Premises

they themselves acknowledge. Therefore, whether there was any good Evidence against the Gospel History in Celsus's Time, or no, he thought best to confound it by its own Evidence. If the Witnesses for a Fact cannot prove it, there is no Occasion to bring any other to disprove it.

F. Celsus lived at no great Distance from the apostolic Age: At a Time when all Religions were tolerated but the Christian; when no Evidence was stifled, no Books destroyed, but those of Christians.

C. This, to me, is scarce credible, that under the Roman Government, all Religions should be tolerated but Christians, and that their Books alone should be destroyed, unless they suffered under the Name of Jews, being originally a judaic Sect. Or unless the Christians were a very immoral Sect, who exalted Faith and debased Morality. For St. Peter reasons well when he says, 1 Epist. iii. 13. *Who will harm you, if you be Followers of that which is good?*

F. But at the Time Celsus lived, he had only the Gospel to search for Evidence against the Gospel. A strong Proof that there never had been Books of any Credit in the World, that questioned the Gospel Facts, when so spiteful, and so artful an Adversary as Celsus made no Use of them.

C. I have already observed, that the Arguments so founded against the Christians, were the hardest for them to answer. But whether there were no other, I believe cannot be proved. Or whether the Meanness or Contemptibleness of the Sect, which was every where spoken against, did

did not render them unworthy the Opposition of the Learned, till Numbers made them considerable. On this Consideration, *Celsus* might have been one of the first that wrote against them. But if it had not been for the Sake of *Origen's* Answer, 'tis evident, the Objections of *Celsus* had never been known. And such Answers as *Origen* made, if in our Time, would be looked upon as evasive and trifling. The Body of Faith has increased and gathered Strength by Age, for I perceive 'tis better vindicated now, than in its Infancy. Education and long Custom has made it strong; *Celsus* chose this Method of Conviction, to argue from their own Gospels rather than any other, for drawing to a Conclusion, speaking to the Christians, he adds: "All I have said has been borrowed from your own approved Authors, so that I need not produce any other Testimonies; since the Edge of your own Weapons is sufficiently turned on yourselves." Hence, I presume, that *Celsus* had other Testimonies to produce on his Side of the Argument, but did not use them, because he thought them not necessary; so that this was a Method of Choice. In answer to this, *Origen* tells us, that he has been pleased to interlard it with Abundance of ridiculous Stories, that the Evangelists never thought of. If he had not those Stories from some others, *Origen* would no doubt have told us they were of his own Invention, and never produced by any but *Celsus* in the World before; but this he does not charge him with, not even when *Celsus* tells the most scandalous Story of the

Virgin Mary. But if *Celsus* had no Arguments against the Gospel, but what the Gospel afforded; neither did *Origen* find where, or how to apply for any other Evidence in its Favour, than what he there found, tho' he seems, like the *Clearer*, to have wanted neither Learning nor Cunning to make the best of a bad Cause, and to slander, despise and insult his Adversary, and sing *te Deum* when he was beaten.

F. What does *Origen* say, to obviate that Scandal of *Celsus*, concerning the holy Virgin.

C. All that he says, amounts to no more than this, that so pure a Soul as that of Jesus, could never come from such impure Embraces.

F. The *Clearer* says, that *Celsus* admitted *Christ's* Miracles; the Difference between him and *Origen* lies in accounting for them, the one ascribing them to the Power of God, the other to the Power of Magic.

C. Granting that Jesus did Miracles, *Celsus*, in the Person of a Jew, does this to try how the Christians could vindicate them from that Imputation; against which, *Origen* makes but a poor Plea, when he says, *But tho' we should grant, that it is difficult for us to determine precisely, by what Power our Saviour wrought his Miracles; yet, 'tis very plain, that the Christians made Use of no Enchantments, unless the Name of Jesus, and some Passages of the holy Scriptures, were a Kind of sacred Spell.*

F. If *Celsus* was a Jew, he must needs give Credit to Miracles.

C. It appears he was no Jew, for he says, "that Judaism, with
" which

" which the Christian Religion
 " has a very close Connection,
 " has all along been a barbarous
 " Sect " Origen observes, that
 Celsus never reckoned the Jews a-
 mong the wise Nations of the World;
 that he treats Moses as a notorious
 and shameful Impostor, and takes
 the People that were governed
 by him, to be extremely ignorant
 and credulous.

F. What may we then suppose
 Celsus to have been?

C. Origen supposes him to have
 been an Epicurean, and if so the
 Matter is out of all Dispute, that
 he believed no Miracles nor Ma-
 gic, or Diabolical Power. Origen
 quotes these Sentences of his,
 which shews him to have been,
 without all Doubt, a Philosopher:
 " He advises Men to embrace no
 " Opinion, but under the Con-
 " duct of impartial Reason, on
 " Account of the many, and
 " gross Errors, to which the
 " contrary Practice will shame-
 " fully and unavoidably expose
 " us." Else-where, he says,
 " As the Sun, which enlightens
 " every Thing by its piercing
 " Rays, immediately discovers
 " it self to us, by the glorious
 " Light which it transmits over
 " the whole Sphere by Turns;
 " so your pretended Saviour, had
 " he been God, or the Son of
 " God, would have resembled
 " that glorious Luminary."

F. What Opinion had Celsus
 of the Gospel Miracles?

C. It is certain he did not be-
 lieve them, for he treats them
 with the greatest Contempt and
 Ridicule imaginable. He won-
 ders, " that the Angel which
 " was dispatched from God for
 " the Safety of his Son, when

" young, could not as easily pre-
 " serve him in Judea, as in E-
 " gypt." Concerning the Dove that
 descended upon our Saviour, at his
 Baptism, says Origen, he would
 fain have the whole Account, to
 pass for a false and trifling Story.
 And as to his Death, says Origen,
 This pretended Jew goes on, and is
 ready to split his Sides with laugh-
 ing at the Earthquake, and ridicules
 the more than ordinary Darknes,
 that were the awful Concomitants
 of our Saviour's Sufferings, &c.

F. But what does Celsus say of
 the Miracles wrought by Christ
 himself?

C. He represents the Christians
 saying, " Our Saviour was the
 " Son of God, because he cured
 " the lame, and blind, and
 " raised a few from the Dead;
 " as we, poor Creatures that we
 " are, are ready to imagine."—
 He calls the miraculous Stories of Je-
 sus, a Company of old Wives
 Fables, which you impose on us;
 said he, and have not the Sense to
 give them the least Colour of Reason.

—And as speaking to Jesus,
 says, What did you ever say or do,
 that was worthy of Admiration,
 though you was openly challenged
 to give convincing Proofs, that you
 was the Son of God, &c. These
 are the Proofs of his admitting
 Christ's Miracles, which except
 the Clearer had affirmed, I should
 not have mentioned, nor sought
 after.

F. The Clearer tells us, that
 Origen's Answer is not a general
 Reply to Celsus, but a minute Ex-
 amination of all his Objections, even
 of those that appeared to Origen
 most frivolous.

C. Them chiefly, I suppose, for
 Origen, no doubt, like the Clearer,

took the chiefest Care to answer the easiest Objections.

F. He says, *Origen states the Objections of Celsus in his own Words, in the Order Celsus had placed them.*

C. So does the *Clearer* state mine, but sometimes mistakes, and mistakes them.

F. *Celsus then, as it happens, he says, is safe, and you need not lament over him any more.*

C. He is as faithfully preserved, by *Origen*, as perhaps the *Resurrection* considered is, by the Evidence of the *Resurrection* cleared. They that can absolutely depend on the Veracity of a Party, must have a great deal of partial Faith, and Faith of Assurance.

F. What Lamentation you may be allowed to make for *Porphyry*, I do not know; for only some dispersed Fragments of him are to be found in *Eusebius* and *Jerom*. However, this you ought to lament, that you have mixed *Porphyry* with *Celsus*, in *Origen*.

C. I do. I have owned the Fault, and shewn how it is to be corrected, and hope my Adversaries will learn to do the like, when they are convicted of Errors, to mend them, that Truth may be glorified; for I argue for Conviction, not for Conquest.

F. *So you must be content to follow the Steps of your great Leaders; Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, &c. to search the Gospel for Objections against the Gospel.*

C. I am content with that Liberty.

F. *Why this (the Clearer says) is another Hardship, and the Subject of another Complaint; for you said, Can it be expected, an equitable Issue should be obtained from*

what may be fairly reasoned out of their own Reports?

C. It is not to be expected, but it may be done, and I have fairly done it; perhaps contrary to the Expectation of all who read without Enquiry. The Reports betray the Facts reported.

F. But by that Expression, he suggests you had no Prospect of doing it; and therefore says, *If you had no better Hopes, why did you trouble yourself, and the World? Did you propose, because nothing could be fairly reasoned out of the Gospels, to reason something out of it unfairly. You have indeed done so, (he says) but did not, he supposes, mean to give Warning of it.*

C. This is unfairly said, and falsely insinuated. I saw plainly before I began, that the Penmen of those Books, seem to have had so little Direction from the holy infallible Spirit, that it seems rather to have left them to themselves, and to their own Confusion; or it has been basely corrupted and interpolated since, with forged Stories. I was obliged to impute the Errors in them to one of these, in my *Resurrection* considered; and I thought the last was the best, and would give the least Offence.

F. But what Objection have you to the Evidence in the *Trial*?

C. "Can that be esteemed a fair Trial, where, the Evidences are only on one Side of the Question?"

F. *Why not? Was ever full and clear Evidence rejected, because there was no Evidence to be produced against it? The Case will be always so, where the Truth is notorious.*

C. Right. But the Objection here lies, that the Evidence is not

not clear and full, and therefore the Truth is not notorious. Were it so, it would not admit of such a Field of Debate. If the Truth was notorious, Men could not find in the Gospel, Objections against the Gospel. To do this, Unbelievers think, there is no Occasion to reason any Thing *unfairly* out of it. The Witnesses that do not agree, destroy their own Evidence; and yet, the *Clearer* owns, (p. 33.) that *all depends upon the Credit of the Gospel History*; and therefore it is to be lamented, that any Thing should appear in it, which is justly questionable, and a proper Subject of Complaint; that the Credit of these Gospels were fixed by the Church, after the peculiar Marks of the Holy Spirit had left it, long after the Gift of discerning Spirits, and even of Truth itself was lost, by the perpetual Factions and Superstitions that prevailed in it; when common Sense was confounded by Faith, and Reason cast off as a dangerous Guide; after so many spurious Gospels arose, and were nourished by the contending Parties, that it required no less than a miraculous Power, or Spirit of Divination, to distinguish the Genuine from the Apocryphal; and the Fathers of the Church having abandoned masculine Sense, and sound Judgment, were become silly, hot-headed, and impertinent old Women. It is certain, they were always divided into Parties, and ever condemning one another for never being in the Right. How can pure and untainted Water be expected from such muddy Streams! Or the refulgent Rays

of divine Truth from such an impenetrable Cloud of Obscurity, and winding Maze of inextricable Perplexities as they were involved in! He that attempts to seek Truth, being governed by any Authority or Spirit but that of Reason, is lost in the endless Maze of Uncertainty and Confusion. Behold ye Sons of Men, Reason is the God incarnate! And he that has forsaken God, is forsaken of him. He that will not follow the Light of God's Wisdom, is justly left in the Darkness of his own Folly. He that racks his Reason to defend Errors, crucifies the Word of God between Thieves: And his Reward is to be tormented in the fiery Gulph of his boundless burning Passions; instead of treading the pure Plains of Æther with a masculine Soul, and upright Countenance.

F. Well, but wherein consists the Difficulty of your Task, in finding the Truth of the Case in Dispute?

C. "To find the Truth of a Case by the Testimony of partial Evidence combined against it, must be owned to be a difficult Task;" at least one might reasonably imagine it to be so, tho' in this Case it is not.

F. *But how do you know the Witnesses are partial?* * It is not a Thing to be taken for granted; and Proof you bring none. And is it not the Purpose and Drift of your whole Book, to shew them contradicting one another in almost every Instance? How then were they combined together?

C. When several Persons agree to assert a Fact, which even their

own

own Evidence disproves when compared and examined; it shews them both partial and combined.

F. Why did you not tell us what was their View in combining together? It cost them their Lives: You see what their Combination tended to.

C. How many Millions in all Ages run the Hazard of losing their Lives, that they may live well while they do live. But I Question much, if the Apostles died miserably and violently, as 'tis pretended. I doubt much of the Truth of partial History, and all ecclesiastic History, written by Ecclesiastics on that Side, is such.

*F. Another Question you have chosen to debate, is about the Nature of Christ's Kingdom. Many Passages are produced from the Trial, all speaking to this Effect: That Jesus did not pretend to a spiritual Kingdom, &c. * Among these Quotations, some are taken from the Mouth of the Pleader against the Resurrection, and ascribed to the Author of the Trial.*

C. Be it so; if all the Quotations are to this Effect, where is the Damage to the Author or Argument?

F. But this happens so frequently, that it would be endless to take Notice of it as often as it happens, the Clearer says.

C. His Complaints are so false, or so little to the Purpose, that they are not worth my while to regard, but to undeceive those whom his Complaints may deceive.

F. Does the Considerer, cries he, enter into the Argument as it stands in the Trial? No. But he takes the Passages independently of the Argument, of which they are a

Part; and thinks that, taken by themselves, they are not true. Be it so; what then does it signify to the Fact of the Resurrection which he was to disprove? Why all this Parade of many Quotations from the Trial, since they do not relate to the Point in Dispute? Some good Friend, I suppose, had asked the Considerer these Questions, which he could not answer; and though he was unwilling to part with so many Quotations at once, yet to prevent the same Questions being asked him again, he has, in his new Edition, p. 8. confessed, that he this, (i. e. the ancient Prophecies of this Kingdom) mystically or conditionally true, it concerns not the Resurrection.

C. The same is confessed in the first Edition, p. 17. though the Clearer could not clearly see it, which one would have thought so clear-sighted a Man might have done; but then he could not have seen an Occasion for Complaint and this Insinuation, and therefore 'tis to be feared he would not see it.

F. You think it is not true that Christ declined temporal Power †, and go on to produce Prophecies, that God would give him the Throne of his Father David, and say, that he was called King of Israel, King of the Jews, and rebuked not those who gave him the Title. And why should he rebuke them, since he claimed that Title, and never denied that he was King of the Jews?

C. Very good. And therefore Jesus told his twelve Disciples, that when he enjoyed the Glory of sitting on his Throne, he would make them twelve Judges, give them great Possessions, reward them an hundred Fold in this

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World

World, and everlasting Life should be thrown to them into the Bargain. *Matth. xix. 28, 29.* What did Jesus mean by this? Can it be proved to have any Meaning foreign to the literal Sense?

F. But that is to be when Christ comes again in Glory. Judges are of no use till the Court of Judgment opens. This is to be at Doomsday.

C. I dare say the Apostles did not expect to wait so long before they were to be put in Commis-sion. I do not doubt but they will be so when their Master comes again; then is to be the Kingdom of the Messiah, which they called the Kingdom of Heaven or of God: To keep up their Expectation of it, they were ordered to pray for its coming, and to preach that it was then at Hand. Christians have hitherto prayed, *Thy Kingdom come*, above seven-teen hundred Years in vain. Our Lord God Christ is as one that hears us not, and as one that has forgotten to return. But the Disciples had Reason to expect it before they died, if we may believe what we read: Or what mean these Words of Christ to them? *Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here who shall not taste of Death, till they see the Kingdom of God come with Power*, *Mat. xvi. 28.*

F. It means a spiritual Kingdom to be sure; for Christ never had a Temporal.

C. Nor a Spiritual over the Nation of the Jews; therefore he was King of the Jews in no Sense; and so means neither.

F. The Preaching of the Word, or the Gospel, was the Kingdom of God, *Rom. x. 1.*

C. Then it was a Kingdom in Word only.

F. But the Faith that was promulgated by the Gospel, was the Kingdom of God, *Rom. x. 8.*

C. Then this is the Kingdom of Faith only.

F. The Word of Faith signifies Power, by which Devils were cast out of many whom they had bodily possessed, and so the Kingdom of God was come unto them, *Matth. xii. 28.*

C. Yet we see nothing of this Kingdom; it is not come unto us, for either the Word of our Gospel, or our Gospel Faith, is not able to cast out Devils; for we see no such Things done, or otherwise there are no such to cast out, nor do we know whether there ever were such Devils in the World.

F. The Faith of the Gospel casts out Sins, which are Devils of a worse Kind: How many has *Whitefield* converted, known to have been notorious Sinners before their Conversion, but now are sanctified!

C. And yet who have in common been more wicked than Believers? What People pretending to Godliness have been more ungodly? How are the Methodists better than others now? Some of them are by their Conversion made less openly profane, and are more zealously religious, and precise in Ceremonies, but as ignorant as ever, and more rigidly censorious; their Malice against those that are Unbelievers in their Way, increases with their Zeal: They can, with a Christian Conscience, hate their Friends and Relations for Christ's Sake, while they pretend to love their Enemies,

mies; for they can hate whom they suppose to be Christ's Enemies, can burn and be burnt for Faith, and despise moral Virtue in others. Thus Conversion is nothing but Conceitedness, Enthusiasm and Superstition, a going from one vicious Extreme to another, from being public-spirited Sinners, to be recluse and worthless Bigots, from being openly profane, and sinning without Fear or Wit, to harbour more inward Sins, Censoriousness, holy Scandal, or sanctified Malice; prodigally wasting their Substance, Time and Labour, necessary for the Support of themselves and their Families; thus bringing them to Beggary for Christ's Sake, to the Scandal and Reproach of their Profession, and Injury to themselves and Society. A religious Running from Place to Place, to hear Preaching and Praying, with a Dependence on Providence to make up the Defects of their Negligence, is but pious Laziness; their Heads are made giddy with Lies, and amused with Nonsense. Lo, these are the Fruits of this Christian Conversion! These are the Productions of the New Birth!

F. But there are some good People amongst them.

C. Yes, there are, no doubt; and these might have been as good as they now are, had they belonged to any other Society. The Head being converted to Opinions, makes not the Heart better, unless to those Opinions that teach the Government of the Heart, the Passions, and the right Conduct of Life, which is to enjoy it with Prudence; to make, and be made wiser and better, in reality not enthusiastically; a phi-

losophical Conversion to use and follow Reason, not to a spiritual Lullaby, and a Faith without Foundation, which rouses and excites the Fancy; but rocks the Understanding into a Lethargy. But go on; What says the Clearer?

F. That you seem not to know, that there never was a Question between Jews and Christians, Whether Jesus was, or pretended to be a temporal Prince?

C. I suppose it will not admit of a Question.

F. The Clearer says, Both Sides agree that he neither was, nor pretended to be.

C. Why then did the Jews, in Opposition to him, cry out, *We have no King but CÆSAR*? And why was the Accusation on his Cross written, *THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS*? Was he put to Death for being, or pretending to be a spiritual Prince of another World? Did the Prophecies relate to that?

F. Had not the Prophets declared him to be a great Prince, there would have been no Dispute whether he was to be a spiritual or a temporal Prince. Quoting therefore the Prophecies, will not determine the Question; for the Doubt is not whether there are such Prophecies or no? But what is the Meaning of them?

C. Prophecies with an unknown Meaning, are Prophecies without a Meaning, and therefore no Prophecies. A miraculous Spirit has doubtless a miraculous Meaning; therefore I can never believe any Man knows what the Prophecies mean, till I know he has the same Spirit by working Miracles: For if the Meaning is not known by the Words, they are fallacious; and I would fain know by what

Rule we may know their Meaning, or that they mean any Thing.

F. You insinuated, that Jesus confessed to Pilate, that his Kingdom was not of this World*, for political Ends, as if the Time and Place then required such Confession. There is one to whom you must answer it.

C. Judge nothing before the Time till the Lord come, 1 Cor. iv. 5.

F. In the mean time, how will you answer to reasonable Enquirers the Disingenuity of concealing, that Jesus, so far from denying himself to be the King of the Jews, confessed it before Pilate?

C. I ask if it be not disingenuous to say, *Thou sayest*, is a Confession; which I think implies, Do I say so? This Charge is of thyself, or others, John xviii. 34. Instead of this being a Confession, it seems to me to be tantamount to a Denial.

F. The Clearer demands with what Conscience you ask, How it appears by any Thing recorded, that Jesus explained away the kingly Office of the Messiah? Explain it away; No, he insisted on it to the last.

C. With what Conscience does the Clearer thus equivocate? No, I find Jesus did not explain it away; he left that for his Followers to do; and yet they insist on it that it is not done! Well, they have the Knack of Wonder-working yet!

F. If you mean to ask, whether ever Jesus explained away the temporal Kingdom, it is manifest from every Part, and every Circumstance of his Life, that he never claimed it.

C. Because his Hour was not yet come.

F. If you mean to ask, whether

ever Jesus explained the Nature of the Kingdom of the Messiah; what more is wanting than his Confession to Pilate, that he was the King of the Jews, and that his Kingdom was not of this World.

C. Such a Confession as the Clearer asserts, that Jesus confessed before Pilate, that he was King of the Jews, is wanting to prove the Truth of the former Part of his Assertion; and Christ's explaining the Nature of his Kingdom to his Disciples, is wanting to prove the latter Part of the Clearer's Assertion. When Christ told Pilate where his Kingdom was not, I suppose Pilate knew not where it was. Perhaps this Kingdom might have been more intelligible to Caiaphas the High Priest, a Spiritual Ruler: But to him he talked otherwise, *Hereafter you shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven*; (Matt. xxvi. 64.) except that Sight was not to be in this World. But if Jesus was King of the Jews, and his Kingdom was not of this World, then he was King of the Jews in another World; and so the Jews in this World sent him out of it, that he might take Possession of his Kingdom. But if Christ disclaimed all temporal Power, why was the Government alarmed, and Jesus looked on as a Person dangerous to the State? "If he explained away the temporal Majesty of the Messiah, Jesus was the best Friend among the Jews the Roman Government had, to preserve the People from enthusiastic Seditions. If this be true, it was the worst Policy in the World for the Romans to put him to Death," said I.

F. Who

F. Who told you the Roman Government was alarmed? queries the Clearer *.

C. I said the Government was alarmed, and the Exangelists say as much; but why does he say Roman Government?

F. The Clearer affirms you said so, and that you pretend to have it from the Trial; but according to Custom, you have taken the Objector's Words for the Words of the Author.

C. According to his Custom, he has again broke the Ninth Commandment, which says, *Thou shalt not bear false Witness*. I did not mention Roman Government, tho' he has charged me with it. He grants that the Jewish Government indeed was. And if my Words are true, that the Government was alarmed, what Matter whether I had them from the Objector to, or Author of the Trial? That Author does not look upon it scandalous to be charged with speaking Truth. Whether these Words were the Objector's or the Author's, 'tis what one says, the other grants, and the Evangelists shew. May I not complain of this Clearer in the Words of *Abab* concerning *Benhadad*, (1 Kings xx. 7.) *Mark I pray you, and see how this Man seeth Mischiefs*. 'Tis marvellous else how the Clearer could read, could transcribe these Words into his Book, and not feel that the Word *Roman* was not added to Government, till he added it. Is this Man a fair Antagonist, who makes what is no Crime a Matter of Accusation; and to make his Scandal stick, charges me with what I am not guilty?

Can such a Man have Truth or Honesty at Heart?

F. What you have in View, the Clearer says, in this confused Discourse about Christ's Kingdom †, he cannot guess.

C. Then let him not pretend to it.

F. Nay, but you are to understand by that he can guess.

C. You are fit, I find, to interpret sacred Writings. Well, what does he guess?

F. That you seem to think, Jesus understood the Prophecies to relate to a temporal Kingdom, and in Consequence claimed it, and did not renounce a Kingdom of this World till driven to it by Despair and Necessity. But where, he asks, did you learn this Secret? Not from the Gospel-History, nor yet from any Enemies of the Gospel, whether Jews or Heathens; who never have charged Jesus with setting up for temporal Power.

C. I must confess I do not know that. It was alledged at his Trial, that he aimed at being King of the Jews, as the Title of his Accusation on the Cross shews. A spiritual King is a Subterfuge of Necessity.

F. One would imagine it impossible, says he, for any one who had read the four Gospels, or any one of them, to entertain this Conceit. Look into the Gospel; every Page will afford a Proof, that Jesus, though he claimed to be the King of the Jews foretold in the ancient Prophets, yet he disclaimed all temporal Power and Greatness.

C. How is Jesus in this Sense King of the Jews? For they dis-

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own him to this Day : He is the King of the Gentiles rather.

F. The Gentiles that believe in him are Jews in the Spirit : *He is not a Jew who is one outwardly* ; and Christ is a King not in his Flesh but in the Spirit.

C. So then the King and Kingdom in the Spirit mean nothing less than what they express in the Letter. Methinks these spiritual Believers seem to have forsaken Jesus Christ, and lost Sight of him ; and have taken up with a Spirit in his Room.

F. Does not St. Paul say, *Henceforth know we no Man after the Flesh ; yea though we have known Christ after the Flesh, yet henceforth know we him so no more ?*

C. And yet the same Apostle said, He desired to *know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified* ; and as he himself says, he was put to Death or crucified in the *Flesh*. And the same Apostle desired to *know the Love of Christ which passeth Knowledge*. How is that ?

F. It passeth the Knowledge of those that do not believe in him. All Absurdities to carnal Men, are reconciled to the spiritual Man ; for *he knows all Things*.

C. Or pretends to it, if he be never so ignorant. The spiritual Sense is the Art of holy Wire-drawing, to put any Sense on any Subject. O how precious a History could I write of *Jack the Giant Killer spiritualized* ! Carnal Minds indeed, and Infidels, might laugh at it ; but they might read it for their Diversion, and the Spiritual for their Edification. How gravely might it go down with these, if they should take it

into their Heads that it was wrote by an inspired Author ! How angry would they be to hear so serious a Thing ridiculed ! For as Mr. Chandler has proved in his *Prime Ministry of Joseph*, that any Thing means *every* Thing in the Hebrew, it does the same in the Language of Canaan or the Spirit. Well, what Proofs does the *Clearer* produce, that Jesus disclaimed all temporal Power and Greatness ? What Reasons has he, that Jesus should not be externally and literally a *King*, as well as *Priest* and *Prophet* ? Had he suffered only in Spirit, and triumphed over the earthly Majesties of the World, it had been a more noble Character than this mock Majesty. Produce the *Clearer's* mighty Arguments, and let them be examined.

F. When one of the Scribes offered to become his Disciple, what Encouragement did he find ? Possibly this Scribe might conceive Hopes of having a Share in the temporal Kingdom, which he and his Countrymen expected. But our Lord undeceives him, and tells him, *the Foxes have Holes, and the Birds of the Air have Nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his Head*, Matth. viii. 20.

C. It might be so at that Time. I am mistaken if the *Clearer* would have been his Disciple in the same Case. Whatever his Circumstances then were, the Successors of his Disciples have feathered their Nests finely since.

F. * When our Lord sent out his twelve Disciples, he orders them expressly to preach, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand. In order to establish this Kingdom, what Power does he give them ? Were they

they to *issue out Proclamations, notifying that the victorious Prince was come, and calling upon all his Subjects to arm, and attend him? Nothing less.*

C. Any Pretender might have done thus; therefore had he done so, it had been no Proof that his Pretensions were just.

F. *He gives them Power against unclean Spirits, to heal all Diseases.*

C. Had he given them Power against the unclean Spirit of Tyranny in Church and State, a most pernicious Disease which has infected both, but especially his own Kingdom the Christian Church, he had shewn himself a public-spirited Being. Had this been the Throne of his Glory, it would have been a glorious Throne: He had then fulfilled the Prophecy, that *Men should beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and their Spears into Pruning-Hooks. Nation should not have lift up Sword against Nation, neither should they have learned War any more.*

F. *As to the Condition of the Disciples in this World, he tells them they should be brought before Governors for his Sake, and be hated of all Men; and advises them, for their Safety, when persecuted in one City, to flee into another. Are these Proofs of his claiming temporal Power?*

C. No; nor of his having any Power at all to defend himself or his Servants. But this may have been to fulfil a Prophecy in *Joel* iii. 9, 10. *Prepare War among the Gentiles, beat your Plow-shares into Swords, and your Pruning-Hooks into Spears.* Since Persecution has ever attended his coming to this Day. Though our Lord cast out so many Devils, this Devil hath

never been cast out of the Church by Church-Power; for that establishes it. Has our blessed Lord, blessed the World with a Religion that has always been attended with Fire and Sword? Did he know the evil Consequences that would attend it, and yet never prevented it? Did he know the Power of Satan? And could he vanquish Legions of Devils at a Word of Command? And was it *for this Purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the Works of the Devil?* *Heb. iii. 14.* Why then did he go away without doing it? Why did he leave this World to be a Hell, and the Kingdom of the Devil; himself and his Servants, Fugitives and Victims to his Power, when he had Power to prevent it? And since he sent his Ministers to proclaim, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand, is nigh unto you, even at the Doors,* why did he not redeem this World from the Devil's Power, and make it a Colony of the Kingdom of Heaven? If Jesus never claimed any temporal Power, his Followers have done it, and practised it with a Witness. If their own Story be true, they began it early. Why were *Ananias* and *Sapphira* killed for not giving them all their Money? Shooting Men to Death with Powder, which makes no Noise, is as much Murder as shooting them with that which makes a Report. A secret Way of killing Men without Law, is as criminal as by public Violence. If the Kingdom of Christ be no temporal Kingdom, then that Church which claims temporal Power is not his Church; and then these of that Church, who under a Cloke of Godliness

Godliness erect the pretended Kingdom of Christ on temporal Power, are no Subjects of that Kingdom.

F. The Clearer goes on, *In like manner, and with like Commission, he sent out the Seventy Disciples; they return with Joy, and relate to him their Success, Lord, even the Devils are subject to us through thy Name. You see it was the Kingdom of Satan he came to destroy, and not the Kingdom of Cæsar.*

C. And yet Satan's Kingdom, as I have observed, is not destroyed: And we are told of no particular Feats done by the Disciples while their Master was alive. O that he had destroyed all spiritual Wickedness in high Places!

F. The Clearer goes on: *The Apostles were under the same Mistake with the rest of their Countrymen; and expected a temporal Kingdom; and the Sons of Zebedee were early Solicitors to be first Ministers. Our Lord corrects their Error.*

C. Their Pride, he should have said; their Error remained; for he did not undeceive them, nor correct their Mistake of the Expectation of the temporal Kingdom of the Messiah.

F. He tells them his Kingdom was a different Thing from the Kingdoms of this World. Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles, exercise Lordship over them.—But so it shall not be among you; but whosoever would be great among you, shall be your Minister, *Mark x. 42, 43.*

C. He tells them too, that those Places which they required, were not his to give, that the other Disciples might not envy their Grandeur, as through Jealousy they did; tho' at another Time he said, *All Things are committed*

to me of my Father; and elsewhere, All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. And when the Disciples say unto him, We have forsaken all and followed thee; what shall we have therefore? Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the Throne of his Glory, ye shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken Houses or Brethren, or Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, for my Sake, shall receive an hundred Fold, and shall inherit everlasting Life, Matth. xix. 27, 28, 29. He shall receive an hundred Fold now in this Time, Houses and Brethren, and Sisters and Mothers, and Children and Lands, with Persecutions (before these Enjoyments) and in the World to come Life everlasting, Mark x. 30. He shall receive manifold more in this present Time, says St, Luke xviii. 30. and in the World to come Life everlasting. So that you see the Disciples were promised some present Comforts. His later Ministers have found these present Promises made good to them, who have never left any Thing for his Sake; how the future will be to them, or how it has been made up in the other World to those that have left their all, and hated their own Lives for Christ's Sake in this World, is all behind the Curtain; and dead Men tell no Tales. They that are blessed with the present Benefits, are sure of something. Some through Faith depending on the Promises of Rewards of an invisible Inheritance, have sacrificed their Lives to give his Ministers Livings. ALL are to be Kings and

and Priests in those *Regna Incognita*, without either Subjects or Laymen; therefore hopeful Kingdoms and Livings! This is the Kingdom and Priesthood of Faith.

F. The Clearer insinuates, that the Jews put Jesus to the Proof concerning the Tribute-Money, whether he would declare for or against the *Roman* Supremacy or his own.

C. True; and what did his Answer shew more, than that he wisely evaded both.

F. The Inference the Clearer draws from it is, That the Kingdom of God by the Messiah was to submit to the Kingdom of *Cæsar*; and therefore not a temporal Kingdom.

C. 'Tis true that this spiritual Interpolation has been often injurious to the Kingdom of *Cæsar*. How much happier is *China*, where the Kingdom is not divided between the Flesh and the Spirit; where they have in the Government no King but *Cæsar*!

F. There is one Passage more which the Clearer refers to, that our Lord in a Parable shewed the Rulers of the Jews, Mat. xxi. 43. *That for their wicked and obstinate Behaviour the Kingdom they expected should be taken from THEM.*

C. This respected that Nation or People only, but did not set aside the Messiah's expected Kingdom; for when it was taken from them, it was to be given to a Nation or People bringing forth the Fruits thereof.

F. Nay, but 'tis said in the Trial, that Jesus fell into Disgrace with his Countrymen, and suffered for opposing their Notions of a victorious Messiah.

C. "I believe it cannot be

" proved that Jesus suffered for this Cause "

F. *Very concise*, says the Clearer: *But what Conceit must you have of your own Opinion, if you think it ought to pass without Proof for a sufficient Answer to such Evidence.*

C. Where is the Evidence? By what is it proved? Sure the Clearer must have a great Conceit of his own Opinion, if he means to pass that for Evidence. What Prevarication is here, in order to avoid the Proof called for by me; that I doubt of it, will scarce be doubted; therefore this needs no Proof on my Side: Nor will any one imagine I offered it, as he insinuates, for a Proof of the Negative, which was a Call for a Proof of the Affirmative. If the Assertions of those that say Jesus suffered for the Cause of opposing the Jew's Notions of a victorious Messiah, are the only Proof, I say it cannot be proved; and then my Belief that it cannot be proved, is a sufficient Answer to such Evidence.

F. *You observed before that the Conquest the Trial seems to have over Mr. Woolston, was occasioned by his granting too much, and are determined to avoid this Fault, and to grant nothing*.*

C. If I grant what appears to me unreasonable, I give up my Reason and the Argument, and am left defenceless; for Reason is my only Guide and Guard.

F. Not your only Guard. Gratefully consider the Lenity and Indulgence of his present Majesty's Government, by which you enjoy this happy Liberty, without which the strongest Reasons in the World could not defend you: A Liberty unknown to Ages past; a Free-

a Freedom to all Lovers and Advocates of Truth, from that Yoke of Persecution for Religion, *which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear.*

C. Therefore our King is the *Defender of Truth*; but other Kings have been the *Defenders of Faith*, whether it was Truth or no: For this Reason I glory that I live in these Days, under so benign a Prince and Government, by whom I enjoy this religious Liberty, this divine Favour.

F. Your Adversary pities you for thus abusing the King.

C. But how much more is he to be pitied who calls it so. This injurious Accusation offends me more than any Thing he has wrote; because it favours of a malevolent Disposition, and an Inquisition-Spirit. Does he abuse the King who speaks in his Praise without Falsity or Flattery? Or he who calls that just Praise, Abuse? Is he guilty of Abuse, who is free from it even in Thought and Intention? Or he who racks his Wit unjustly to accuse the Innocent? And as for Pity, these are to be pitied, who attempt, or are obliged to defend what is indefensible; whose Judgments and Consciences, if they have both, are divided by Spirituals and Temporals, to serve God and Mammon. Let them be pitied who think contrary to common Sense, and act contrary to common Honesty. Pity him that is in the House of Bondage, not him that is sensible he is delivered out of it, and thankful for his Deliverance. This is Loyalty, reasonable Gratitude, and moral Duty. To enjoy common Liberty, and not to be sensible of it, is to want common Sense; to feel the Benefit, and not be thankful for it, nor

own it, is Ingratitude. I hope I have expressed nothing that may justly be esteemed an Abuse of this Freedom. The Indulgence of a virtuous Liberty in espousing the Cause of useful Truth, is the Harmony of Society, the Blessing enjoyed under a good Government, which renders a People happy, which calls for the most vigorous Contest of those who want it, and the most thankful Acknowledgment of those who have it. It is the peculiar Glory of his present Majesty's Reign, that Persecution hides its Head, and that religious Liberty is enjoyed by all his Subjects, and therefore he justly deserves their Loyalty.

F. Mr. *Whiston* has lately entered into this Debate concerning the *Resurrection*; and here is come out Mr. *Jackson's* Discourse on the Subject of *Prophecies*, and *Miracles*, in his *Addrefs to the Deists*.

C. It would greatly please me to pay my Respects to this worthy Author Mr. *Jackson*, on that Account; for all others have wretchedly mangled my Arguments on *Miracles*, or slubbered them over; but we must defer these Things, and the rest of what the *Clagver* and others have said on this Subject, to another Opportunity, if ever we shall be so happy as to enjoy it. And for what Mr. *Whiston* has favoured us with, or may further do, I wish him Success in his fresh Attempt to oblige the World, by settling the Faith. But it is now Time to take Refreshment and Repose. Another Evening it will be a Pleasure to me to renew our Conversation.

F. And I shall long for that Opportunity, which will afford me an equal Satisfaction.

THE

THE
S E Q U E L
OF THE
R E S U R R E C T I O N
O F
J E S U S
C O N S I D E R E D :

In Answer to the

S E Q U E L
O F T H E
T r i a l o f t h e W I T N E S S E S .

Revised by the Author of, The Resurrection Considered.

Si hoc fieri potuisse dicis, doceas oportet, quomodo, nec fabellas aniles proferas.
CICERO de Natura Deorum.


If Christ be not risen, then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is also vain.
1 Cor. xv. 14.

L O N D O N :

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THE
S E Q U E L
OF THE
R E S U R R E C T I O N
OF
J E S U S C O N S I D E R E D, &c.

 S. the RESURRECTION OF JESUS CONSIDERED is an irrefutable Answer to the TRIAL OF THE WITNESSES OF THE RESURRECTION; so THE SEQUEL OF THE TRIAL OF THE WITNESSES, being the very same as THE RESURRECTION CLEAR-ED, only a new Title Page: THE RESURRECTION RE-CONSIDERED is the very same Answer to it that it was before, and as unanswerable as ever; and will continue to be so till the GENERAL RESURRECTION. However, to corroborate this Answer, I here produce so much, as perhaps may safely appear, from THE RESURRECTION DEMONSTRATED TO HAVE NO PROOF: Written by the only Advocate that dared to come forth on my Side, and dared too much; therefore was obliged to drop into Obscurity. Who that Gentleman of Wit and Learning was, I

never could find out. The Work had two Faults, which I must suppress. It contained Expressions, 1st, Too bold: 2^{dly}, Too much in my Favour. *Necessity* and *Modesty* will therefore plead for me, in giving my Readers only that Part of it which follows.

HOW do those, that have long been kept in Darkness, fear the Day; what Pain it gives them, when it beams upon them. A Bat driven from its Shed, does not know where to go, and aches, till it finds another obscure Hole to hide its Weakness and Deformity; but Eagle-eyes are born to look upwards, and bear, and welcome the direct Rays of the Sun of Reason.

I must take the CLEARER to Task, for calling the Resurrection a *serious* Argument; for 'tis not serious, if not true, of however
great

great Seriousness it would be, if it was true: To prove by Example; if a Man was to tell me I was to be made Emperor of *Peru* and *Mexico*, upon my going to the *Indies*; to be Emperor of *Peru* and *Mexico*, would be prodigious great Fortune to me; but the Nonsense and Ridiculousness of the Promise would be so palpable and apparent, that I should treat it with the utmost Contempt and Laughter, and should not go, whatever he could say; but even more might that Improbability in the Nature of Things arrive, than a Resurrection, that is out of the Nature of Things; whatever *Utopian* Importance and political Use it may be of: Therefore, his serious Argument is a pitiful begging the Question.

He commends the CONSIDERER of the Resurrection for two very certain true Assertions, in which he does him a Piece of Justice; which is to be noted, for 'tis the only one. In my Opinion, says the Philosopher, great Judgment and great Faith are such Contradictions, that they never meet, so as to unite in one Person.—No; when did they ever unite? In the CLEARER they don't, I am sure.

The CONSIDERER's other Assertion is this: Every real Miracle is an Absurdity to common Sense and Understanding, and contrary to the Attributes of God. Well; and is it not so? Does God convince Men from the Topics of Reason, or play with their Senses? For, *quod extra rationem est, non cum ratione est*; a Maxim

the CLEARER ought to be acquainted with. But why, the CONSIDERER is unqualified for examining, whether a Miracle is real, or no, because a real Miracle does not arise from the Attributes of God; only this clear-sighted Mortal can see.

Did the CONSIDERER call the Faith, which the Gospel proposes, in Christ Jesus, a divine Hag, with her pious Witchcrafts? He was a naughty Man. But do not you perceive, Mr. CLEARER, with all this holding to the Passions, when you have nothing else to hold to, that you are persuading People to believe, as having an Interest to believe; and are begging the Question in calling it the Faith of the Gospel? And you pity him for it; — canting Hypocrisy *!

The Author of the Trial's Question, how the Story of the Resurrection came first to gain Credit in the World, may be easily answered, *sc.* By the Earnestness of the Maintainers. Were half a Dozen Men, says *Fontenelle*, to affirm, so as to seem strongly persuaded, that the Sun does not make the Day, I do not doubt, they would procure Converts to their Opinion. But to a wonderful Tale, especially, Men give an easy Ear; *prodigiis mulcetur hominum genus*. Men believe Stories calculated for Manhood; and the Boy is hung upon his Nurse's Tongue, when she relates with the Circumstances of anile Horror, how a Ghost was seen to walk over the Church-yard: He devours the Words out of her Mouth, nay in

* He pities him, and at the same Time endeavours to move the civil Power against him.

in her Mouth, and feels a Fear not barren of Delight. But, what if there is an Interest wove into it; as, you shall be this, and you shall be that, if you believe; look ye, without knowing why, nor wherefore; for happy are those who believe, and do not see. When all this is laid together, with the cunning Addition of, this is all you have to do! if you do rise again, you are to stand upon this Ground, and, if you do not, *Cave verearis, ne mortui illi philosophi tibi irrideant*: When these Influences are united, whatever of Nature would stand out, is pressed into the Service, and we are willing Dupes, and give up our Hands to every Absurdity. Then there is the Charm of Novelty; a Beauty, that strikes the first Sight, as Custom wins upon you, by long Conversation. Both of them operate strongly: And upon whom did the former operate? Was it not upon the stupid, childish Nation of the Jews, that was always flinging away its Rattles, after it had used them a Day; that To-day would have a Calf, and To-morrow Jehovah; whose Successor was a Calf again. Was it a Wonder any Thing struck these People, that was carried on with any slight Appearance? And all of them it did not strike, as we see very plainly; hardly any but *Babes**. And no Man upon Earth can be so absurd, as to imagine, they had Testimony of his being the Son of God, believed him so to be, and opposed him, or endeavoured it; or could think it

significant. What if a Man was to form a Judgment of this knowing Age, from *Whitefield's* Mob, and the Credit he gains among us; many Peltings that righteous Person has flood from Husbands, furious for the Elopement of their Wives, but never has been knocked down; O, the rare Hand of Providence! Was any Man, I say, to weigh us all in the Scale of *Whitefield's* Mob, we should complain heavily of the Usage, and say much the same Things, which the *Pharisees*, were they in Being, would say: But if a Miracle-monger was to set up, I wonder how he would stand the Shrift of these Days. There are Reasons enough for the Story of the Resurrection's being credited *then*; but what can be a Reason for its being believed by an Age that would then have seen through it, and only have it upon Trust from the Parties themselves, who make their own Story good, or it is strange; who even do not that, and were the Scum of a Nation, that was the Contempt and Blot of the whole Earth. But pleasing Wonderfulness, Uncommonness, might win Applause to it, from a gaping and ignorant Mob: Novelty made it take with some; Example insinuated it into others; and since, Custom has fastened it upon those that believe it, and do not reason upon it. And is it not strange, that an Incident, which was to be the Foundation of a Faith, that was to prevail with Jew and Gentile, should be so *buddled* over, as to convince
neither

* In Understanding, for Jesus himself owned, that the *Wise* and *Prudent* saw not the Gospel Light; and piously thanked God for it. *Luke* x. 21.

neither Jew nor Gentile? I mean the Majority.

The Christian Religion leaves both Jews and Gentiles in the Dark, and being of a restless Nature, that it must be in Motion, and not able to go forwards, it even contents itself, and goes backwards: It always was of this pacific Disposition *without a Sword*, and its Revilers may say what they will; but when it has no Power, it is guilty of as few Acts of Violence, as any RELIGION, I would have them to know, upon the Face of the Earth. *Nefarii homines hæc audiant.* Mahometanism has gained Ground of the Christian Religion considerably; and how finely this *Light lightens* the World, which not a hundredth Part of the World sees, and ten to one of those, who do see, refute, ridicule, and laugh at; if it is a Light, it is the Dark-lantern Light of the Quakers; which is all within itself, or communicated to a little Circle of Whiners and Mumpers only. And whatever *Virtues* it has besides, it has a most *damning Virtue*, I am sure, if all are to be cursed, that do not believe it. Is it useless to Mankind; and why the unnecessary Pains of bringing it down? Useful; and why is it not better implanted? If the Religion came from God, would he not take Care to establish it, but leave it at the Will of the Lords of the Earth to fondle or destroy it, by many unacknowledged, by more unknown? Won't you say, that at this Rate, Christ might as well have laid quiet in his Grave, and given his Wounds Time to *heal*.

There is another Assertion, which why the CONSIDERER omits, or

the CLEARER insults upon, I cannot see: Believing Truth, the CONSIDERER had said, 'for Company's Sake, is no more meritorious than believing Error. And 'tis Self-evident it is not. The Merit lies solely in the Motive; in the rational Conviction; but he, that believes a Thing is so, because other People believe it to be so, has been no more rationally convinced, than he that believes the Contrary for the same No-reason; therefore the Merit is absolutely equal, or rather none at all on either Side. He, that believes the Sun moves round the Earth, with that Ignorant of Nature, *Moses*; and he, that believes the Earth moves round the Sun, with that Unfolder of Nature, *Newton*, only because *Moses* or *Newton* believes so, are just upon the same Footing; forasmuch as neither have used the Method of Demonstration necessary to bring to a Conclusion; Reason does not undeceive the one, nor confirm the other; the one does not believe against Conviction, nor the other with Conviction: In short, they neither of them know any Thing of the Matter, and their Merits are quite the same. That the Merits consist in the Motive of the Action, and not in the Action, is so commonly known, and said, that one would have thought it might have reached even the CLEARER's Ears; and what he means by trifling so himself, or making other People trifle so, I cannot tell.

And now am I ashamed of his poor, boyish Dealing, and catching, like a sinking Man, to every Twig: The CONSIDERER says, 'tis argued, the Apostles were sincere

tere, therefore what they reported was true. But he does not, as the CLEARER owns, charge the Author of the Trial with arguing so: And therefore, what does it signify? To be sure, one Quality is not predicable of another Quality; a Man's Sincerity, which is one, makes no Implication of his Understanding, which is another: That the one is clear, does not at all induce that the other is not imposed upon.

'Tis silly to argue, that if Miracles are preserved, (in Memorials) would not repeating them in succeeding Ages be unnecessary? For Miracles cannot be preserved; they are like a Glass of Spirits, thrown upon Fire; which gives a Flash then, but lost for ever after. He that is told of Miracles, knows, nor sees nothing of them; but is drove, at best, to believe a Reporter; who might be blinded by Interest, if he was not depraved by Roguery; and Men have, or make themselves an Interest in continuing in an absurd Party, they have chosen, and die, frequently, rather than renounce it; as *Indians*, and People of all Religions have done. And one dying for Fame-sake, which carries beyond the Grave its enchanting Influence, (and made *Curtius* ride into the Chasm to be praised, though to live no more,) piques others to follow him: Shall we, say they, suffer less courageously than he has done, and shew ourselves dastard Temporizers? They die too: And we have Plenty of Martyrs, if that is to prove the Thing is true; which does not even prove, they believe it to be so; for Men may die for a Lie, rather than own it. It is with

Difficulty we prevail upon ourselves to acknowledge a Shame, we are conscious of. Dying proves nothing, but that a Man is sincere, and a Fool; or otherwise moved, and a Rogue. Even a *little Hope, a little Praise* may catch some Minds, and be a Motive sufficient. I repeat, that a Man, who believes a Report of a Miracle, believes a Man, and not a Miracle; which he has not seen: And if it signified a Farthing who had it, why should not this Age have the same Evidence as another; as it has just the same Interest to be saved, and Souls every whit as precious?

The Instance the CLEARER brings afterwards of Mis-Quotation of the Trial, is very inconsiderable; since, if the Passage quoted is not the Author of the Trial's Sentiment, nor started by him, it is plain, he admits it. I refer to the Book: It is impossible to have Leisure to be minute with so trifling a Writer. But what does he mean by saying, Believers are not to wait for the Evidence of Prophecy, 'till *Infidels* will see it. What are they? What are *Believers*? They must have more *Folly*: I am sure, they have not more *Interest* than *Infidels*, to believe, and find, all is true; and I do not imagine there is an Unbeliever in the Land that would not give all he has, and die without Hesitation, to re-animate, and enter upon a Heaven: But what signifies that? That won't make him swallow down all the wild Lies of Biographers, and give Credit to unsupported Improbabilities. He is too wise to let his Passions flatter him, and a senseless Chimera of Inter-

est deceive him. He opposes *Reason* to a *Delusion*, gilded with Interest; and *ETERNAL TRUTH* to the *variable Doctrines of Religion*.

As to what the CONSIDERER has urged, and mis-quoted about Prophecy, the CLEARER sees, and acknowledges, it is not material to the Question; and all, that can be said upon it, is, that the CONSIDERER has exposed himself more than he need to have done, and gone out of the irrefutable Strength of his Argument.

The Fear, that acted the High-Priests, was the most rational Fear in the World; and I know not of any Thing preposterous, but the Author of the Trial's Inference, that therefore they were convinced of the Truth of the Miracles. That a *Deceiver* should work real Miracles, they were not afraid; (for so they esteemed him) that would have been non-sensical, preposterous, and all you can say of it; and a real Resurrection, if they were afraid of, they could not prevent. What did they apprehend then? And what could they prevent? A *shammed* one. Now, they knew, if this was cleanly done, all was over with them; they might shut up the Doors of their Synagogues: The whole World would go after the Apostles, and desert them; the Torrent would overwhelm them then; it would be in vain to think of stopping it. And if the Scene was acted in the present Days, I would fain know, if our Priests would not carry themselves in the same Manner. If any one, in the Person of a *Whitefield*, or any other Body of equal Sanctity, was to take away

the Church-mob; which I estimate by Understanding, and not by Fortune, and leave the Parsons to preach by themselves; and the Seats to pay themselves; if he was to speak up for Virtue and Religion, naked and miserable, unrewarded, unvested with comfortable Bishopricks and Deaneries, getting himself only a few charitable Pence; if, in Confirmation of this most unorthodox Doctrine, a Man was to do seeming Miracles in this Age, which is not given to gape for them, but more given to detect them; but if he was to do a Miracle, that was not to be prevaricated; if he was to make a Church jump two or three Miles in the Air, and come down safe, Wind and Limb; I-faith, the high and the low Priests might cry their Throats out; all the World would leave them, and follow this incontestable Miracle-worker. But, to go on with the Case I was putting; if he was to keep playing out of Sight; and, when they asked him for a Miracle, tell them, they tempted him; how would they tear and rave; how many Cheats they would call him; they would tell him, they believed they tempted him; that he would give his Ears to do it, if he could. Phoo, phoo, cries my Man, *an adulterous Generation asks for a Sign*. And what but an adulterous Generation needs it, would they reply with Vivacity: If we are holden with our Sins, and you have the Power of calling us to Virtue, and loosing us, by granting our reasonable Demand, why do not you do it? Remember your Maxim; *The Sick need a Physician*. We are the Sick; pray cure us.

Why

Why should we be damned, who are ready to be convinced, if you give us the least Reason so to be: Make our Senses Judges, as well as you have made other People's? Don't be partial; and we will believe you. Here is a Request not to be denied: And I need not tell you what this Man would be set down for, if he would not perform before capable Judges, that could not be imposed upon. And don't think to put us off with that old stale Demand; Are you to prescribe to God? Yes; the most reasonable Way he would take, or he is no reasonable Being. I only say, in this Case, our Parsons would be as very High-Priests as ever were in the World. For I know the Men; without a Living they cannot live.

A strong Prepossession of Faith, is a necessary Ingredient in the Composition of a Wonder-witness, the want of which would spoil all the Miracles in the World. But if Unbelievers were not the Sick that needed a Physician, who were? The Believers sure had no Occasion for one: They were in good Condition enough; for *by Faith we shall be saved.* However, sick they (the Unbelievers) might be, and be damned, if they would, they were sure not to be cured. Says *Matthew*, He did not *many* mighty Works in such a Place, because of their Unbelief. But, *δυνάμεις πολλὰς*, many Miracles, is the best: He did some Miracles, but not enough to do any Good: They needed a Physician; and therefore they were not to have one. You cannot find an Instance of a juster Behaviour.

The CONSIDERER, says the CLEARER, treats the Writers of

the *New Testament* as Impostors and Cheats, and void even of Cunning to tell their own Story plausibly. Let the Case be weighed, and Judgment given. Allowing Negligence, I mean the common Omission of trifling Circumstances, is therefore failing to mention the most important Incidents excusable, in Composers, who had the Matter at Heart, and not so much to carry in their Heads, only one poor Life to write, a Kind of Penny History? Is it to be accounted for, that you find some Decency, though a Wildness in the Expressions of the three first, but that the Fourth and the Last should come, and with one Bound overleap all Bounds; should swagger, and say, Odd, if I was to write you all, it would be more than you could read, I can assure you: Nay, it would be more than your whole World would hold.

*Above the Stars exalt your Stile;
You yet are low ten thousand Mile.*

If *John* was desired to write the Story, he did it to some Purpose, and thwacks the Conclusion with ample Provision for all, whom the same Solicitations should prevail upon to be Story-tellers after him.

Before the CLEARER comes, as he says, to the Points, which more immediately affect the Evidence of the Resurrection, he takes Notice of a Remark of the CONSIDERER, That that which is the Foundation of any, much less of every false Religion, cannot be the Foundation of the true. Not the proper Foundation to be sure; for Truth and Falshood, would then change Sides, be undistinguishable, nay, the same; and *Peter*

and *Paul*, working Miracles in Support of their opposite Parts of the Question, would prove their opposite Parts both true; Error would be Truth, and Truth in its Turn Error: *Peter* would work a Miracle, and *Paul* would be in an egregious Mistake; *Paul* would take up the Ball, and the Mistake would be turned upon *Peter*: *Peter* would go again to his Miracle Gift, and *Paul* would not have one Word of Truth on his Side; *Paul* would come round *Peter* a second Time with an All-fair, and Faith *Peter* would lie like the Devil; and so on, as long as you pleased. And here is a fine Proof for any Side, that is, a Proof for every Side, that is, a Proof for no Side: The CLEARER knows of a Maxim in the Schools, *Quod nimis probat, nihil probat*: Miracles then prove nothing at all. How plain is this; and how dark is this CLEARER's Sight; Miracles would be nothing, if we had them: But it is scandalously foolish to take them upon Trust, and the Credit of a History; and when we see Nature operating constantly and undisturbedly, to think her Operations were disturbed just then, because such a Story tells so: That a Man should impose, or be imposed upon, is in the Nature of Things; but that those Events should happen, is out of the Nature of Things, which we daily Experience; and the believing a Thing of common Contingency, is preferable surely to believing a Thing never competent to Nature. Revelation and Miracles, which are here, and there, and every where, and 'tis likely, no where, and every Religion claims by, are the Characteristic

of none, and prove Falshood as well as Truth, which cannot be; therefore they do not prove at all. A clear Deduction of Reason is the only Revelation from Heaven; and God, a rational Being, orders every Thing in the Course of Reason; and a Pretence of any Thing else is true Impiety.

Every idle Tale will disturb him, who has not philosophized himself into the Calm of Reason, *Τὰς δόξας ξελαύνων, ἀφ' ὧν πλείστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβέσκει θόρυβος*: They, that affirm it, they see Apparitions, are Crack-brained People, silly Women, or ignorant Men, where the Imagination runs away with the Judgment; but they that believe their Story are a Kind of second-hand Fools below them, that there is no Name for. Reason emancipates the Mind from simple Credulity, and vain Fears; a strong invariable Light, that shines upon Truth, and detects Error, by the Exertion of which only we can be different from Brutes, acting they don't know why, and even follow the Advice of an Apostle, to prove all Things, and hold fast that which is best.

The CLEARER begins the Points which more directly affect the Resurrection with a detached Sentence of the CONSIDERER's, *viz. If the Resurrection be a Fraud, Evidence forged, what Books have we to prove it so?* Which, in the Archness of his Imagination, he thinks is a mighty Matter for the Resurrection; but, I conceive, nothing can be more against it: For what does it shew, but that the Story was like the Tale of a Ghost, no Body troubled their

Heads

Heads to contradict it; to those, who made use of their Reason, it carried Refutation along with it; and to those, who did not, the Application of Reason was very vain.

The CLEARER puts a very unparallel Case: If the CONSIDERER was to take it in his Head to prove, *Cæsar* was not killed in the Senate-House, all the Evidence would be against him; but, while Evidence reports natural Things, while it urges only what is probable, does any one take it in his Head to contradict it? But does not the vouching Improbabilities invalidate Evidence? If all the Evidence had said, as unanswered as you will, that after *Cæsar* was dead to a Demonstration, he rose and walked; would they have been regarded? Do not we do so in the Case of *Cæsar*? Do not we distinguish between what is reported of probable, and what of improbable in this Story? Don't we give our Assent to the one, and refuse it to the other? When *Plutarch* tells us, *Cæsar* died by the Wounds of the Senators, we believe him: There is nothing in the Story, which contradicts Probability; and the Report of a Person not apparently interested, joined with Probability, is to be believed: But when he talks of Apparitions, (mind the unwary Instance) taking a Walk upon that Occasion, without any visible Business, we say, with a dissenting Smile, *the Writer had a little Love for the Marvellous*. Witnesses destroy their own Evidence, that report Improbabilities: And saying an Historian is sacred, is nothing at all; that's taking a Thing for granted again, and *absurdum per absurdum*.

How willing is the CLEARER to tack in his Learning about the Ages of *Celsus* and *Porphyry*, when he obliges the CONSIDERER, so unnecessarily for the Sense of the Words, to say, There were Fragments of *Porphyry* in *Origen*. The Words of the CONSIDERER do no more than import, There were Books written against Christianity: *Celsus* and *Porphyry's*, for Instance; Fragments of some of which (plainly referable to either of the Antecedents) are to be found in *Origen*. It is true, but he with a Candour, or Wisdom truly ecclesiastic, fixes these Words to the Fragments of *Porphyry*; and triumphs upon this: I am ashamed of him.

The CLEARER shuts his Eyes wilfully, to the Difference between possible Facts, and Absurdities refuting themselves: And he asks, if the Credit of any History is the worse, because it is wantonly contradicted? No; but it is much worse, and evidently destroyed, by relating Things that contradict continual Experience, and common Sense; then it bears the strongest Testimony against itself, and needs no other to subvert its Authority. Incidents that are untrue, but contingent to Nature, must be shewn to be so untrue, by a Medium, by Grounds evictive of their Falsity; but a History of Miracles is a History of palpable Extravagance. If *Livy* is mistaken, in telling, how *Decius Mus* dreamed, he saw a large Figure of a Man, larger than Men are, and of an Appearance auguster than human, and that in the Sacrifice the Head of the Liver was cut;

upon the Information of which, he devoted himself for the People of Rome, and died precipitated among the thickest of his Enemies; we will believe all this that he says, because it might all very possibly happen; the first might be the Wildness of the Brain, the second a Slip of the Priest's Knife, and the third the Patriotism of a Roman; at least, 'till contrary Evidence comes, we will believe it: But, when he relates, that *Castor and Pollux* fought the Roman Battle a long Time after they had ceased to live, we don't wait for contrary Evidence; we give him the Lye from our own Experience of Things; because 'tis a little out of Nature for Men (for all they are reputed to be Gods) to pop up, either fighting, or praying, after their Death; they act those ridiculous Parts enough while they are alive, and Nature is tired of the Comedy: How do the best Historians; *Livy*, lye, when they speak of Religion, as if it made a Man lye whether he would or no. My Lord *Clarendon*, that is a credible Historian, we do not believe, when he tells the Story of an Apparition: It's an unnecessary Trouble to refute a Thing, that brings its own Refutation. But you will say, though the Impossibility appeared, the Story was believed. Well, and after all the Arguing in the World, the Impossibility could but appear; and if that was not a Reason for the Story's being disbelieved, it would still be believed. Arguing could make the Case no clearer, and was to no Purpose. But that is a glaringly foolish History, whose Credit is

overthrown by its own Relations. The Reason, no Discourse was thought fit to be directed against it, was this; and *Celsus* took the best Way to expose it, by shewing, it was as inconsistent with itself, as with Reason. Can it be supposed, says the CLEARER, that *Celsus* would have admitted the Miracles of Christ, as real Facts, had he not been compelled to it by the universal Consent of all Men in the Age he lived? Yes, he would, to make it appear, that upon the utmost Stretch of Romance and Absurdity, upon that's being admitted, the End proposed would not be attained; that Power, extended as far as you can fable, is no Sort of Presumption of Wisdom, another Attribute; that Strength does not imply Wit, nor Beauty, Valour; and that therefore it was impertinent to the Question, if the Christian Religion came from God, a reasonable Being, to urge Miracles in Proof of the Affirmative, which do not prove Reason, but an Attribute distinct from it. Miracles go for no more than they are; they are Marks of Power, and they prove nothing else.

Celsus, says the CLEARER, is preserved, and *Origen's* Answer is not a general Reply to *Celsus*, but a minute Examination of all his Objections, even of those, which appeared to *Origen* most frivolous: But who knows, if he did not chuse the most frivolous, and how well he fulfilled his Friend's Request? I don't doubt, *Celsus* had stronger, which have perished with him: I don't doubt it, I say, from the Age he lived in, his confessed great Abilities, and his Zeal

Zeal for Truth. The Work of an Antagonist is not usually the most safe and advantageous Repository of an Author; it may preserve him, but, like clouded Amber, it obscures him at the same Time: That a Man is safe in his Enemy's Hands, only this Person of clear Sight can see. The CONSIDERER would be VASTLY safe, if Time (his Eyes put out by Fortune) was to mow down his Writing, and Posterity was to read him, as he is represented by the CLEARER, criticised, uncomprehended; and refuted, unanswered; the strong Arguments totally passed by, or flubbered over with the greatest Haste and Inaccuracy; trivial Remarks upon a few Misquotations, and Expressions ridiculously wrested to a Sense, which the Context makes them incapable of: As we need go no further than the next Leaf for an Instance of. Can it be expected, says the CONSIDERER, that an equitable Issue should be obtained from what may be fairly reasoned out of their own (the Evangelists) Report? The CLEARER queries, Did he propose to reason Something out of it unfairly? But, in God's Name, why so witty? The CONSIDERER's Words are, Can it be expected, it should be obtained; not, can it be obtained; he shews it can be; but, is it not, would he say, a little too sanguine to hope it; to expect to find such unwary Historians, that had but one Point to keep in View, the little complex Life of Jesus, as to manage their Matters so ill, that instead of corroborating, they should unwittingly invalidate one another's Testimony,

and tell *different* Stories; which, let me inform the CLEARER, is not *contrary* Stories, for all he does not see the Difference; and charges the CONSIDERER with the Product of his own puzzled Head. A Story that has more or fewer Circumstances than another Story of a Thing, is a *different* Story; but a *contrary* Story, is a Story composed of quite opposite Circumstances, incompatible with one another; it is a Genius, which contains different, a Species; a Story that contradicts, must differ; but a Story that differs, need not contradict. The CONSIDERER's Logic is just, and the CLEARER's Understanding very bad. The Evangelists did not see the Consequences of telling *different* Stories, but *contrary* Stories; and their Consequences were too plain to be overlooked by THEM. They knew Black was not White, and that if they had affirmed them both the same Thing, the World would have said upon it immediately, that they gave one another the Lye; but they did not attend to what would follow from one of them's predicating of a Thing, that it was Black, and White in Part; and another, that it was White; or one, that it was White, and another, that it was Black, and White in Part; which is more or less Circumstances, or telling different Stories. The CONSIDERER says, Can it be EXPECTED an equitable Issue should be obtained? But he makes it appear, it can be obtained; and the more beyond our Expectation, the more welcome its Conviction.

Can that, says the CONSIDERER, be esteemed a fair Trial, where

where the Evidences are only on one Side of the Question? Was full and clear Evidence ever rejected, queries the CLEARER, because there was no Evidence to be produced against it? Very clear Evidence, truly;-----and that's fine Evidence that pretends to vouch an Absurdity. What would ten or a hundred Men signify bearing Witness, of a Loaf in a Baker's Shop, swelling to such a Bigness, that the House could not contain it? Especially, if it appeared too, they got the Mob to listen to their Story, or fold the FULL and TRUE Account of it; or any Way gratified their Vanity, or their Interest? Common Sense is enough to destroy all the Evidence in the World of a Thing, that is against it. That the Miracles, their Fame, went through *Judea*, you may believe them. Whatever *Whitefield* was to do, would go through *England*; and if he was to open any Body's Eyes, as miraculously as Jesus did, we should hear enough of it, I make no Question; but, for all that, our High-Priests would not believe it, unless they saw it; and their Bishopricks might possibly harden their Hearts THEN. Miracles have ceased; what, are People given over? But Faith has ceased, and you know Miracles could never be worked without it. The Witnesses of the Coronation of *Henry VIII.* urges the CLEARER, *very pertinently*, are all of a Side; would you call it into Question upon that? But that's a poor Parson's Cunning of putting a Thing *in Nature*, in the Place of a Thing *out of Na-*

ture, and representing them upon the same Footing: But, when he was a comparing it, why did not he compare it to *Gertrix*, the *Irish* Miracle-worker, no Body concerned himself to refute his Wonders? The Evidence is all of a Side; and all for them; and yet no Body believes them.

The CLEARER asks, how you know the Witnesses of the Resurrection are partial? Let him ask Mr. *Whitefield*, if charitable Collections, and common Purse-Money, are not very good Things? If that HOLY, HOLY, HOLY Christian, should be at a Stand, still he himself will know, whether he does not toast himself with great Pleasure over a Fire lit by the Folly of the People; broach his Wine, and laugh at the Gulls. We shall know these Things from our Knowledge of human Nature.

With as much Wisdom the CLEARER enquires, why the Witnesses are called combined? Is not it his (the CONSIDERER's) Drift, says he, to shew, they contradict one another? But where is the Contradiction of that? Are not Witnesses often combined to maintain a Cause, and yet sound their Notes so ill together, that they detect and refute one another, and shew what a Parcel of Fools they all are? He did not mean, and the Word does not enforce, they were associated with Skill and Judgment; he supposes they combined in mutual, tho' ill-judged Endeavours; but, if preferring the Goad of Death to the Rack of Shame, which must have arose from the Confession of Fraudulency, and Cowardice; and

and to a sorry, contemptible Life; if dying for the Vanity of Religion is a Proof of it, the Crocodile of *Nile*, will come in for his Share with the Lord of Hosts. As both the CONSIDERER and the CLEARER are rightly of Opinion, that the Nature of Christ's Kingdom is of no Concern to the present Question, I shall say but this of it: It is plain, that Jesus encouraged the Notion of his being *King of the Jews* in the Sense of the Jews, while he could think of acting that most difficult Part of the Character of *Messiah* (for he adapted himself to the Prophecy,) with the least Probability of Success; and never relinquished that; 'till all Hopes relinquished him.

What a Compliment he unawares makes them upon the Question's being put to him, why he still kept the worst Company, and associated himself with Publicans and Sinners, the lowest and meanest of the People? *The Whole*, says he, *need not a Physician, but those that are sick*; but who so sick, as those who did not believe a Thing he did, nor a Word he said? And whose Hearts were to be so divinely hardened, that they were to work the Death of this judicious Orator?

The Author of the Trial thinks, the Jews saw some Reason to doubt, the Miracles of Jesus were true, or they would not have regarded his Prophecy of a Resurrection: But they might disbelieve the Miracles; and though they did not fear a true Resurrection, they could not be void of the Apprehension of a false one. They took Measures to prevent

that; not a real one; which they never could think to disappoint. How plain is it, that the Pharisees spoke their Sentiments, in saying, *We remember, that Deceiver said*—they wanted nothing else but to yield to a Miracle fairly, and truly done. They always came to him with the Demand of a Sign, the Conviction other People had; and he always put it off with, *A wicked Generation seeks after a Sign; but no Sign shall be given them.* They treated him consequently with the greatest Indignation and Contempt; and it would be the Case, if it was to be acted over and over never so often in the World: It is the most evident Thing upon Earth.

When the chief Priests made their Speech to *Pilate*, he did not misunderstand them at all; and had more Sense than to ask them, if they thought him a Deceiver, why they guarded against him; but that very Speech informed him, they did not apprehend a Resurrection in good Earnest, but some Practising about one; and in that Case they feared, the last Error of the People in imagining a Resurrection of Jesus, would be of a worse Consequence than the first had been, in imagining a Resurrection of *Lazarus*. And this was highly agreeable, nay, consequent to their thinking him a *Deceiver*; and their Request upon those Fears for a Guard, was too reasonable to be denied; but that they were not at the Sepulchre, to see how he fulfilled his Word, is an infallible Sign Things were hurried over, before they expected: But the Seal was broke; needs there any more? Why

Why did not the Body go out, and leave the Seal whole, as it passed thro' the Door, to make a real Miracle of it? Why were not the Sick cured of this Disease of Infidelity? Let the Parsons answer.

The CLEARER urges in Disproof of an Assertion of the CONSIDERER'S, *that the Jews* (meaning the Chief, or those that adhered to Judaism) *did not believe, Jesus performed any Wonders in his Life*, which, according to him, he lays down against the united Authority of all the Evangelists; Mighty Authority; Men, that you don't know: In Disproof of this he urges *Matthew's Puff*, *that Jesus healed all manner of Diseases among the People, and that his Fame went through all Syria — and that there followed him great Multitudes of People from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan*: For which you have the Word of that veracious Biographer.

Were the Chief Priests, demands the CLEARER, the only Persons unacquainted with them? Unacquainted with them! No; they were acquainted with them, to be sure; they heard the Shouts, which would never have moved them with Indignation, nor Concern, if they had not seen the Effect it had on the People: Why their Anger to him otherwise? *They took Counsel against him, how they might destroy him*; which they would have had no Thought, nor Pretence for, nor Imagination of effecting, if they had been persuaded of the Reality of his Miracles; but themselves, it appears

plainly, have gone over to him, and been the most fervent of his Followers. But nothing is more probable, than that when they were deafened with the Noise of his Miracles, they ascribed them to the Devil, when Men are told a Feat they cannot account for: *Never tell us, say they; he could not do this without the Help of the Devil*. This is common, when People are plagued with an absurd Thing; which to disprove, as 'tis negative, is hard; and the best Disproof of it, is its Contradiction to Nature, common Sense, and the orderly Course of Things, which, whatever Whims Men take into their Heads, is seen to be invariable. If the Words ascribing the Miracles to the Devil dropped from the Mouths of the High Priests, it was in this Way; but *Matthew* gave us what Representation of them he pleased, in his History. *In the very Temple itself, the Blind and the Lame came to him, and he healed them*. Look ye, the Temple was a wide Place; it was in some Corner of it, to be sure; had the Pharisees seen, it might have converted them. It follows; *When the High Priests saw the wonderful Things that Jesus did, &c.* How could that be; for they desired to see, and were always denied their Request. We have not even the Grounds, which the Pharisees had; what do we believe for? Well, *when they saw these Things, they were displeased*: But why displeased? Because Jesus worked real Miracles; impossible to have been displeased at that; it would have been the Foundation of something quite different from Displeasure. The very Enquiry about

bout the Man that was said to be born blind, and ejecting him, manifested their Disbelief of it: Had they acknowledged any Miracles to be done by him; they would have admitted this without Difficulty.

It is most undoubted, the Chief Priests were alarmed at the Progress Jesus made with the People, and would have taken away his Life, since he avoided to give them an Occasion to detest him, and so frustrate him. As in his evasive Answer to their Question, *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?* Had he answered it categorically, in one Case they would have been at Ease; in the other, they must have taken Measures against him, for their own and the public Safety. The Truth of the Miracles would have operated upon them differently, and made them his Followers, not his Persecutors. This is plain enough to need nothing to be said of it. But when they had gained so easy a Mastery over him, the Chief Priest addressed a Question to him in the Spirit of Railery, the Height of which lies in a well observed Solemnity: *I adjure thee, by the living God, said they with a covered Sneer, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God?* Jesus saw the extreme Game he made of him, and answered to it accordingly. Otherwise there is no Sense in his Reply, *Thou hast said, or thou hast jeered, he answered; nevertheless, (that is, for all thy Jeer) thou shalt see the Son of Man sitting on the Right-hand of Power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven;* still encouraging them to believe he should be victorious one of those

Days. But they went on sneering him, after they had struck him, saying, *Prophecy unto us, who it is, that smote thee.* The Question was not put seriously, but temptingly, according to the old Way of tempting him to difficult Matters. It was Railery, though the Evangelist was not of a Pitch to understand it; a Jest, that is not hid, but at first seen through, is not Railery; but may be distinguished by the Name of Banter. *To Barabbas would he have used this Question?* The CLEARER asks. Wise truly: To be sure, he would not; because upon Barabbas the Railery would not have struck; it could not be applied, but to one that pretended to the Character of Messiah; and here, I think, are abundant Marks to shew, he did not at all apprehend Jesus was the Messiah, but took him for a Deceiver.

The Chief Priests said of Jesus, when he was hanging upon the Cross, *He saved others, himself he cannot save. He saved others, the CLEARER repeats with a Bustle, what do they mean, he never wrought any Miracles; as the CONSIDERER supposes? Quite otherwise.* But he is quite out. It was with the greatest and keenest Mockery they said, *he saved others,* reproaching him for having pretended to save others, and at the same Time the People indirectly, for having ever believed him, when it was visible now to them, that he hung upon the Cross, unable to help himself, or any other Body. This was indeed a Triumph to them; and so they went on triumphing, not because they were delivered from the King of Israel, as the CLEARER would have

have it, from whom (had they thought him so) they would have well known they could not have been delivered; that would have been a mad Occasion of Triumph indeed; but that is in the CLEARER's cloudy Brain. Had they believed the first Part of their Speech, it would have spoiled their Joking, they could not possibly have made themselves merry about a Person that had done such Things; they could not have told where his Power might End, nor how they might be deceived in thinking it did end, any more than they could tell how it came to him; MORE, I affirm, they never would have intended it; neither persecuting him, nor joking upon him; but have been the readiest to come in to him, embrace his Faith, and stand up in his Defence. Why should they not? Heaven was as good for them, as for others; and, if there was a Heaven, why should they not use Means to attain it? But to think, they believed his Miracles, yet were not influenced by that Belief to attach themselves to him, nor even to forbear persecuting him; is, (let me turn it upon the CLEARER) to be little acquainted with human Nature indeed.

You see plainly, his Miracles never met with Reception, nor gained him Esteem, enough to preserve him from the bitterest Insults, and the Passers-by, saying to him in his Teeth, with a Shake of their Heads, *Thou that destroyest the Temple, and rebuildest it in three Days, save thyself; if thou be the Son of God; come down from the Cross.* However that Speech was understood, it is plain, they

thought it romantic, they did not believe what he had done; they wanted more Evidence; therefore those Miracles were wrought to no Effect; which is enough to discredit the whole Story; for acting without Effect, is not the Character of Divinity. O that when he was thus challenged, he had come down; but then, say the Parsons, there would have been no Merit in believing. Is there Merit only then in believing without reasonable Foundation? And is Man to be rewarded for being irrational, and worthless! Nature by degenerating is it ennobled! Is the Way to Incorruptibility, Corruption?

As Miracle-mad, as the Jews were, and as much as every Wonder run away with them, they had yet received so little Conviction, and Impression from the Gospel-miracles, that the whole People made no Scruple to take the Blood of Jesus upon them, and their Children; even when *Pilate*, to raise Parties among the Jews, and play them against one another, politically gave out, their Rage was ill-founded against him, and that he was innocent; which shews, that Jesus, besides his Miracles, had given them Hopes that he was the triumphant Messiah; and when he peremptorily declared off, and deceived their Expectations, they were not able to bear it; from hence followed the Resentment of the Populace, which otherwise would have been most preposterous. There are fine Decorations to the Story, the Eclipse, and the Earthquake, and the splitting Temple; when they saw this; *This was the Son of God, to be sure*, they said; yet the People of

of the Jews then were, and their Posterity since have been, immoveable in Opinion of the contrary. And why Jesus came to convince, and did not convince, it would pose one to tell. The Pharisees provided with the greatest Wisdom against a fraudulent Design of stealing the Body, which they professed to *Pilate* their Apprehension of; the Body they knew would disappear, and then the Disciples would bear them down, he was risen from the Dead; there would be no contradicting them by producing the Corpse; that would be far enough out of the Way. The Disciples Forehead, they were well apprized, was a sure Card to them; they did not want Instances of that; and had one of a recent Date, in *Peter's* denying, and cursing and swearing into the Bargain, *That he did not belong to Jesus, nor know the Man.* They sealed up the Sepulchre, and can and Thing be so plain, as that they intended to be there at the Time of the prediſt Opening of it, to convince People of the Falſity of the foretold Reſurrection? Therefore the Time was certainly not, as they underſtood it; ſo that the Body did not walk away at the appointed Time, as the CLEARER would have it believed, according to the Apprehenſion of the Jews. The Chief Priests ſet a *Roman* Guard upon the Sepulchre; a Prevention of Deſign, one would think; but let us take a View of the Policy of thoſe Times, and ſee upon what Springs *Pilate* acted. The Jews were very numerous in *Pa-leſtine*, by far out-numbering the *Romans*. Had the Former roſe,

the Latter, it is true, could have checked them by Force; but the *Roman* Policy, which was the exacteſt in the World, did not chuſe to waſte its Strength, where it might be ſpared, but governed by Art, when it could. *Pilate* upon this Maxim took Occaſion carefully to foment and ſpread a Diſſention, that would take off the Action of the Jews, as a united Body, which would have proved too hard for the *Romans* in the Country. Thus he gave Life to Commotions, he ſeemed active to ſuppreſs, and with Joy gratified a Sedition, yielding in Appearance reluctantly to it. You would have thought him forced to deliver up *Jesus* by a Riot, he was glad to ſee go forward. He projected ſtill further. The Innocency of *Jesus* was inſinuated by him, when he condemned him; and you will find this to be the fineſt Management, and greateſt Reach of human Policy. If *Jesus* had died with no Parade, like a common Malefactor, it might have killed all the Efforts, and Hopes of his Party. *Pilate's* Aim was not there; he drew too great Advantages from it, to deſire the Deſtruction of it. He ſaw how it tore, and waſted the Jews: He wanted to keep it alive, but not to have it victorious; for then there would have been a general Union, a Poſition his Art employed itſelf ever to keep off. Thus he would make neither Side complain, and neither Side get the better of one another. He gave Force ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to another, and adminiſtered a due Vigour. When the Chief Priests told him of *Jesus's* Prophecy, he knew what to do

do immediately; and he shall make it good, thinks he, if it is in my Power; so he gave the Word to the Guard, (which he could not deny to the Pharisees Request) to overlook or assist, if they could, any Proceedings on the Part of the Apostles, to sham and persuade a Resurrection. This Policy of Pilate, the Author of the Trial, Politician as he is, has not weighed; but thinks it an arch Question, *Whether the Roman Soldiers received the Word to wink at the Apostles Practices?* This is the Way, you must explain Pilate's Conduct. Thus his Wife dreamed, like Calphurnia, which Thought he took up, as a Roman; and there were all the pretended Things in the World. But what means Matthew, and who does he think to get to believe him, when he says, *The Chief Priests gave the Soldiers Money to say, the Body of Jesus was stolen away, and that it was a common Report among the Jews, to this Day?* Ver. 15. the last Chapter. What, did they believe a real Resurrection, and not that have an Effect upon them neither? 'Tis putting Things down one's Throat, that would not delude an Idiot. Nothing was commonly reported then, nor is now, among the Jews, but that Jesus was a Deceiver. The Chief Priests could not refuse themselves to the Conviction of this, if they really believed it; and it is being most stupidly credulous to think it. What Credit therefore is to be given to those who would impose such a Thing, as this? Which is what I was to shew.

The Evangelists writ, says the CLEARER, to supply one another's

Defects: They were very Defective for inspired Writers, it will be confessed; but then why do they repeat the same foolish Things over again, and absurd Speeches? And why does John, instead of supplying Defects, make them? I am sure, he wanted somebody to come after HIM. It is very strange, the other Evangelists should ALL miss mentioning the Completion of so remarkable a Prophecy as we find cited, Chap. xix. verse 36. of John; *These Things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled. A Bone of him shall not be broken.* It is certainly to be concluded, that a great deal was wanting sure, to fortify the Cause of the Faith, or John would never have thought this necessary.

And now; did Jesus come to give a Religion to the World? Did he obtain his End? The Part of the World, that professes Christianity, is it not inconsiderable with regard to the World? Being frustrated, what does it mark? If Men are to be benefited by Performances, they have no Concurrence in, why would not his immortal Power have done the Business as well as his mortal Passion? If Men are to be saved by a Merit not their own, why not by a Word not their own, which would be the same Thing? Do Advantages arise to those prodigious populous Countries, *China* and *Japan*, from Christianity, which they hoot, and stick the Preachers of upon Forks? What Sort of Distribution is it, that the little Speck of *Europe* is to be possessed of such eminent Felicity? When our Parsons have answered these Questions, I will ask them some

some more. I will put one, or two Questions to the CLEARER: As God created the World out of nothing (for I don't suppose he holds another self-existent Being) and could overcome the seeming Impossibility of producing something where nothing was, why did not he strike out a nothing-extracted Stability to add to his nothing-extracted Creation, and how he came to make his Composition of Materials that wanted *mending*, as he says; with what Sneer let People JUDGE; and what is the Result of the whole, arguing Chance, or Design?

Was not God to chuse who he would have Witnesses of the Resurrection? The CLEARER demands. It is worse to be left to Choice, if Choice is ill made: And was he to chuse in such a manner too, that no Body was to be Witness of the Resurrection, but whom no Body would believe? The old Strain of Management; but which might always as well have been spared, and the Thing itself omitted. As Parties are never Evidences, there can be said to be no Evidences of the Resurrection. We will sooner believe, a Man makes a false Report; than our Senses make a false Report; and that a Thing is, which contradicts the common Experience and Course of Nature; but we may assure ourselves, that NATURE IS, AS IT EVER WAS, AND IS EVER LIKELY TO CONTINUE.

Lay these Things together, and you will bring it to this Conclusion: Every Hypothesis that is not founded in Nature, is absurd — so not the Object of rational Belief.

Let us emancipate ourselves from vain and foolish Fears, and as vain and foolish Hopes, and be sure, that he, that has not philosophized himself into Ease, will know none; Religion will take a thousand Shapes to fright him; ghastly in all, she will torment his Days; and his Nights will be still more hideous. The Parson gets on, when the Nurse gets off (unless he rides double) and the saddled Beast is guided about at Will. But Philosophy builds that Liberty, that Repose, no Alarm approaches, nor Terror shakes; and THE GREATEST GOOD IS WISDOM. This one Stroke while Liberty remains, or is said to remain; when it dies, we have but to die with it.

THUS Ends my PHILOSOPHICAL FRIEND, who plainly shews, that he thinks *Disbelief not criminal*. Whether it be or no, is the main Point our Adversaries ought to prove; for if it be not, why should Men suffer for it here, or hereafter? If it be criminal, the withholding or not giving the necessary Evidence of Conviction is much more so; unless it be a Crime, not to be credulous, This Point ought to be contested freely. If an Enquirer cannot find what is called Truth, to be Truth; should he own that he sees what he don't? Or, acknowledge that to be true, which does not appear to him to be so? Or, ought he to stifle with Silence the Truth he has discovered? Is it most commendable, to vindicate the *Liberty* of Truth, or submit to the *Slavery* of Error, and suppose the Enquirer cannot see Truth where it is to be seen; is it criminal to want mental or bodily Optics? What

What is the Want of true Faith, but not being able to see Truth in a true Light? This Inability must either be owing to the *Nature of the Man*, which he cannot help; for all Men, *Enquirers* at least, would see what is Right if they could, or it must be owing to the Means by which, or Medium through which Truth is to be seen, either the *one* lead Wrong, or the *other* makes a *false* Appearance, or obscures the *true*; neither of these can the Enquirer prevent: So that his not seeing Truth, is not a *moral*, but a *physical* Fault; and *believing* without *seeing*, that is, without *Evidence*, is Nonsense and Absurdity. — In what manner soever this Point is examined, it will appear that Belief is no Virtue, or Faith is not Righteousness and Unbelief, or Disbelief, or what is reproachingly called *Infidelity*, is no Sin, no Breach of any moral Law.

The CLEARER is perhaps one of the most unfair Writers that ever attempted to manage an Argument. He spends all his Wit to pervert my Meaning, making me *say* Things I never *thought*; and then invidiously harangues thereon; and this with so much Wire-drawing Art, as almost to persuade me, I had *expressed* what I never *intended*. So that he appears to be as one of those *false Prophets*, that can deceive, if possible, the very Elect.

In every Place where he sees the *latter* Edition different from the *Former*, he strains the *Former* to mean something erroneous, to exult and harangue upon; (though I was not conscious to myself, that the Alterations I made were, as he repre-

sents them, but to express myself in a clearer and better manner in the Beginning, which I think I have done;) to this End, he willfully misrepresents my *Meaning*, to accuse me of *Blundering*.

Because I expressed my *own Sense* in the Words of the Trial, or in the Words inverted, or referred by a Parity of Reasoning from one Case to another, he calls it the *artful Abuse of Language*, *perverting*, *altering*, and *misapplying the Sense*.

At first setting out, he quotes these Words of mine, to shew my Design in writing THE RESURRECTION CONSIDERED.

“ My Design is to promote
“ that Veneration for WISDOM
“ and VIRTUE, which has been
“ debased and degraded by Faith;
“ by a Faith which has not sent
“ Peace on Earth, but a Sword.
“ — Where this foolish Faith
“ bears Sway, the Tree of Knowledge produces damning Fruit;
“ but under the *benign Influence* of
“ GEORGE OUR KING, in this
“ glorious Day of *Light* and *Liberty*, this divine Hag, and
“ her pious Witchcrafts, which
“ were brought forth in *Darkness*,
“ and nourished by *Obscurity*,
“ faint at the Approach of Day,
“ and vanish upon Sight.” And, so great is his Indignation, that he makes thereon the following Remarks:

The Faith which the Gospel proposes in Christ Jesus, the ever-blessed Son of God, and the only Name under Heaven by which we may be saved, is here with an astonishing Degree of Impiety called, a divine Hag with pious Witchcrafts. Unhappy Man! What could he mean by this? I pity him from my Heart.

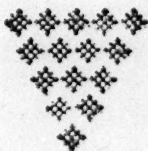
But

But what could he mean by abusing the King, unless he had a Mind to shew, that he is just as good a Subject as he is a Christian.

Every serious Man will read these Passages with Abhorrence; and they are a Warning to every Reader to be upon his Guard against the Representations made of the Doctrines of the Gospel, and the Evidences of Christianity, by so determined, and so inveterate an Enemy to both.

I shall only say to this, 'Tis evident that, to be revenged of me, he gives up the Cause of the Gospel, acknowledging that pernicious Faith which I had described, is

that Faith which he calls Gospel, and contends for. And to make me odious, for saying, that under the Influence of HIS PRESENT MAJESTY, whom God long preserve, this Faith faints and vanishes away, which has debased and degraded WISDOM and VIRTUE, and which has not brought Peace on Earth, but a Sword; he asks, What I mean by abusing the King? Now judge all ye People, whether I abuse the KING, or he abuses QUEEN COMMON-SENSE? By this, judge of the rest of his determined and inveterate Misconstructions.



THE
RESURRECTION DEFENDERS

Strip of all DEFENCE.

Wherein is shewn,

That all the PREDICTIONS of it were unknown — That Christ's Miracles were not believed — That his Rising again was not expected — That the Story of the Watch is incredible — That the Defenders, Mr. SYLVESTER, the CLEARER, Mr. CHANDLER, and Mr. JACKSON, disagree in understanding the Appearances, as much as the Evangelists in relating them — More Proofs of Evangelical Discord — The Authority of the Gospels of St. MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE and JOHN, and the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, examined and discovered.

*Audi alteram partem,
Ex veritate causa pendetur :
Sola bona quæ honesta.*

Come now, and let us Reason together, *Isai. i. 18.*
Thou art weighed in the Balance, and found wanting.
 Dan. v. 27.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and Sold at the Pamphlet
Shops in London and Westminster.

M DCC XLV.

THE
RESURRECTION DEFENDERS

Sketch of all DEFENDERS.

Witness is given.

That all the Transactions of it were unknown — That
Charges & Accusations were not delivered — That his Ruling
was not respected — That the Story of the Wreck
is recorded — That the Evidence, Mr. Jackson,
Mr. Cresswell, Mr. Chubb, and Mr. Jackson,
that was understanding the Accusations as made
in the Court, which is relating them — James Lloyd of
Birmingham, London — The Authority of the Court
of St. John, which was and found, and the
acts of the Court, rendered and observed.

And this is the way
of the Court, which
is the way of the Court.

And this is the way
of the Court, which
is the way of the Court.

L O N D O N.

Printed for the Author, and sold at the Publisher's,
St. John's Church, and St. John's Church.
MDCCLXXV.



THE RESURRECTION DEFENDERS

Strip of all Defence.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

§. 1. *The* INTRODUCTION.

SIR,

A Traveller on a Journey, to make the best of his Way, waits not for Company, so I shall not for your Conversation to finish our Discourse on the Subject we had begun; that I may dispatch it in fewer Words.

Having sufficiently vindicated myself in the first Part, called the *Resurrection Re-considered*, which Title I now think was a Misnomer, I purpose to pass over all Reflections, regard nothing but the Argument, and to handle it in as serious a manner, as I can, to gratify such serious Enquirers as yourself.

You have been acquainted, that the CLEARER's Insinuations against me are false, I hope to

your Satisfaction; and I don't doubt to make it appear, that all his Arguments, with those of Mr. SYLVESTER's, Mr. CHANDLER's, and Mr. JACKSON's, are of the same Kind; if common Sense may be allowed to determine the Controversy; for I lay Claim to nothing uncommon, though Mr. *Sylvester* charges me with so doing; nor does the Argument on my Side need it; and that which does, shows a weak Cause: For plain Truth is easily defended, and is my Defence. She is the MINERVA that covers me with her invisible Shield, and gives good Courage to a good Conscience. But the easy Credulity of the Vulgar is that Bubble of Imagination, which is broke with the least Blast of good Sense.

D d 3

§. 2. Of

§. 2. *Of Christ foretelling his own Resurrection.*

I am now to begin with Christ's foretelling his own Resurrection: I shewed, that what is said to be delivered in public, that of the Temple and of *Jonah*, were Parables, and not understood; this is not denied. So that what was public, was not plain, and what was plain, was not public; and those Predictions that were plain and private, 'tis said, were not understood. This is well said, because the Circumstances attending the Fact contradict the Predictions: Therefore, as the Disciples fore-knew nothing of their Master's rising from the Dead, the Jew Rulers must have been ignorant of any such Prediction; and if so, the Story of setting a Watch, and the private Predictions, must have been Interpolations.

Against this 'tis urged, 1st, That the five Predictions to the Disciples were not all delivered in private. 2^{dly}, That they were not enjoined Secrecy in the Case. 3^{dly}, That some Disciples might acquaint the Jew Rulers with it. And, 4^{thly}, that they listened to the Prophecy, because they were convinced, that Jesus wrought Miracles.

I shall answer all these Objections to my Arguments.

§. 3. *Whether the Predictions were all delivered in private.*

Obj. That the five Predictions of Jesus to his Disciples were not all delivered in private. The *Clearer* says, (p. 45.) to take them as I have ranged them,

'The first and third were made to the Disciples: Is there not Reason then to suppose they were made to more than to the Twelve, for he had seventy Disciples.'

Ans. There is no Reason to suppose this the Case the first Time; for St. Luke (ix. 18.) says, *When he was alone praying, his Disciples were with him.* Could he be alone, when seventy Persons were with him? I think it signifies, that *less* than the Twelve, rather than *more*, were with him; for his being *alone* argues Privacy, and that at most it can mean no more, than that he was with the Twelve alone, mentioned a little before, ver. 10, 12. Besides, this was at a Time when he enquired of them privately, what Person the People took him to be? Tho', by the Way, if Jesus knew Men's Thoughts, as the Evangelists say, what need had he to ask his Disciples, what Men said of him? For in that Case he must have known before-hand, what Men said, and what they would Answer.

The third Time was, when he *passed thro' Galilee, and would not that any Man should know it*, (Mark ix. 30.) therefore he had not the Multitude of the Disciples, nor the Seventy with him; for then he must have been known. Besides, at this third Time, they that heard, did not understand what he said, nor asked what he meant, (ver. 32.) therefore, 'tis more likely they were not Seven, than that they were Seventy, unless all the Disciples were without Understanding.

So that every one of the five Predictions to the Disciples were private to the Apostles only.

§. 4. *Whether*

§. 4. *Whether Secrecy was enjoined the Apostles?*

Obj. 'But they were not enjoined Secrecy in the Affair; only in this Point, that Jesus was the Christ.'

Ans. The Reason why Jesus desired Privacy was, according to Mark, (ix. 31.) for this very Cause, that *he taught his Disciples, and said unto them, the Son of Man must be killed, and rise again; and this the Disciples kept private, says Mark, ver. 10. After the Transfiguration he charged them they should tell no Man what Things they had seen, till the Son of Man was risen from the Dead; And they kept that Saying with themselves, questioning one with another, what the rising from the Dead should mean.* But St. Luke, (ix. 44.) has it only, *that he should be delivered into the Hands of Men, without a Word of his rising again, the most essential Point; so that either the one seems to have stretched, or the other to have forgot himself, and wrote without the Guidance of the Holy Spirit; for that St. John (xiv. 26.) was to bring all Things to their Remembrance, that Christ had said unto them. St. Luke (ix. 45.) writes, that they understood not this Saying, and it was hid from them; that they perceived it not, and they feared to ask him of that Saying.* Surely he kept them in a very awful Subjection! But what did they not understand? 'Tis very plain they did not understand what he meant, that he should be delivered into the Hands of Men, and rise from the Dead.

The fourth Time, when Jesus is said to deliver this Secret to the Twelve, apart from the rest, it was secret enough, for *they knew not the Things that were spoken*, that is, they knew not what he said; therefore they could not discover it. Fit Receptacles these for the Secrets of Divine Wisdom! There was no Fear of their disclosing the Divine Secrets. 'Tis no Wonder they are not yet disclosed; and that the Mysteries of the Kingdom are always explaining, and never explained. If *they understood not their Master, how should we, who have our Lessons from them*

Obj. But says the *Clearer*, 'Tho' the Disciples did not understand the Meaning of the Prophecy, they understood the Language or import of the Words, or else what did St. Peter reprove our Lord for?'

Ans. How they understood not the Meaning, but the Import of the Words, passes my Understanding: St. Peter understood what he said about his Sufferings and Death, but not what he said about his rising again; and 'tis most trifling to say, 'If they understood the literal Sense of the Words spoken to them, they might report them, and others understand the Meaning, tho' they did not; and thus at least the chief Priests might come to know that Jesus had foretold his Resurrection.' If they knew the literal Meaning of the Words, they knew all the Meaning the Words had; for 'tis not pretended they had any other. But I should never have done, if I was to take Notice of all their weak Arguments.

§. 5. *Objections answered.*

Obj. 'But the Thing they did not understand was, how the Messiah, who, according to their Notions, was to live for ever, was to die and rise again.'

Ans. But if they understood what he said, they had the more Reason to believe he would live for ever, if he was to rise to life again, after he was dead.

Obj. 'The Apostles were enjoined Secrecy, not with respect to the Death and Resurrection of Jesus; but with respect expressly, to this Point only, that he was the Christ.'

Ans. But I have proved the former Part of this Assertion to be wrong. The *Clearer* himself tells us of another Secrecy enjoined the Disciples, besides his being the Christ, which is the Vision of the Transfiguration. Therefore the Injunction was not with respect to that 'one Point only,' as the *Clearer* says, p. 50. That such a fine Show should be made only to three Men, and kept private till after the Resurrection, is as dark a Story as the Vision is said to be bright.

Obj. The *Clearer* argues (p. 50.) 'That the Prohibition to divulge it, was enjoined the Disciples, that they should not from hence raise false Notions of Christ's Power.'

Ans. Did their keeping it a Secret prevent what false Notions they might receive from it? But how could they raise false Notions of his Power, if he was God as well as Man? And why was the Voice of God secreted from the People's Knowledge? Jesus

was declared to be the Son of God to a very few; and they too that already believed it. 'Twas a *still small Voice*. John the Baptist and Jesus only heard it before, and these three his Familiars now. Had the Voice spoke to the Scribes, Pharisees, and Infidels, they, perhaps, if they had heard the Son declared, would have wanted to know the Father; but this Voice was not fit for Priests to hear; for they that keep others in Ignorance, ought to be kept in Ignorance. Yet, as I wish their Conversion, I would they had heard; for perhaps the Father might have converted them, tho' the Son could not.

§. 6. *Of Jesus enjoining his Disciples to secrete his Character.*

But wherefore did Jesus charge his Disciples to tell no Man that he was the Christ? The *Clearer* says, (p. 47, 48.) to prevent the ill Effects of it; 'for such Declaration to the People, according to their Notion of Christ, would have amounted to a Claim of temporal Power, which our Lord (he says) took all proper Occasions to disclaim.'

Ans. Had he done so, in all Probability he had saved his Life. But if he wrought Miracles, he had more than temporal Power; and therefore had no need to fear any Thing, when he was invested with a Power Divine. Does he mean that the Fears of Death were so strong in him, that he forbade his Disciples while he was living to own him the Christ; but commanded them, after he was dead and gone, to constrain all Men to believe and own it by the

the Terrors of Damnation? If saying he was the Christ, amounted to a Claim of temporal Power, according to the Peoples Notion, should not his first and chief Business have been to set his Disciples and the People right in their Notions, what the expected Messiah really was, before he declared himself that Person? Had he convinced them of the Former, the Way had been paved to the Latter. What signified referring the People to *search the Scriptures*, and telling them that *they testified of him*, when they did not understand its Testimony: For while their Notion remained of a temporal Redeemer, they could not see the Scriptures testified of him. To what End were they to search the Scriptures, which represented the Messiah to them in a wrong Character, as a Prince possessing, and not disclaiming temporal Power? That the Father should deceive his own People by his Prophets, and they through Faith in that Word should be so bigotted to the Deception, that the Son could not undeceive them, is so very unaccountable, that it can pass with none but a thorough-paced Believer. To what End did he make them his Apostles? How could the World believe in him, if he prevented himself from being known to the World? *How could they believe in him on whom they had not heard? And how could they hear without a Preacher? And how could they preach if they were not sent, but forbidden?* If Jesus did not come to make himself known as the Christ, wherefore came he? If he did, why did he forbid his Disciples to make him known?

And why were they sent to preach that his Kingdom was at Hand? If his coming was to be made public, why was Secrecy enjoined? If the Old Testament gave the Messiah a Character the New does not, 'tis plain they differ as widely as Flesh and Spirit, Things temporal and spiritual. 'Tis probable, Jesus finding his Disciples rude and ignorant, knew that their manner of divulging his Pretensions would do him more Injury than Advantage, therefore he forbade their telling it, and cautiously delivered it himself to proper Persons, for he knew some too well to commit himself to them, *John iii. 24.*

§. 7. *Whether the Disciples or Judas divulged the Prediction of Christ's Resurrection?*

'Tis objected, that some Disciples, or at least Judas, might acquaint the Scribes and Pharisees with the private Prediction of Jesus concerning his dying and rising again.

And yet the *Clearer* says, (p. 71.) that 'There is not the least Intimation in the Gospel, that the Chief Priests knew the Opinion of the Disciples in this Case, or that they would have considered it of any Weight or Moment at all.' For, as he says, 'The Rulers had them in Contempt;' how then did they believe their Story if they heard it? But this they could not do; for 'tis not at all probable the Disciples should discover what they knew not, for they own that they did not understand Jesus was to rise again from the Dead; this the Scripture and the *Clearer* confess,

ies, p. 49. and what Men do not understand they do not know. But that some of the Disciples should blab the Secret, and surprize the Scribes and Pharisees with the Discovery, or that *Judas*, who betrayed his Master, might betray his Secrets; as it is not at all likely, for the Reason already given, so 'tis probable the Jew Rulers gave no manner of Regard to it, if any of them did. 'Tis very unlikely they should Credit so idle a Story told them by his credulous Disciples, at least what *Judas* said, who in their Opinion must needs pass for a deluded Fool, and a treacherous Villain. Besides, *Judas* making a Sale of his Master, shews he did not believe a Word of it, unless he was in Hopes after his Resurrection to sell him again. But had the Scribes and Pharisees been told of it, why should they fear lest he should be as good as his Word, when at the same Time not one of those who believed in him, believed one Word about it: For if ever they heard the Prediction, they regarded it so little, that they forgot it, tho' it was of the last Importance to them to remember it; and how should they do otherwise, if they did not understand what was said about it. St. *John* delivers it by Way of Excuse, that *as yet they knew not the Scriptures that he was to rise again from the Dead*. But if they knew not what the Scriptures or old Prophecies said, they knew what their Master had prophesied, if he said what is reported, which was enough to inform them of it. The Words *as yet*, the Defenders say, is a Kind of Proof that they knew it afterwards; But *none of them*

know it yet out of the old Prophecies. Those enigmatical Expressions of the Temple and *Jonah*, which the Apostles did not understand when spoken, they might know, but *as yet* had not given them the Force of Prophecies. Words not understood, as they raise no Expectations of any Thing to come in the Hearers, so they foretel nothing, and are no Prophecies. Mr. *Sylvester* has found the Prophecy only in Types, and Mr. *Chandler* in strained Inferences. This shews they are so distressed to find any of this Sort, that they are obliged to make them; for he that makes the Scripture to speak what it does not, makes Scripture to serve his Turn.

The *Clearer* objects. 'Suppose now the Disciples want of Understanding to be true, it shews their Honesty and Sincerity in reporting it fairly; and asks what Purpose could be served by it.'

I answer, *viri vera simplicitate boni*! Are we then to depend on the Sincerity and Honesty of Men that want Understanding? Alas, how easily are such Men deceived! But this Purpose it might serve, supposing them not altogether so honest as the *Clearer* presumes. When they said their Master was risen some Jews might put this Question to them, 'which they could not answer.' You say your Master rose from the Dead, and that he knew all Things; how came it then to pass that he did not foretel his own Resurrection? To which they, 'to prevent the same Question being asked again,' told of some Predictions of this Sort delivered
in

in a private manner; and the Reason they never divulged them before his Resurrection, nor expected it themselves, was, because they never rightly knew what the Words meant, but took them for Parables. Pleading their Incapacity to understand them, is the best Excuse they could give for not divulging them.

§. 8. *Whether the Jew Rulers believed the Prediction of Christ's Resurrection?*

The Clearer Queries, 'What then is to be said for the Chief Priests, why did they fear his Resurrection?' And answers, 'Because he had foretold it, that they took him for a great Prophet, and had been Witnesses to his Miracles; therefore they listened to a Prophecy in this Case, which in any other they would have despised; for had the Jews been persuaded that he performed no Wonders in this Life, they would not have been afraid of seeing any done by him after his Death.'

Ans. Nor does it appear they were. This is, Sir, putting it upon a different Footing than what St. Matthew does; but let us try the Case in this Light. That Jesus had foretold his Resurrection, at least to the Scribes and Pharisees, is not proved, and that he did it at all, wants consistent Proof; for had the Disciples known it, they must have foreknown his rising again; but that none of them foreknew this, is confessed by Words and Deeds. If they did not suspect him to rise again, who believed in him, and (as 'tis reported) heard him

foretell it plainly, and frequently, how could they expect it who believed him not, nor the flying Reports that were told of him; nor, as far as we can find, ever heard of any such Prediction from himself or others? But waving the Advantage, suppose the Chief Priests heard of this Prophecy, would they regard it from the Mouth of one whom they put to Death as a Deceiver? Or, suppose they thought him to be a great Prophet, could they possibly put him to Death, to such a Kind of Death as an Impostor, and with his Blood might be on them and their Children? Or believing him to be a great Prophet, did they therefore suspect he might possibly rise again? Were great prophets used to rise again? Or is it possible for them to do so? No certainly; Prophets once dead lay as quiet as other Men. But 'The Wonders he had wrought in his Life made them listen to a Prophecy in this Case.' Did they on this Account suspect he would do Wonders when he was Dead? It cannot be: The Clearer says, (p. 39.) when they saw him on the Cross, 'They thought they had found the Extent of his Power, and that he could not save himself.' But suppose all that has or can be supposed, (p. 61.) that 'They feared he would come from the Grave, armed with Power to take Vengeance of their wicked and cruel Treatment of him.' Did they for this set a Guard of Soldiers to kill him again, as Mr. Chandler insinuates, p. 56, 57. 'Had he appeared as himself, who knows what the Watch might have done, in acting the same

‘ same bloody Scene over again, were it not for the Angels that defended him?’ Or did the Chief Priests set a Watch to give them Warning to run away, if he should rise again? Nay, but they set a Watch to be certainly informed of the Truth. How could they doubt but the Truth would discover itself, by his personal Appearance, if he should rise; or by his Non-appearance, if he should not? The Case was of such a Nature, there was no Reason to believe it could be concealed; *feri aliter non potest*; Light cannot be hid; and no Man lights a Candle to put it under a Bushel, but on a Candlestick. Sir, they must naturally conclude, as we should have done in the same Case, that there was nothing in it, if they saw nothing of it.

§. 9. *Whether the Gospel-History be a Proof that the Jews believed the Miracles of Jesus?*

But tho’, to give their Argument full Scope, I have supposed the Scribes, Priests, and Pharisees, had some Apprehensions from Miracles; yet now I intend to enter into the Merits of the Cause, and examine what Influence the Miracles of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospel, had upon them.

The *Clearer* has Recourse to the Gospels, to prove that the Scribes and Pharisees believed the Miracles of Christ: No doubt, but those Writers would have it thought so, and unthinking Christians believe it; but what Argument is this with Deists, with whom his Engagement is, and whom he should attempt to convince! How is this Evidence a Proof to those that doubt the E-

vidence by which Arguments are found for both Sides? And if for what makes against itself, those will be looked upon as the most credible: For not so much Heed is given to what an Evidence affirms on the Side he espoules, as to what probable Facts he inadvertently confesses on the contrary Side. For what can that Evidence prove to the Satisfaction of the Enquirer, who finds Reason by his Enquiry to be dissatisfied about the Evidence? Witnesses that disagree, prove nothing in their own Favour; for their Disagreements destroy their own Authority, and make void what they insinuate by what they confess. The Consistency and Validity of the Writings out of which the Proofs are taken, and the Probability of every Thing they relate, should first be cleared up, before the Proofs out of it in their Favour are to be taken for granted. For Deists think it reasonable, that as these Histories relate more improbable, and much more incredible Things than other Histories, they ought to bring with them some more substantial Proof than others to confirm the Truth of such Prodigies as they relate; or else, that every Relation in them which is not as probable as other true History should stand for nought; that what is to pass for the current Coin of *Cæsar* should have *Cæsar’s* Image and Superscription on it. Stories that are not miraculous may pass for Truth, and often do, tho’ they are not so. All the Difference that I know of between a Believer, and an Unbeliever, is this; one can believe what has the Face of Romance, and the other cannot. In com-

mon

upon Things they both believe, and may be imposed on alike. For Instance, should it be reported, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with his Coach and Horses went over the *Thames*, in the Ferry, from *Lambeth* to *Palace-yard*, on a certain Day; it might be credible, and Deists and Christians might believe it alike, tho' the Report be false: But should it be affirmed, that his Grace's Horses flew over the *Thames*, with the Coach after them, even by the Assistance of Angels, I fear it would be incredible to those who are slow of Heart to believe all that is written or reported, even though the Bench of Bishops had no more Grace than to swear it, with Reverence to them be it spoken, was it possible that they could report any Thing so incredible: And why must we needs believe, on the bare Report of unknown Reporters, Things seemingly as impossible or unlikely, because they are generally believed by those that never made a particular Enquiry. Many Believers have not Time, some have no Disposition, others no Capacity to examine rightly. Besides, when Principles are fixed by Authority as only right, it discountenances all Examination; and in all such Cases it is done for that End, lest Men should see different than their Seers would have them. For my own Part, Sir, I am determined to believe what appears to me to be right, and to examine into the Appearances of Things. Truth is the Touchstone of the Gospel, not the Gospel of Truth; and the Rule of Truth is the Reason and Nature of Things. No Book can prove itself, but by its own internal

Marks; and must perish with the Authority by which it is supported, unless it have this eternal Character. But I must cut short this copious Subject, because I have many Articles to run thro'.

§. 10. *Whether the Jew Rulers believed Christ's Miracles?*

The Clearer endeavours to prove the Book by the Book, viz. that the Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees believed the Miracles of Christ; but the Instances he brings, are no more a Proof, than that telling a Story is a Proof of it. Such Proofs may do for Believers; but not for those he has to do with. If the Effects do not agree with the Causes, those Causes are consequently disproved: As the Tree is known by its Fruits, so are the Premises by their Consequences. That the Rulers did not believe them is plain, from what is there objected, *Have any of the Rulers of the People believed in him?* And had they been satisfied with the Reality of his Miracles, they would not have desired others. Why does Jesus call upon them to believe his Works, *John* x. 25, 26. 38. but because they didn't believe them, can any Thing be more plain? They accuse him, *Job* viii. 83. of bearing record of himself, without other sufficient Testimony, and therefore that it was not true; to provoke him perhaps to work some Miracle publicly in their Sight. They called for Signs and Wonders, that they might believe, yet he gave them none, when they called for them: Though all the Wonders he is said to work, was for this End, that they might believe, yet this End they never effected. A bare Declaration that he was the

the Christ, did not convince them; nor did his Prophecies, that he should rise again, convince even his Disciples, which renders both doubtful. And 'tis owned, that he obtained least Credit among those who should have known him best, his own Countrymen, and his own House. An evident Miracle for the Proof of his Mission seems all along to be the Contest between the unbelieving Jews, and him. The GREAT AUTHOR of the Trial seems to allow it, by saying, that Jesus put the Proof of his Mission on the Truth of the Resurrection before predicted: But this Prediction, as well as the Resurrection, appear to want that clear and proper Evidence, which 'tis reasonable to expect in so important and extraordinary a Case.

§. 11. *The Clearer's Arguments to prove Christ's Miracles believed, prove the contrary.*

Sir, If 'the Jews believed his Miracles, and had a Jealousy, that he might possibly be the Christ,' as the Clearer insinuates, (p. 39.) would they have used him as they did? The High Priest putting the Question to him in a solemn Manner, Whether he was the Christ, does not prove that they suspected it; it only proves his Pretensions to that Character, not so Barabbas, or any other common Malefactor. They had put that Question to him before, *John* x. 24. and probably often; for had they been suspicious of it, and for that Reason made a solemn Enquiry, they would have been better satisfied with his Answer, than it appears they were. He told them he was

the Christ, and what was the Consequence? The High Priest rent his Clothes, and cried out Blasphemy for his assuming that Character: And perhaps the High Priest asked him with no other View, but to condemn him out of his own Mouth, whether he denied, or affirmed it. Had he denied it, they had Proof of his Pretensions; and he affirming it, they condemned it for Blasphemy: This might perhaps be to provoke him to work a Miracle then, to prove it; for Jesus told them they should see one hereafter, but that would not satisfy them; and the High Priest seemed obliged to make the Demand in that solemn manner, that he might give him an Answer, because he answered nothing to Questions that were asked him.

Again, When Pilate was willing to acquit him, lest he should not be crucified, *all the People*, as well as the Priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, cried out earnestly, *Crucify him, crucify him, his Blood be on us and on our Children*; which shews, that what was the Sense of the Rulers, was the Sense of all the People, except those that were his Disciples; therefore his Miracles were not generally believed.

Obj. 'But St. Mark says, the People were influenced by their Priests to make this clamorous Demand.'

Answer. With St. Mark's Leave, If the People had been well acquainted with his miraculous Cures, as 'tis at other Places insinuated, they could not have been thus unanimous with loud Voices in making such Demand; and I think, that 'He shews him-

self

‘self to be little acquainted with the Sentiments of human Nature,’ who thinks they could believe his Miracles, believe him a Prophet, and yet be influenced to speak and act in such a manner.

Again, *Herod* was glad when he had him in his Custody, because he expected to see him do some Miracle to save his Life; But when he found nothing of that Power displayed by him, he concluded it was not in him, thereupon he and his Men of War despised him, and set him at nought; concluding certainly, that the extraordinary Power of God was most necessary to be displayed, on the most extraordinary and necessary Occasions; and therefore they mockt him on the Cross, saying, *He saved others, himself he cannot save.* And, *Ab! thou that savedst others, save thyself, come down from the Cross, and we will believe thee*; i. e. We will believe thou canst save others; if now thou canst save thyself. The *Clearer* supposing this to be Mockery, argues, that the Mockery lies only in the last Words, *himself he cannot save*, but that in the Former, *he saved others*, they spake as they meant, and ‘acknowledge his Miracles by which others are saved.’ But then these are Words of Pity, and from them no Mockery can be drawn: But if the Words, *himself he cannot save*, are not such as betoken Pity, the whole is Mockery, and signify, they believed nothing less than the former Words express, that *he saved others*; these therefore are Irony, if the others are Drollery. As if they had said, See the Proofs of his saving others, when he cannot save himself. It

seems naturally impossible, they should believe he saved others, confess it, and droll upon it, or make it the Subject of Mockery, from which none can be drawn.

‘They go on with their Mockery, says the *Clearer*, ‘If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the Cross; Why all this Triumph in being delivered from the King of Israel, had they never suspected he might probably prove so indeed? What Occasion for this sudden Joy and Exultation?’ Certainly none, had they suspected he might have proved so, what Advantage was it to them, to crucify one whom they suspected might one Day be their King, and deliver them from their Subjection to a foreign Yoke? Had this Gentleman quoted the whole Text, it had set him right. *If he be the King of Israel, let him come down from the Cross, and we will believe in him*, which shews they did not believe his miraculous Power, nor that he was the Christ. As if they had said, If he be Christ the King of Israel, as he would be esteemed, let him deliver himself now from the Roman Power, without which he cannot deliver us, nor be our King, and then we will believe his Power and Character.

St. Matthew and St. Mark say, *They that passed by railled on him, and reviled him, wagging their Heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three Days, save thyself, if thou be the Son of God, come down from the Cross*: This is Mockery both in Words and Gesture. *He said, He is the Son of God, if he be, let God deliver him now, if he will have*

have him, i. e. for his Son; let God shew it by a signal Deliverance; which shews they had no such extraordinary Opinion of him, and also the small Credit and Confidence they put in him, or his miraculous Works.

§. 12. *Miracles without correspondent Effects, improbable.*

The *Clearer* says, (p. 40.)
 * Their Mirth did not last long:
 * When Christ died, Nature seem-
 * ed to die with him; the Sun
 * was darkened, the Veil of the
 * Temple was rent in the Midst,
 * the Graves opened, the Rocks
 * rent, &c.

And yet the Nature of the Jews remained the same; their Hearts were not rent, though the Rocks rent; nor quaked, though the Earth quaked; and though the Graves opened, their Understandings appear not to be opened! What a strange Thing is Insincerity, that no Miracle can work upon it. The only Persons these Miracles were wrought to affect, were unaffected by any, which is itself another Miracle! unless they were wrought only for Show, and to be gazed at, to affect Mens Eyes, and not their Hearts; or were they designed not to do it? Or could the Devil's Power prevent God's from taking Effect? Indeed the Evangelists bring in the *Roman Centurion*, saying, *This was a righteous Man*, and the People smiting their Breasts. But though all were smitten, none were wounded, none are said to be converted. The *Clearer* says, * Probably the Scribes and Pharisees withdrew silently, unwilling to discover any Fear or

* Apprehension before the People. And 'tis as probable they saw none of these Signs, since we read of no Effect these Miracles had upon them. If we may judge by Probabilities, is it probable that God, or Christ, should work Wonders in vain, so that an uncommon Power should be exerted, and produce no common Effect? Or that Miracles should be wrought to contradict Miracles? As those must be that have a contrary Effect to their natural Tendency, and the Design of the Great Author. For according to the *Clearer*, concerning Christ's Miracles, 'The Question now is (saith he, p. 38.) what Effect this had upon the Scribes and Chief Priests? That they were extremely alarmed, appears plainly; and that they sought his Life, as the only Method to stop the Influence he gained over the People, is notorious. But were they clear of all Doubts themselves? Had they no Misgivings of Mind that he might possibly be what he pretended to be?' I say, Sir, to me it seems impossible, that they should seek his Life to stop the Influence he gained over the People by miraculous Works, or that they sought his Life, and brought about his Death in a judicial Way, and yet had Misgivings or Doubts in their Minds, that he might possibly be what he pretended to be. 'Whoever can suppose it, shews himself to be but little acquainted with the Sentiments of human Nature.' If the *Romans* had acted thus towards him, for Fear of his becoming a King, and breaking their Power, it had been more reasonable;

able; but that the Jews believing his Miracles should crucify him, for Fear of his delivering them from the Romans, is altogether absurd. Had they believed he wrought many Miracles, they had the less Reason to fear the Roman Power, and the more to let him alone, and let the Romans deal with him. But the Case is, while some believed him to be a good Man, it was the Opinion of others, that he deceived the People; and the great Men objected, that only the Ignorant believed in him. If Probability may be allowed, we may judge of Effects by their Causes, and of Causes by their Effects; *i. e.* wonderful Causes, will produce wonderful Effects; and where no wonderful Effects are produced, 'tis probable there were no wonderful producing Causes: Or otherwise they are of no Consequence or Signification; they proceed from no natural Cause; therefore, they being not a Link of the great Chain of Nature, have no natural Effects; they appear to be Works in vain; extraordinary Power displayed to no Purpose; being out of Nature, Nature is not affected by them; they go no farther than themselves. A Trial of Skill one may call it, that leaves every Thing as it found them; him that is unjust, to be unjust still; he that is filthy, to be filthy still; he that is righteous, to be righteous still; and he that is a Fool, a Deceiver, or a Believer, a wise or an honest Man, or an Infidel, to be the same still. So it was if the Rulers and Men of Learning among the Jews had been Witnesses of his Power to work Miracles, as 'tis insinuated, and yet behaved in so vio-

lent and outrageous a manner against him. That they should conspire to put Jesus to Death, because he wrought Miracles, is to out-do Miracles.

If it be objected, that this was the Will of God, *that they seeing might see, and not perceive; and hearing might hear, and not understand; lest they should see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Hearts, and should be converted and saved; and that the Lord gave them Eyes that they might not see, Ears that they might not hear, and Hearts that they might not understand.* Then one would be apt to think it had been more gracious to have given them neither Eyes, Ears, or Hearts; and that the Lord had better concealed his Wisdom, by saying nothing. This either made them rebellious, or hardened them in their Rebellion; without which, 'tis confessed, they might have been converted. But this is throwing all the Odium on God, to make the Story good; and rather than that may be false, he must be rendered cruel and unjust. This Way of accounting for such unaccountable Things, may account for any Thing, be it ever so absurd. Nor will a judicial Hardening salve the Sore, and be the consistent Practice of him that *delights not in the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he turn and live, of him whose tender Mercies are over all his Works, of him in whom Mercy rejoices against Judgment, and of him who came to call Sinners to Repentance, and to seek and to save the lost Sheep of the House of Israel.* Sir, I must own, I think in this Case, as 'tis represented, nothing could prevent

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Nature from yielding, but a supernatural hardening Power, an inflexible Stubbornness miraculously infused in the leading Jews, or they must have shuddered, and recoiled, if they had seen such amazing Power displayed by the mighty Jews.

§. 13. *Of the Jews ascribing Christ's Miracles to the Devil.*

Obj. 'But the Jews, who could not deny his Miracles, ascribed them to the Power of the Devil.'

Ans. 'Tis wonderful strange, that the Lord Jesus never cast this Devil out of their Hearts, and yet cast out all Devils every where else! Or that the Devil of Infidelity should be an invincible Devil! If the Devil can work Miracles as well as God, and they are not easy to distinguish, and Miracles are the Proofs of a divine Mission, these Proofs are not easily known; and then we are little the better for having it signed and sealed with Miracles. Mr. Hardy, a reverend, grave Pate, that wrote against Mr. Chubb, says, they are distinguished by superior Power; if so, Good and Evil are not Criterea, but Power gives Right; and the Devil is right, when he is not contradicted, or confounded by superior Power: But if Mr. Chubb had held such Doctrine, what a Devil would they make of him, for his powerful Dulness. Supposing God and the Devil both work Miracles, I apprehend that natural Reason can inform Men how to distinguish the one from the other; viz. by their Nature, Tendency, and Effects. The Devil's Miracles must discover themselves by

doing Mischief to the Bodies and Properties of Men, and Acts of Violence tending to some ill End, as the setting up another Deity, teaching immoral Acts for religious Duties, or Doctrines destructive of Reason and Mankind, by introducing Wars, Tyranny, Ignorance, Persecution, and all Mischiefs injurious to civil Society. But suppose the Miracles wrought are a Mixture of Good and Evil, to whom then may they be ascribed? If a Man cannot serve God and Mammon, and there be no Communion of Light with Darkness, if also God be absolutely Good, they cannot be from him. And if the Devil could speak Truth for an ill End, as in *Job*; or if he can transform himself into an Angel of Light, why may he not do Good that Evil may come? Since we believe Jesus was sent from God, and acted by his Authority in all he did for the Good of Men, that he did no Sin, neither was Guile found in his Mouth; that he went about doing Good, to seek and to save those that were lost: If any Works are said to be done by him, which are Instances of Power, but not of Goodness, those Stories must be looked upon as Forgery; therefore the Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy is rejected, in which are many Wonders reported to be done by him in his Infancy, and some Things mischievous: But, Sir, seeing the miraculous Works of the blessed Jesus were all divinely Good, those that were Witnesses of them could not ascribe them to the Devil. The Tree is known by its Fruit. If on this Account his Fame went through all Syria for the great and good

good Works that he wrought; if all the Country was alarmed with his Miracles, so that the Chief Priests could not be unacquainted with them, if many of his Miracles were performed in public Places of Resort, in Presence of the Scribes and Pharisees, as the *Clearer* says, p. 37. How could they desire of him a Sign from Heaven, when they had so many, and such glaring Wonders had been done before them? And why did he answer that *no Sign should be given them*, if he gave them so many? What need had they to fear any Thing, either as to his not being the Person they expected, or being unable to perform what they desired? And how could some of them say he deceived the People, call him a Deceiver, and put him to Death, and in the manner they did, had his Miracles in doing Good been so well known; neither Priest nor Infidel would cry, *Crucify him, crucify him*, (which is the same as hang him, hang him,) in this Age, nor any other Age; for Men are in general the same in all Ages; they must needs think it weak, as well as wicked, to attempt to put to Death one whom they knew had Power to raise the Dead.

Sir, if the Enemies of Jesus doubted the Reality of his Miracles, or believing them, were foolish enough to think they could be wrought by any other than the Power of God; they might imagine, if they had him in their Custody, they should have a Proof of his Ability, and so be convinced; or by putting him to Death, put an End to their own Fears of Mutiny, and Con-

tentions on that Score. This only will account for their Actions towards him, and for despising his Pretensions, as well as dismissing all their Apprehensions concerning him, or what his weak, dispersed, and terrified Party, after his Death, were able to do with his dead Body.

If the Jews saw his Miracles, and sometimes suspected they might be from God, at other Times from the Devil; those Miracles were not of that Sort as could certainly convince them by *what Authority he did those Things*, but left them in as much Suspense, as if he had not done any, and then all the great Works he wrought were to no Purpose, nor any true Sign of his Mission.

Sir, if the Story was then reported, that Jesus had been in private Conference with the Devil forty Days, and some had seen them on the Pinnacle of the Temple, it might give them a great Deal of Suspicion that he had to do with the Devil, and was entered into Contract with him to cure Diseases and cast out Devils by Beelzebub; not to divide, but to establish his Kingdom in the World. But the Story that gives Colour to such an Insinuation is so infamous, that it ought with Scorn to be torn out of the Gospels, and excommunicated as apocryphal and heretical.

§. 14. *Remarks on some Particulars in the Clearer.*

As to my Examination of St. John, concerning Christ's foretelling his Resurrection, the *Clearer* is by no Means willing to rely on it, and begs Leave to examine

for himself. Very well. To examine for one's Self is right. But has he found me in an Error? No: Then he confirms my Search.

What the *Clearer* finds in St. *John* which he supposes predicted Christ's Death, I pass over, that being no Part of this Argument. He imagines the Resurrection indicated in *John* xiv. 1, 2. 16, 18. xv. 16. 22. which he says were far from being delivered as Secrets. Though the Meaning of those Words must needs have been a Secret then, if they are not so yet. He owns, (p. 58.) that 'The Disciples themselves little apprehended what Christ's dying and rising again meant, thought it mysterious, and a Parable: They had been long accustomed to this Sort of Language, and had frequently been puzzled with it.' And elsewhere, 'When he was crucified, all their Hopes died with him; and when he was risen again, they could scarce credit it.'

The *Clearer's* Method of finding out the Sense of Expressions, by applying one to another uttered at different Times and Occasions, shews him to be in the utmost Distress.

He thinks that Prophecies may not be understood, till the Thing prophesied comes to pass; but a Prophecy not understood, is understood to be no Prophecy.

The *Clearer* and the other Defenders suppose too, that the Evangelists were great Grammarians, and had a critical Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue, or why do they reason so grammatically in several Places. A thousand Suppositions not to be proved are not to the Purpose.

§. 15. Of the Predictions of the Resurrection.

In my *Resurrection of Jesus considered*, it was observed, that it does not appear to be foretold, nor expected, for Reasons which I shall now corroborate.

I. Because what was said to be given in public, was not understood to relate to it, nor fulfilled.

1st, As to Time; tho' much Pains has been taken to make out the Time from *Friday* Evening to *Sunday* Morning, answer to three Days and three Nights, the little I have said will not convince them, and the great deal they have said will not convince me. Mr. *Whiston* says on this Subject, 'I cannot pretend, that two Nights alone are three Nights;' and therefore, he thinks the three Days and three Nights in *Matthew* xii. 40. a later Interpolation: And I think, Christ cannot be said to rise on the third Day, if he rose before the third Day came. He laid in the Grave no Part of the third Day, nor the third Night: This Difficulty has no Doubt been a thousand Times repeated, but never confuted, neither in the *TRIAL*, the *Evidence cleared*, nor any other, nor can be; therefore it would be lost Time to take Notice of what has been said, or say any more about it. But,

2^{dly}. The Prediction says no Sign should be given to that evil Generation, but that of *Jonah*; and yet neither the Sign, nor the Thing signified, was ever given to that evil Generation, who required it: But these Gentlemen can see no Promise of a Resurrection

tion to *them* in this Sign, only of lying a certain Time in the Grave. But, says the *Clearer*, 'that Christ would appear to them in Person after his Resurrection, there is not a Word about it.' Then it was no Sign at all to them; it signified only, that he should, when dead, lie three Days in the Grave, and who doubted it: Well then, what did they expect, that he would afterwards rise again; 'there is not a Word about it,' says he: What then were they afraid of? And why did they watch?

3dly, The Jews were told *no* Sign should be given them, but that of the Prophet *Jonas*; whereas the *Clearer* says, he gave them many other Signs or Miracles, which if he did, this Sentence is not true, and if this Sentence be true, he gave them no Sign, but disclaimed all miraculous Power; though if any Sign was given, why should they demand another; and why did he not then refer them to those Signs and Wonders he had given them? Or why not tell them of the Resurrection of *Lazarus*, that was to be? If he intended to give them a Sign, why was not *Lazarus* rather given for a Sign to that Generation than *Jonas*, whom they know nothing of, but by Tradition? If *Lazarus* was fairly dead, and raised again to Life by divine Power, it could not have been prevented by their fore-knowing it: To have given them Notice of it at such Time, when they called upon him for a Sign from Heaven, must have been a full and satisfactory Answer. All my Antagonists have passed over in Silence the Remarks I made on what followed

the raising of *Lazarus*, in the *Resurrection considered*, third Edition, page 28. That Affair is set in so true and converting a Light, that it dazzles their interested Optics.

The Prediction in *John* ii. 20. was not understood by any, therefore no Prediction; and when spoken, conveyed no such Meaning to the Hearers, as his Resurrection from the Dead.

II. The Predictions said to be given in private were not understood to have any Signification of a real Resurrection, but only as Parables, and dark Enigma's, therefore no Predictions.

1st, Because 'tis confessed, the Disciples did not understand the Words that were spoken, what rising from the Dead meant; therefore they could not blab it to the High Priest and Pharisees, nor alarm them with what they were not alarmed of, nor expected. And those that heard not his Prophecies, nor believed his Miracles, but were ever and anon calling for a Miracle, could not expect the rising again of Jesus after his Death.

But if a fraudulent Resurrection was apprehended, as *St. Matthew* relates, and *Mr. Chandler* supposes, of the Disciples making, and therefore they sat a Watch, and a true one unexpectedly happened, 'tis not probable.

1st, Because 'tis not credible that the Watchmen should be almost killed by Miracles, and deny those Miracles that had such an Effect upon them.

2dly, Because 'tis not credible that the Jew Rulers should believe them, and hire the Soldiers to deny that Truth which they themselves believed.

3dly, Because 'tis not credible that the Rulers and Soldiers should by so doing think to conceal the Consequence of a true Resurrection.

4thly, Because 'tis confessed that Jesus never appeared in public to any, but to his Disciples only.

5thly, Because the Accounts of the Appearances of Jesus, even to his Disciples, do not agree, nor can they make them agree, tho' they have racked their Inventions all manner of Ways, and would have their unauthorized Explanations pass for Gospel Authority.

6thly, I have to add, that the miraculous Circumstances of the Resurrection as related, and the Miracles said to be done afterwards to prove it, do all want equal Proof as the Resurrection itself.

§. 16. *The Defenders characterized.*

I wish, Sir, I could find any fair Arguments against these, in the Writings of any of my reverend Opponents, who 'tis likely may imagine they have said something which deserves Regard: I wish I could with an honest Heart pay them a Compliment, that I find any of them produce better than the great *Clearer* himself, who has the Art of making Assertions and Suppositions look like Reason and Argument.

As for Mr. *Chandler*, I declare without Flattery or Envy, maugre all his Snarling, (tho' if he snarled less, he would write better) he is next to a Bishop in his Way, greater than St. *Paul* for Learning, and almost like him, scarce behind the very Chiefest of the

Apostles; with this Difference, St. *Paul* had a Thorn in the Flesh, but he has a Thorn in the Spirit.

Respecting Mr. *Silvester*, I am sorry that any honest Man should not see that Truth and Honesty are nearly related: However, as he is a Churchman, and what he has wrote is for the Church, 'tis excusable. He but modestly supposes Things, and hopes his Suppositions will be admitted to pass for authentic:

But Mr. *Jackson* does more; he asserts many Things, which would be Labour lost for me to repeat, and himself to attempt to prove; it is much the shorter Method to assert all, than to prove any Thing. I expected better Things of so good an Author, but Men cannot make Bricks without Clay, whatever they may do without Straw. However, he asserts so boldly, one would almost think he had been one of the Witnesses.

When Men are in palpable Distress, what can they do? These brave Defendants do all that Men in their Circumstances can. 'Tis not therefore the Fault of the Pleaders that the Cause is not cleared up; but the inexplicable Darkness that envelopes it. They want neither Understanding to brighten their own Side nor blacken the other.

§. 17. *Of spicing the Body of Jesus, and other Circumstances.*

The *Clearer* thinks, p. 70, 71. that the Disciples spicing their Master's Body, is no Argument of their believing or not believing his Resurrection. But were the *Clearer's* Friends to offer to give him the extreme Unction at going to Bed, supposing his Religion allowed of that Ceremony,
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he would think either that they did not expect him to rise again, or that their Senses were not so found as his Body.

The *Clearer* seems hardly to believe those he calls the Witnesses, who tell him the Disciples did not expect the Resurrection of their Master. But had they expected it, what need was there of this Cost and Ceremony? Dead Bodies were spiced to preserve them from stinking; I think there was no Fear of that in two Days, had they expected him to rise the third. Or would the Power of the Resurrection not have sweetened it? *Martha* said her Brother *Lazarus* had been dead four Days, and by this Time he stinketh; yet I suppose, he rose sweet enough. Why was not he spiced, but because probably 'twas expected he should rise again. And why was the Body of Jesus spiced, but because the Disciples confessed they had no Expectation of it. This plainly enough betrays their want of Faith and Foreknowledge of the Resurrection of Jesus.

If *Nicodemus*, who was a Ruler and a Disciple, interred the Body with an hundred Pound Weight of Spices, its evident neither the Rulers nor Disciples had any Notice of his rising again from the Dead, and knew not any Prophecy concerning it; and plainly that they thought him dead to all Intents and Purposes, since they were so officious, when they had so little Time to do it, the Sabbath drawing on.

It appears, Sir, then, that the Chief Priests having never had any Information that Jesus was to rise again, nor seen any wonderful Thing done by him, tho' they desired to see something

of that Sort which had been reported to them, they could have no Anxiety about his dead Body to occasion them to set a Watch. As for the Disciples, 'tis owned they had them in Contempt, and therefore could be under no Apprehension of their Power, or plotting to steal away the Body, and pretend it was risen, or of making any Hand of it, if they did; for could the People believe he was risen from the Grave, if they saw him not afterwards, who to them seemed not able to deliver himself from the Pains of Death, of the public ignominious Death of a Criminal. No Wonder this was to the Jews a *humbling Block*.

Why could not the Jew Rulers set a Watch at the Sepulchre without asking Leave of *Pilate*? Or why should they desire him to do that for them, which they were capable of doing for themselves? Since it appears to me, that any private Person might have done this, or hired another, or some others to do it, unless they were afraid the Persons so doing might be murdered in the Night, and therefore it was necessary for them to watch armed. If this was the Case, it is plain they were afraid of dark Villainy, not of the Appearance of Jesus and Honesty, and then a strong Guard was necessary; then the more public, the more wonderful the Women did not hear of it, as the *Clearer* suggests, and then the greater Wonder the Guard should all agree to spread about a false Report, contrary to their Knowledge; and the less Reason to suppose their sleepy Story could be credited, or that one or two Angels in winding Sheets should

frighten all and convert none. Not to mention the Angels going away when the Light came, as if they were afraid or ashamed of being seen: Why was this done in the Dark? And why did Jesus rise before the Sun? Why did the Angels and the Soldiers run away at the Approach of Day? I wish, if true, they had not a Fellow-feeling, for there was no seeing in the Case. The Story is as Dark as the Night it was done in. 'You see, Sir, how this Demonstration for the Gospel-Evidence turns out.'

§. 18. *Of the Women Disciples that attended the Sepulchre.*

To expose some Things is a sufficient Answer. The *Clearer* insinuates, that the Women who followed the Body from the Cross to the Sepulchre, knew nothing what was done to it, for *Joseph* and *Nicodemus* wrapt it in Linen, nor did they nor any one else vouchsafe to tell the Women, though they were those who had subsisted and attended Jesus in his Preaching and Travels: Yet, as they never left the Corps till they saw it deposited, they might undoubtedly have smelt an hundred Pound Weight of Spices. The *Clearer*, Sir, Queries whether it was sufficient, and supposes, that 'the Funeral Ceremonies were reserved to be performed after the Sabbath with more Spices, had not Providence prevented it by a more wonderful Event,' by the unbelieving Women Disciples, who had buried their Faith with their Master, while the Faith of Infidel Priests grew out of his Grave, and would have had no other Evidence of his Resurrection than what the Apostles gave

them, if they had not watched the Sepulchre. 'This more wonderful Event' neither the Men nor Women Disciples expected; and though it is said to be known to, and believed by the unbelieving Jew Rulers, *Nicodemus* the only Believer among the Rulers, did not believe it; for spicing the Body was a Sign of his Infidelity or Ignorance, not of his Faith or Knowledge. As for the Women, poor Creatures, the *Clearer* argues they were ignorant of every Thing, knew nothing of the Prediction, nor of *Nicodemus's* spicing the Body, or that a Watch had been seen set, 'twas done while they were confined at home,' and rested devoutly on the Sabbath, 'without stirring abroad,' or gossiping, or asking or hearing any News all that live-long Day; for neither 'the Roman Governor nor the chief Priests thought it necessary to inform these poor Women;' nor could any one else, for they set a public Watch privately, the Women therefore could not know, for they were no Witches, nor were any of the Disciples Conjurers enough to inform them of it; and being the Sabbath, no Body came near them, nor stirred out of Doors, but the Jew Rulers to beg the Body might be watched, and the Watchmen. These Things being granted, 'I cannot apprehend how it was possible they should know what was done at the Sepulchre;' therefore they went early in the Morning after the Sabbath was past, to pay their last Respects to it, by anointing and perfuming it, and consulted about rolling away the Stone from the Sepulchre. And therefore

fore ' where is the Inconsistency
' of all this? Or how are these
' different Stories?'

'Tis said, Sir, that the Women
at the Sepulchre *mourned and wept*.
Why should they weep, if they
knew he was to rise again, and
in so short a Time? Had they
known this, certainly they would
have watched the Grave with
eager Expectation and Joy. But
they had forgot his Words, (*Luke*
xxiv. 6, 7, 8.) till put in Mind
of it by two shining Men at the
Sepulchre. A likely Story! How
could they forget at so remarka-
ble a Time, such repeated As-
surances of the most amazing
Action that ever was, and they
his most intimate Friends, Ac-
quaintance, and Believers in him?

§. 19. *Of the Effect the Apparition
made to the Watch, had on them
and the Priests.*

The *Clearer* says, ' that the
' Chief Priests well knew what
' Effect the Report of the Watch
' would naturally have on the
' Minds of the People, if fairly
' made.' How could they know
it, if it made none on them nor
the Watch? And if it had an Ef-
fect on both the Watch and them,
why does he only, in Contradiction
to what I argued about it,
endeavour to prove it had not?
If it had an Effect, how could
they think to prevent it by Means
of those very Men that had found
it irresistible. But tush, he in-
sinuates that was but ' a Fright,'
(*p. 87, 88.*) There is not the least
' Reason to suspect they were ac-
' quainted with the Character
' and Pretensions of the Person
' lying in the Grave,' though all

Jerusalem knew of it. ' They
' did not expect to be disturbed
' by invisible Powers.' True;
but if they were, and the invisible
Powers appeared visible, it must
have been the more surprizing.
But after they had been so greatly
disturbed, that they became as
dead Men, and had told it to the
High Priest and Rulers, it affected
them no more. Why? They
were common Soldiers, and there-
fore not common Men; they were
scared and terrified by a surprizing
Sight, but unaffected with the
Consequences; and the Chief
Priests too, though they were al-
armed at it. The Soldiers, bribed
by them with ready Money,
reported what the Priests invent-
ed; who, though they admitted
his Miracles, and were Witnesses
to some of them, so that (*p. 61.*)
' Whether they thought him to
' be the Christ or no, could not
' but suspect him to be a great
' Prophet at least;' yet they as-
cribed his Miracles to the Power
of Beelzebub; and though they
suspected, ' He might possibly
' come from the Grave armed
' with Power to take Vengeance
' for their wicked and cruel
' Treatment of him,' yet ' Might
' ascribe all the Guards' reported
' to be done at the Sepulchre to
' the Power of the Devil:' *Supra*
quam cuique credibile est. Priests
and Infidels, or Infidel Priests,
have generally more Sense than
to believe so much in the Devil.

The *Clearer* thinks it proper
that neither the Watch, the An-
gels, nor the Priests, should be
Witnesses of the Resurrection, *p.*
91. but such chosen Witnesses to
convince the World, as the World
would not chuse of all Men, in-
terested

interested in the Case, whose Honesty was suspected, and judged to require a strict Watch, lest they should be guilty of foul Play. But though the High Priest and Rulers knew the Disciples, and we not, we can confide in the Integrity of the Disciples, though they could not, whereby our Faith is approved: Thus we being spiritually begotten, and their Offspring thro' Faith by a lineal Descent, we go to Heaven in a right Line.

§. 20. *Remarks on Mr. Chandler's Assertions*

Mr. Chandler (p. 8, and 9.) assures us, that the 'Predictions of Christ to his Disciples of his Sufferings and Resurrection, as to the Sense and Meaning of them, were too clear to be misunderstood;' and p. 10. 'they understood the Meaning of these Expressions perfectly well;' tho' the Evangelists say the Disciples did *not* understand them, Mark ix. 10. 32. as also appears by their Actions: But he presumes, that they did not understand how the Messiah was to suffer and rise again, and yet they understood Jesus to be the Messiah, and the Sense of what he told them about it, very well. If they did understand his Words, why did they not believe, and expect the fulfilling them? If they did not understand how the Messiah was to suffer, why did he not open their Understandings? Without which, whatever he taught them, they learnt nothing. Why did he, who was called, *the Light of the World*, find and leave them in the Dark. He calls *them* the

Light of the World, Matt. v. 14. and yet they groped in Darkness. Jesus said, *All that ever came before me were Thieves and Robbers*, John x. 8. so are all that have been after him, for they have stole away our Light. Their Prejudices, say these Pleaders, darkened their Minds; strange! That the Light of God which came down from Heaven being with them, could not, or did not remove those Prejudices! That God should not enlighten his own People, nor Christ his Disciples, is a very dark Story.

Mr. C. adds, that, 'if they were not satisfied, 'twas because they demand unreasonable Satisfaction:' This is an unreasonable Assertion; for what is more reasonable, than such Proof of the Truth of a Fact, as the Nature of it could and ought to give; and p. 19. 'Supposing they were an evil, adulterous, profligate, hypocritical, persecuting, bigotted Generation, how was it possible to satisfy them?' says he. Were they too bad to be made good? Or were they to have the less Motives to make them so, in Proportion as they were the more wicked? Or, suppose Men are unreasonably bad, are not reasonable Methods therefore to be used to make them better? You know, Sir, let Men be ever so bad, they nevertheless believe their own Eyes. Had Jesus personally and publicly appeared to them after his Resurrection, as before, the Trouble of after Miracles might have been spared, and the Holy Ghost might have staid in Heaven. If a Miracle be necessary at all to confirm it, 'tis now; but then it required no other

other than a personal Manifestation.

It would be lost Time, Sir, particularly to shew how greatly Mr. C. affirms and suggests, and how little he proves, like the other Gentlemen in this unbloody War; they make desperate Attacks, but shameful Retreats. Arguments founded merely on imagination, are but imaginary Arguments: Suppositions are fit Answers to Suppositions; and Assertions to Assertions; which may be done without End.

§. 21. *Whether the Watch were credible Evidence in Favour of the Resurrection?*

Sir, If the Jew Rulers found it necessary Policy to bribe the Soldiers to report a Lye, and did it; if they could bribe them to deny what they had affirmed, the Rulers had little Reason to believe their former Affirmations; but might reasonably conclude, that those mercenary Rogues had been before-hand hired by the Disciples to lye to them, as they had hired them to lye to the People. If they did not scruple lying for a Bribe in one Case, they would do the same in the other; for either Side was equal to them. They that can assert any Thing for a Bribe, and those who say and unsay, prove nothing: What is an equal Proof to both Sides, is a Proof to neither. If they could be bribed to lye at all; there is the less Reason to believe any Thing they reported; they are a perjured Evidence, and not to be credited in any Respect, or for any Party. Thus, supposing there was a Watch, as pretended,

they prove nothing in Favour of the Resurrection; because, if they were liable to be corrupted by the Priests, they might have been also corrupted by the Disciples. Or, who knows but the hundred Pound Weight of Spices might allure them to remove the Body in the Dark; if that was not enough, an Angel a-piece might induce them to run away, and let the Disciples do what they pleased with it. What Certainty have we, supposing there was a Watch, that it was not so? Or that Countenance and Encouragement was not given to this angelic Story by Pilate?

§. 22. *Of the Sufficiency of Gospel Evidence, and my Errors.*

I asked, Why do the Evangelists tell different Stories? 'What do you mean? says the *Clearer*, 'St. *Matthew* alone tells the Story of guarding the Sepulchre, 'the rest are quite silent in that 'Point, but say nothing that is 'inconsistent with it.' The Inconsistency I have already shewn. 'St. *Matthew* alone tells the 'Story of watching the Sepulchre, the rest are quite silent about it; what, not one Word by the others, but of Facts that cannot at all stand with it? Why did not *Matthew* mention what the Women came for to roll away the Stone, and spice the Body? No; 'twas not agreeable to the Story of the Watch. That the Gospel Evidence may be as remarkable as the Gospel Facts, one Witness unknown and absent, must be sufficient in uncommon Cases; but common Cases in Law require at least two living Witnesses

Witnesses present to establish the Truth; for the Gospel is founded on Faith, but the Law on Reason.

All the *Considerer's* Reasons are to be esteemed of no Weight: Why? Because, says Mr. *Jackson*, he blunders, and mistakes one Man for another, and one Woman for another. Well, I am convinced of these two Errors, and make a public Recantation: 1st, I mentioned that *Agrippa*, which should have been *Festus*, told *Paul* he was mad, p. 71. of the 2d Edition, line 30. 'tis easily mended, for he read *Festus*; but what is this to the Argument? And p. 35, for *Mary* the Mother of *Jesus*, read *Joses*; and p. 36. for *Jesus's* own Mother, read the Mother of *Joses*; for 'tis a Question, whether we may not reckon the Mother of *Jesus* among his Brethren, *Matth.* xii. 47, 48, 49. *John* vii. 3, 4, 5. and one of his own Kindred, and his own House, *Mark* v. 4. for it seems he had little to do with his own Mother, *John* ii. 4.

§. 23. Of the *Defenders* attempts to reconcile the Appearances of *Christ*.

All the four Gentlemen agree to affirm, that there is no Inconsistency at all in the Relation of the Appearances of *Christ* in the four Gospels; yet, Sir, there is no Agreement among them and the Gospels, nor among one another in making them consistent.

Mr. *Chandler* says (p. 79.) that " *Grotius* and most other Interpreters make this Appearance of *Christ* to *Mary Magdalene*, mentioned by *St. John*, the same with that to the Women mentioned by *St. Matthew*, and think, that the

Appearance of the Angel mentioned by *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, which was made to the Women in common, was also the same as that which *St. John* mentions as made to *Mary Magdalene*." But Mr. C. being full of himself, thinks there is the fullest Evidence to the contrary; if so, 'tis surprizing that others could not, as well as himself, distinguish by the fullest Evidence: But if he means, that in such Light there is the fullest Evidence, that the Story does not harmonize, it may be true. 'What then is to be done 'in this Diffress,' but to suppose them two distinct Appearances, to reconcile the Inconsistencies that attend their being one Appearance. It is to be observed, Sir,

1st, That they have no Authority for doing this, but the Necessity they are under to reconcile the Differences, that arise from their being considered as one Appearance.

2^{dly}, That considering them as two distinct Appearances does not reconcile the Differences.

3^{dly}, That though they affirm nothing more than that they are consistent in every Part, they prove nothing less.

But the great *Clearer* has endeavoured to reconcile the Differences in one Appearance, (if I understand him aright) though his great Patron supposed two to *Mary Magdalene*.

§. 24. Mr. *Sylvester's* Account of the Appearances of *Jesus* compared with the Evangelists.

I shall mention Mr. *Sylvester* next, because the others seem to have followed him, with some Variation

Variation where they are cramped, to make it, as they think, more consistent, they fall under a Necessity, as Men Shipwrackt, each to shift for himself. Mr. T. S. from *Lucas Burgenfis*, delivers it thus, p. 63, 64.

1. 'When the Women saw the Body was gone, and had seen the Vision of Angels, who said that he was alive, and communicated it to the Disciples;

2. 'Then ran *Peter* and *John* quickly to the Sepulchre, and not finding the Body of Jesus, returned home astonished, *Luke xxiv. 12. John xx. 3.*

3. 'Mary *Magdalene* returning to the Sepulchre, and continuing there weeping, had the Honour of the first Appearance from our Lord, *Mark x. 9. John xx. 11.*

4. 'When she had communicated this to the other Women, and was going together with them to the Apostles, to signify what had happened, Jesus met them, appearing to them all, *Matth. xxviii. 9.*

5. 'During this, after the Appearance of the Angels to the Soldiers, who were appointed for the Watch, being bribed, they went into the City, and reported, that the Disciples came by Night, and stole the Body of Jesus away, *Mat. xxviii. 4. 11.*

6. 'The Women giving Testimony that Jesus was alive, and the Apostles being incredulous, he appeared then to *Peter*, *Luke xxiv. 34.*

7. 'Afterwards he appeared to the two Disciples going to *Emmaus*, *Luke xxiv. 13. Mark xvi. 12.*

8. 'And then on the Evening

'of the first Day of the Week, that is, the Lord's Day, he appeared to all the Apostles together, *Thomas* alone being absent, *Mark xvi. 14. Luke xxiv. 36. John xx. 19.*

9. 'Thomas remaining incredulous to the Report of the Disciples, Jesus presented himself before them all, to be seen and felt on the eighth Day after, *John xx. 24.*

10. 'Afterwards the Disciples repairing to *Galilee*, as they were commanded, they saw Jesus at the Sea of *Tiberias*, and there he dined with them, *John xxi. 1.*

11. 'And afterwards he was seen by a great Number on the Mount, *Matth. xxviii. 16.*

12. 'So then after the Completion of forty Days, in which he conversed with his Disciples, speaking to them the Things that concern the Kingdom of God, on the fortieth Day, while they beheld he ascended into Heaven, *Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 5. Acts i. 3.*

Against this, Sir, I have these Objections.

That the Women went and found the Body was gone, came and told *Peter* and *John*, and went again with them, and saw Jesus in their second Return, is not agreeable to any evangelical Account. *Matthew* says, in their Return from thence the first Time, they met Jesus by the Way. It must be the first Time, because they carried Spices with them.

If they went twice to the Sepulchre, and saw Angels at the first Time, who told them, that Jesus was alive, why did they not tell it to *Peter* and *John*? And if they

they did, why does not *John* mention it? But on the contrary, that they said, they have taken the Lord out of the Sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him. This, says Mr. C. is only a Rehearsal of what she said to the Angel; but no Angel told him so: And why did she or *John* tell one Part of the Story, and not the other?

If the Soldiers were but going into the City, when the Women were the last Time going to tell the Disciples, certainly they must have seen them at the Sepulchre the first Time; but that they could not do, for the Soldiers fled at the opening the Sepulchre, and *Mary Magdalene* with the Women came the first Time after it was opened.

Where was Jesus gone, that he did not appear to *Peter* and *John* at the Sepulchre, yet must of Necessity be there but a little before, and was there afterwards? So were the Angels, yet *Peter* and *John* saw them not, neither in the Sepulchre nor out of it.

§. 25. *The Manner of the first Appearance to Mary Magdalene, according to the Clearer.*

The Clearer differs from *Lucas Brugenfis*, in that he conceives these two Appearances are one, and says *Mary Magdalene* was only mentioned as being the Principal, and that she saw Jesus after going the second Time to the Sepulchre with the Women, (which *Matthew* says was in their first Return.) By this Accommodation of the Appearance, *standing* and *going*, at the Sepulchre, and at a Distance from it, are the same Thing. The

Clearer says, Jesus forbade them to touch his Body, after they had touched him. 'If *Mary* had not laid hold of Jesus's Feet, he could have no Occasion to say, *Touch me not.*' Thus he alone attempts to reconcile the Accounts in one Appearance. To do him Justice, as after all, he does not conceal his Diffidence of the Truth according to his Explanation; so I will not conceal his Modesty. 'Upon the whole (says he) I think the Account here given seems to me to be the most probable, which I would be understood to say without Prejudice to other Interpretations, which many worthy and learned Writers have followed.'

§. 26. *The History of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene according to Mr. Chandler.*

But Mr. *Chandler* will have it, that *Mary Magdalene* in one Journey to the Sepulchre saw Jesus twice, once alone, according to *St. John*, and once with her Companions, according to *St. Matthew*. And (p. 83, 84.) that 'They afterwards came to *Peter* and *John*, and that *Mary Magdalene* told them she had a Message from Christ to them all: That the two Apostles gathered the rest together, with *Mary Magdalene* and the other Women; she related to them the several Appearances as they happened in Order, who had a greater Command of her Spirits, and was able calmly to give them the important Relation, who heard all without believing any Thing. It does not appear (adds he) from this Account,

Account, that *Mary Magdalene* ran back and told the Disciples what she had seen at the Sepulchre, and then returned to it and saw Jesus.—(p. 84.) ‘Tis absolutely improbable.’ (p. 86, 87.) *Mark* and *John* speak of the first Appearance of Christ to *Mary* and the rest of her Companions, as they were at a Distance from the Sepulchre, and hastening home to make their Report to the Apostles.—(p. 79.) ‘Either *Mary Magdalene* did not flee at all from it, (i. e. the Sepulchre) or immediately returned to it.’—p. 88.) ‘*Tho’ St. John* mentions *Mary Magdalene’s* running to *Peter* immediately after the Account that she saw the Stone taken from the Sepulchre, yet *St. John* never gives the least Intimation that *Mary Magdalene* returned back to the Sepulchre; but after the Series of the History had been interrupted by the Relation of *Peter* and *John’s* running to the Sepulchre, he resumes it again, and connects it by a Word that plainly shews it to be a Continuance of the foregoing Narration.’ Thus by Interpolations these holy Writings are defended against any Interpolations, and the Story is justified from being a Blunder by making the Story-tellers Blunderers.

§. 27. *Mr. Jackson’s Relation of the Appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene.*

Mr. Jackson’s Gospel of the Resurrection, p. 124, 125, 126, differs from *Mr. Sylvester’s* and the rest, of which this is the Sub-

stance: *Mary Magdalene* with the other Women go to the Sepulchre, and find not the Body; *Mary Magdalene* leaves them, and runs to tell *Peter* and *John*; the other Women stay and see Angels; they go to tell the Disciples; when they are gone, come *Peter* and *John*; *Mary Magdalene* follows; the Men examine the Sepulchre, and go home; *Mary Magdalene* stays, sees Angels and Jesus; she runs to tell the Disciples of it; after this Jesus appeared to the other Women also by the Way, that were gone before, and suffered them to lay hold of his Feet, though he would not permit *Mary Magdalene* to touch him.

§. 28. *Remarks on the Expositions of these Gospel-defenders.*

Thus, Sir, these Gentlemen have tried all manner of Ways to make the Story consistent, though every one of them assert there is no Inconsistency in the several Accounts of the Evangelists; yet in endeavouring to make them agree, the Gospels of the Resurrection of the *Clearer*, of *Mr. Sylvester*, of *Mr. Chandler*, and of *Mr. Jackson*, differ as much as *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*. *Nulli duo concinnunt*. Their Understanding it so differently shews it is above *their* Understanding as well as mine; yet every one seems sure his own is right; and if it be, I am sure no Man knows which to take, or refuse. But above all that are sure, as *Mr. Jackson* expresses it, p. 139, that ‘There is no Contradiction nor Inconsistencies in the several Accounts of Christ’s Resurrection,

tion, nor any other Difference
 ' but one Evangelist omits some
 ' Circumstances which are relat-
 ' ed in others: I say, above all
 the rest I recommend you, Sir, to
 Mr. *Chandler*, if Positiveness be a
 Proof of being in the right, he
 is positively the Man. And to
 compleat the Jest, he pretends to
 scrape Acquaintance with *Honesty*,
 whom you may believe him ac-
 quainted with, if he is so weak in
 Judgment as to be strong in Faith.
 He says, p. 86. ' Upon the
 ' whole, as the several Accounts
 ' are fairly capable of being re-
 ' conciled without any unnatural
 ' Suppositions and forced Con-
 ' structions upon the plain Letter
 ' of the Words, and the Intima-
 ' tions dropt by one or other of
 ' the Historians themselves; I
 ' am forced as an *honest Man*,
 ' and a Lover of Justice, to bring
 ' in my Verdict in Favour of these
 ' Witnesses, and declare them
 ' fully consistent.' P. 80. ' So
 ' that comparing these several
 ' Accounts, we have the whole
 ' History of this important Event
 ' compleat, and every Part of it
 ' is a Confirmation of the Whole.'
 P. 82. ' So that the Testimony
 ' of the Evangelists in their dif-
 ' ferent Narrations is perfectly
 ' consistent.' P. 92. ' 'Tis not
 ' Necessity, any other than that
 ' irresistible Necessity of Fact,
 ' and the strongest Circumstan-
 ' ces, that drives us to assert two
 ' Appearances, which removes
 ' all Absurdity from the Account,
 ' and justifies the Whole; with-
 ' out receding one Tittle from
 ' the Letter of the History, &c.'

To affirm at this Rate, after
 such Transpositions, Interpolations,
 and Constructions, which

he is forced to make Use of, to
 make it in any tolerable manner
 hang together, and accord, is
 intolerable, and shews that *Mo-
 desty* is an utter Stranger to him.
 I wish he had better Acquain-
 tance with that polite Lady, and
 was more in Favour with her
 Grace.

If such dividing and tacking of
 the Evangelists together, as all
 these Gentlemen are forced to con-
 trive to make Discord look like
 Concord, was done to make them
 disagree, what would Christian
 Preachers and Believers think and
 say, or rather what would they
 not say to expose and reproach
 such male Practice. Though the
Clearer says, ' All the Evidence
 ' is on the Side of the Resurrec-
 ' tion,' 'tis evident they find it
 very difficult to bring them all
 on one Side, and that the Me-
 thods they are obliged to take,
 shews them reduced to the great-
 est Distress. What does all these
 Contrivances demonstrate, but the
 palpable Patchwork of an ill con-
 nected Story, to make the best
 of it. They tell us, St. *John*
 wrote his Gospel to correct the
 Defects of the others: Certainly
 they were very defective, and his
 Correction very incorrect. 'Tis
 confessing the Evangelists told
 their Story by Halves, and so
 badly, that if they had not the
 Holy Ghost to direct them, no
 Body stood in more Need of it;
 no, is there less Need of him now
 to inform us what they mean,
 than was at first to teach them
 what he meant. If they had
 learned their Lesson right, they
 certainly would have taught us
 better; but their Blundering
 shews their Honesty: Though
 the

the Holy Ghost may pardon an honest Blunderer, yet sure he would never chuse to send such of an Errand. To make up their Defects, these Gentlemen give us for Gospel their own Conjectures, for which there is no Authority, the pure Offspring of Invention and Necessity to make the Accounts correspond, which yet fail in doing. But such mangling and cobling of the Text shews manifest Confusion and egregious Blunders, not easy to make on the Side of Truth and Understanding, nor easy to reconcile with it. And it seems very unreasonable, that the worst Story-tellers should demand the best Credit, and that on the severest Penalties. This, Sir, to me is a Demonstration of the Badness of the Story, that it needs such Penalties to make it pass; for the most shining Truth is always attended with the clearest Evidence, and Virtue is wholly without Compulsion, 'tis the best natured Thing in the World. Truth and Virtue go Hand in Hand, always attended by Freedom; but Error dwells with Confusion, Vice and Compulsion.

Though every one knows, that Stories which do not agree, cannot be all true, yet they do not consider, that 'tis more likely they may be all false; and that many that do agree, are also false; therefore the Agreement of Stories is no Proof of the Truth of them; and if Probability be absent, it shews Proof is wanting. Improbable Histories that rightly tally, prove the fact no more, than a false Story, often repeated by one Person, or told by several, prove it to be true.

§. 29. *The Harmony of the Gospel Defenders.*

Having shewn, Sir, how each of these Gentlemen endeavour to state the Account of Christ's first Appearance, to make the Evidence agree, and what Agreement is between them and the Evidence, I now come to shew, how in endeavouring to remove all Disagreements they agree one with another.

I hope, Sir, that you now clearly see, that there is such Agreement in the Gospel, and Gospel Expounders and Defenders, that whether the first Appearance of Christ after his Resurrection was to *Mary* alone, according to *St. John*, *Mr. Sylvester*, p. 65. *Mr. Chandler*, p. 78, 79. and *Mr. Jackson*, p. 126. or to her in Company with other Women, as *St. Matthew* and the *Clearer* say, in Contradiction to *St. John* and the rest; both are consistent, and agreeable to them and the Text. Whether *Mary* touched not Jesus's Feet at first, but embraced them afterwards, as *Mr. Sylvester* has it; or whether she and the Women embraced them, and were forbidden at the same Time, as the *Clearer* says, p. 114; or that *Mary* was not forbid at all, and that 'there is no Reason to think 'it,' as *Mr. C.* p. 89, says; and that she was forbid, and did not touch him at all, as *Mr. Jackson* says, p. 126. Is either Way intirely consistent? Whether *Mary Magdalene* went with other Women to the Sepulchre, and afterwards came and told *Peter* and *John*, and left the other Women

F f behind,

behind, as Mr. *Jackson* says; or whether they went away, and left her behind, or went a little Way with them, and then returned alone, and afterwards joined them, as Mr. *Chandler* says; or whether they all went together, as say Mr. *Silvester* and the *Clearer*, is all concordant and consistent? Whether *Mary Magdalene*, with the Women, reported to the Apostles they had seen Angels and Jesus Christ, as St. *Matthew* and Mr. C. says, (p. 85.) or that they reported not a Word about it, only that the Body was gone, as St. *John* and the *Clearer* relate, (p. 105.) is perfectly natural and harmonious? So, whether *Mary* saw Christ after *Peter* and *John* went to the Sepulchre, as St. *John* and the *Clearer* and Mr. *Jackson* relate? Or whether she saw him at the Sepulchre before *Peter* and *John* went there, as Mr. C. places it, 'I am forced, as an honest Man, and a Lover of Justice, to bring in my Verdict in Favour of these Jurymen, and declare them fully consistent.' That St. *Mark* and St. *John* speak of one Appearance to *Mary Magdalene* alone, standing by the Sepulchre, and *Matthew* of another to her and her Companions, going away, and at a Distance from it, as they were hastening Home, as Mr. C. has it, (p. 86, 87.) or that it was but one Appearance in all to *Mary Magdalene* and her Companions, as the *Clearer* supposes; and therefore standing or running, being at the Sepulchre or at a Distance from it, by herself or in Company, to make *Matthew* and *John* agree, is all one; nor is there any manner of Contradiction in

it, nor in their Contradictions, which last is as true as all the rest.

§. 30. *Remarks on attempting to reconcile irreconcilable History.*

Is it, Sir, a Proof of the History, and its Consistency, that every Interpreter differs about the Sense of it, and to bring it out of Confusion confounds it, and is confounded? Is it, Sir, a fair Representation of the Sense and Criterion of the Veracity of it, that not two of those who swear to the Truth of it, can agree about the Meaning, nor in what Sense to represent it? If the Evangelists don't agree in what they tell, I see no Reason, that Men should therefore suggest, they tell what they don't. What would, or might be said to those, that should thus mangle and distort a History, to make it contradict itself, I think may be said to those, that by such Means endeavour to take away these Contradictions that are in it. Sir, I do not see, that Truth indulges Believers to new coin the Face of Faith, to preserve its Currency, more than it does others to falsify it; nor to strain the Sense of Greek Words, or English Sentences, to a Sense unthought of before, to help them out at a dead Lift. Have the Evangelists expressed their own Sense clear and right, how can the Expositors do it better? Have the Gospel Historians expressed themselves in such manner, that Men cannot agree what their Sense is? 'Tis not in their Power to clear it up: This one Thing is clear from hence, that the Believers and Defenders are greatly in the Dark, and nothing discovers

discovers it more, than their affirming that to be true, which they know nothing of, and asserting those Things to be right, which their own Ignorance of is a Demonstration, that such Assertions are manifestly wrong. If it cannot be known, let it remain doubtful, or a Thing indifferent: If it be not right, why should Men endeavour to make it appear so? If the Honesty of the Historians in relating, was equal to their Understanding in expressing, what Men cannot agree about, I leave it to their Defenders to consider, what Credit they deserve. If they had the Holy Ghost to bring all Things to their Remembrance, and the Gift of Tongues to express them, 'tis very strange, they knew not how to agree together to tell a consistent Story: If they say they had these Helps, and there appears plainly their want of them, they can obtain Credit with none but the Credulous. Sir, it is my Opinion, that the Apostles, on whom these Things are fathered, were innocent of the Matter; but others have done it in their Names. What mended their Hearts and Tongues must have mended their Intellects, and better directed their Pens: If there is no Proof of the Latter, there is no Reason to believe the Former; for the more of the one is ascribed to them, and the less Appearance there is of the other, the more (Tinker like) in mending, it mars the Metal.

§. 31. *Of the next Appearance, and other Circumstances.*

The Clearer thinks Christ had no Occasion to mention his In-

tention to see them that Night in *Jerusalem*, (p. 122.) but I cannot help thinking, it had been better for him to have mentioned this first, and in that Visit, he had an Opportunity to tell them of his Pleasure to see them in *Galilee*; for if the last was first, and only mentioned, without doubt: it would have set the Disciples on making the best of their Way thither immediately, by which Means they would have lost the Pleasure and Opportunity of seeing him in *Jerusalem*; so his most faithful Disciples would have been worst treated, as being by their Faith and Obedience most likely to be most disappointed of the Advantage given to others, who unexpectedly saw him at *Jerusalem*. But notwithstanding the Message pretended to be given by the Angels and himself, they were in no haste to go there: And why should he trudge them there and back again, when it don't appear, he went or came with them. He could have skimmed thro' the Air to see his Disciples there, when they, 'tis likely, were forced to trudge it all the Way on Foot. According to St. *Luke*, he never went to *Galilee*, but ascended the Evening of the Day he arose: To get off from this Dilemma, they say nothing but what is monstrously absurd. Mr. *Chandler* has it, p. 112. 'That the Account of the Appearance to the Apostles, and what belongs to it, ends at ver. 43. and the 44th verse, *And he said unto them,*' or, as he renders it, 'moreover he said unto them, relate to an Appearance forty Days after,' to reconcile it with *Acts* i. 4. which nothing but a Spirit of Divination

vination could have found out: A notable Discovery! This is a Revelation indeed! Alas, Sir, what does not Necessity drive Men to! The *Clearer* says, p. 132. 'The Orders to go to *Galilee*, and 'continue at *Jerusalem*, were given at different Times;' yes, the Order in the Morning bade them go to *Galilee*, but in the Evening of the same Day, if St. *Luke* writes like honest Men that are no Saints, they were (ver. 49.) ordered to tarry at *Jerusalem*, by that Time Jesus had changed his Mind, and instead of going to *Galilee*, took the open Road thro' the Air, from Mount *Olivet* to Heaven.

The Gentlemen take much Pains to explain the Meaning of those Words concerning the Appearance of Jesus to the two Disciples travelling to *Emmaus*, *he appeared in another Form, their Eyes were holden that they should not know him, and he vanished out of Sight*; in doing which they do not well agree: But by what they say, 'tis plain, all the Interpretation which can be given it, is but guessing at the Meaning, and endeavouring to account for it, as well as they can. And to follow their Pattern, he that guesses what is most probable, and farthest off from Miracle, seems to come nearest the Mark. So that Miracles are only to be allowed in Cases of Necessity; but he does best, who can do without them.

The Gentlemen are very careful to convince me of my Error, that *Simon Peter* was not the other Disciple that went with *Cleopas* to *Emmaus*; but this Care is of no Moment; 'twas but a mere

Supposition or Conjecture of mine, and delivered as such; at the Overthrow of which they seem to glory, as if they had obtained some Sort of Victory: But what, pray, does it signify to the Argument, whether it was *Simon Peter* with *Cleopas*, that knew Christ very well, or somebody, that no Body knows not so much as his bare Name; and who perhaps, as Mr. C. supposes, (p. 97.) was not so well acquainted with his Manner, Person, and Voice, and might, for aught we know, as little know Christ, as we know him, or *Cleopas*, of whom we know no more than the Name of one of them. If the *Cleopas* here mentioned, be that *Cleopas* which *Mary* is called the Wife of, *John* xix. 25. who saw Jesus crucified, and was with *Mary Magdalene*, we know nothing more of him; therefore 'tis to little Purpose to tell us of this Appearance: For if these two were those that knew Jesus very well, the Account is the more unaccountable, that they should not know him, when risen; but if they had little Knowledge of him, or we of them, their Evidence is of so much the less Weight. But whether they were both worth naming or not, (as it seems one of them was not) 'tis not to be accounted for by me, that Jesus should spend his Time in a private Appearance with those on the public Road, when the eleven Principals had not yet seen him, nor knew whether he was moved off alive or dead, all the Day long, and wanted to have their Understandings opened by the Resurrection, which were not opened by the Prediction of it, save only,

'tis

'tis said, he appeared to *Peter*; but of this Appearance 'tis very remarkable, that there is nothing remarkable in it, not so much as when, where, in what manner, or on what Account this private Appearance to *Peter* was made, and what makes it more so, tho' he had appeared to *Peter*, one of the Eleven, and two of the peripatetic Disciples came to the Apostles, and heard them talking about it, and saying the Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared to *Simon*, (which my Gentlemen say is *Peter*) and though they told the Eleven themselves, what they knew of his Appearance to them, yet, says St. *Mark*, they did not believe them, (ver. 13.) nay, they could hardly believe Christ himself, St. *Luke* says, (ver. 41.) So that either these are bad Accounts of his Appearance, or the Disciples were bad sort of Believers. If it was so hard to make Believers believe, they were not far from Unbelievers; and therefore we may hope for the more Grace hereafter, who have here no Evidence of Christ's Resurrection, nor of his Appearance, fit to convince a reasonable Man.

The Appearance of Jesus upon the Day of his Resurrection was to one Woman alone, then to two or three or more, for a Minute or two, in the Morning early, or to them altogether. He supped and dined with none that we read of. At some Time of the Day afterwards somewhere he appeared to some *Simon* or other, and either before or after two Men Incog. one unknown, who knew so little whether it was him or no, and told their Story so evangelically, that they could not convince the

other Disciples of the Truth of it; nor could *Mary*, nor the rest of the Women, nor this *Simon*, so that Jesus was forced to come himself, and ventured to slip in among them at Candle-light, which was so dim, that they were forced partly to feel him out, *Luke* v. 39. One would have thought it more natural and reasonable, first to appear to them altogether, by Appointment, in or near *Jerusalem*, where he and they are described to have been, at Noon-day, and faced the Sun itself. Why had none but his Disciples the Gift of seeing him? This Objection alone, raised from what the Evidence confesses, that he was never seen in Public afterwards, though he rose again for a public Good, is sufficient to over-balance all that can possibly be urged in Favour of it. Some want to know what Jesus said to these two Disciples, when he opened their Understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures, and think the Secret should have been revealed, not considering, that the Men who get their Livings by the Secrets of their Function must not blab them; if they did, the Mystery would be at an End, and their Gain be gone. The Magi understand Magic better; if he opened their Understandings, they never open ours, nor ever will, no, they live by confounding them; for when that Lock is opened, we ourselves shall keep the Keys of the Kingdom.

§. 32. *Of unintelligible History; and the manner of defending it.*

They object, that I don't understand the Scriptures. Sir, I

own it; therefore I propose my Objections, that I may be taught to understand it: But I find those that pretend to teach others know as little, since they don't agree how it is to be understood; 'tis plain they do but guess at it, and others may guess at it as well as they. I don't know, Sir, whether the manner of apprehending the true Knowledge of it be by the Language of *Canaan*, or of *Greece*. I see plainly, that 'tis no infallible Rule in itself in any Language; for none that make it their Director, whether they expound it by the Help of the Spirit or the Letter, agree in their Expositions. As the Sense is not infallibly clear, there is also no infallible Way to know it; therefore Disbelief and Misbelief are the certain Consequents of reading holy Writ, (for there is no Certainty of true Belief, because neither Party do, nor can understand it.) Unbelievers are ignorant of the Truth of it; and if Believers had Sense sufficient to understand it, they would agree in the Sense of it. It is not to be said the Fault is in the Gospel, therefore it is in all that read it, whether they are Unbelievers or Believers.

These Defenders, if they cunningly Answer an Objection, that the Words of the Text, or the Nature of the Story occasions, in such manner as to cover the Imperfections of it, though by a different Sense than 'tis probable the Writers ever meant or designed, and of which themselves are certain they but guess, if they make it passable, how they vaunt, exult, and crow, as if they were Masters of the Field; whereas 'tis

only like skinning over an old Ulcer, that after a while breaks out a-fresh, and discovers the latent Corruption, though they affirm stoutly to the insensible Patient that the Cure is good, and the Flesh is sound, when it is plainly tending to a Mortification.

Differences in profane History not easy to reconcile, imposed on Mankind to aggrandize Heathen Gods or Heroes, they freely call evident Marks of Fraud or Folly; but in what is called sacred History (though I think Truth only makes History sacred, and Falshood renders it prophane) these to them are plain Proofs of the Simplicity and Integrity of the Writers, 'without the least Design of Imposition on the weak and credulous Part of Mankind,' (as Mr. C. says, p. 77.) and the least Agreement in any Part of these proves the Truth of the Whole; but in those, the Disagreement of the Parts is apt to make Men question the Whole, or at least to read it with Caution, and receive it with Diffidence. Such is the marvellous pre-eminence of Gospel History.

§. 33. *On the Harmony of the other Appearance or Appearances.*

'Twould be endless, Sir, to trace the Wildness of their Imaginations, and shew how boldly they guess, how weakly they prove, and what Necessities they are reduced to. Mr. C. p. 125. tartly assures us, he will not allow any Thing against him without Evidence; but by what Evidence does he prove any Thing, but by that of the Names of Persons, of whom 'tis unknown whether they ever wrote or read, whose

Books

Books when or where penned God only knows, have no Authority but their own, though their Stories are sufficient to amaze the World, yet no Proof remains (besides these Books) that the World knew any Thing of them. Evangelical Harmony no Numbers can confound. The Eleven, *Mark* xvi. 14. *Luke* xxiv. 33. are Ten, to make it tally with *John* xx. 24, and the Eleven at another Time, *Matth.* xxviii. 16. are Twelve, to make it agree with *1 Cor.* xv. 5. as Mr. C. will have it, p. 119, or the Eleven are 500 with Mr. *Sylveſter*, p. 64, and Mr. *Jackson*, p. 127. with the *Clearer*, p. 133, Ten, Eleven, and Twelve mean the same; but he is careful in what Appearance to account for the 500, therefore accounts for it no where, or in none that he mentions. P. 125, Mr. C. not knowing how to charge this Account to any in the Gospel, sets it by itself next to that of *Matthew* xxviii. 16. Mr. C. makes *Mark* xvi. 14, and *John* xx. 16, to be the same Appearance, because they both intimate that Christ appeared to the Eleven, p. 110, 111. But the *Clearer* supposes the Appearance mentioned by St. *Mark* xvi. 14, is the same as that of St. *Luke* xxiv. 36, and St. *John* xx. 19, because St. *Mark* says, at that Appearance our Saviour upbraided the Eleven for not believing them, which had seen him after he was risen, which he well says, shews it was the first Time he appeared to them himself; and for the same Reason that of *Matthew* was the first Time that he appeared to the Eleven, because some doubted, which must be some of the Eleven, because they are expressly mentioned, and

no more: But the Scene of this being placed on a Mountain in *Galilee*, and that of *Mark* and *Luke* at *Jerusalem*, because they cannot make *Galilee* and *Jerusalem* the same Place, they will have it that it was a different Appearance; but they have no other Reason to make it so, but the Distress the different Accounts reduce them to, to make them agree. As to this Appearance, for which you have three Evidences, they do not agree; that to *Mary Magdalene*, for which they have four Evidences, they agree worse, so that the more Evidence we have, the worse is the Proof: And as for the other Appearances, for which you have only single Evidences, and extreme short ones, they cannot disagree, except they had said a little more to disagree with themselves. Lo these are the Proofs of the Harmony of the Gospel!

§. 34. *Of the other Appearances of Jesus, according to the Defenders.*

Sir, I now purpose to give you at one View, in what Order the Defenders range the Appearances of Christ, after he appeared to the two Disciples going to *Emmaus*; whereby, Sir, you will see, that though they are all certain that I am wrong in saying, according to *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, that Jesus made but one Appearance to his Disciples, yet that they cannot agree how certainly to understand them as different Appearances; and though they say I confound one Appearance with another, yet it appears themselves are confounded in what Order, to take them. I have separated every Appearance by a Line, according to their different Definitions of the Text.

Mr. Sylvester.	The Clearer.	Mr. Candler.	Mr. Jackson.
<i>Mark</i> xvi. 14.	<i>Mark</i> xvi. 14.	<i>Luke</i> xxiv. 36.—40.	<i>Luke</i> xxiv. 13. 15. 16.
<i>Luke</i> xxiv. 36.	<i>Luke</i> xxiv. 36.	<i>John</i> xx. 19.—24.	30 —44.
<i>John</i> xx. 19.	<i>John</i> xx. 19.	<i>Mark</i> xvi. 14.	<i>Mark</i> xvi. 12, 13, 14.
<i>John</i> xx. 24.	<i>John</i> xx. 26.	<i>John</i> xx. 16.—29.	<i>John</i> xx. 19, 20. 24.—29.
<i>John</i> xxi. 1.	<i>John</i> xx. 21.	<i>John</i> xx. 1. 12. 14.	<i>Matth.</i> xxviii. 16, 17. 18.
<i>Matthew</i> xxviii. 16. this to 500.	<i>Matthew</i> xxviii. 16. <i>Luke</i> xxiv. 49. <i>Acts</i> i. 4.	<i>Matth.</i> xxviii. 16.—20. <i>1 Cor.</i> xv. 5.	<i>1 Cor.</i> xv. 5, 6, 7. <i>John</i> xxi. 1, 2.
<i>Mark</i> xvi. 19. <i>Luke</i> xxiv. 50. <i>Acts</i> i. 3.	<i>Acts</i> i. 6. <i>Luke</i> xxiv. 51. <i>Mark</i> xvi. 19.	<i>1 Cor.</i> xv. 6. <i>1 Cor.</i> xv. 7.	<i>Luke</i> xxiv. 50, 51, 52. <i>Acts</i> i. 3. 9. 12.
	He omits those in <i>1 Cor.</i> xv. saying his Account creates no Difficulty.	<i>1 Cor.</i> xv. 7. <i>Luke</i> xxiv. 46.—31. <i>Acts</i> i. 4.—9.	

These Texts are easily seen in those affixed to my *Resurrection considered*.

If the Appearances of Jesus in the Evangelists can be reconciled, they think all is proved, though this they attempt in vain; and though there is not the least Intimation they are so to be understood, in order to be reconciled, therefore, a new Revelation is necessary, that we may understand the old. They reconcile as many as they can, as well as they can, and the others they call different Appearances.

If Jesus's Disciples followed him before his Death to *Jerusalem*, why should he afterwards order them to go to meet him in *Galilee*, then trudge them back again to *Jerusalem*? It seems by *St. John*, as if the Disciples after their Master's Resurrection went to *Galilee*, and followed their Occupation, and only saw Jesus there by Accident, as a Visitor, that eat a bit with them and went his Way.

St. Matthew says the Angel, and Jesus too, gave Orders for the Disciples to meet him in *Galilee*, therefore, he says, they went and saw him there.

St. Mark tells us, the young Man (*i. e.* a young Angel) bade the Women tell the Disciples they should see Jesus in *Galilee*; but of the Appearance of Jesus that he gives us, he forgot to mention the Time and Place, therefore we may suppose it to be where we please; but he gives not the least Intimation of any other Appearance.

According to *St. Luke*, two Men in shining Garments (Angels because of their heavenly Apparel) reminded the Women

what Jesus said in *Galilee*, that he should rise again, but not a Word that the Disciples should meet him there; therefore he tells us nothing of the Disciples going into *Galilee*, but makes his Appearance at *Jerusalem*. *St. Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* deliver it as plain as they tell any Story, for the first as well as the last Time, for they give us not the least Intimation of any before to the Eleven, nor *Matthew* of any after. *St. Luke* is plainly one connected Story, all from first to last on the Day of the Resurrection. There is not the least Appearance in *St. Matthew*, *Mark*, or *Luke*, that either of them dreamed, or thought of any other than that which each of them mention. But these in After-times not being thought sufficient, *St. John*, like one newly risen to make new Revelations, tells of more, and gives Liberty to others to stretch after him; accordingly, the Author of the *Acts* tells us, he was forty Days before he ascended; and *St. Paul*, that he appeared to more than five hundred at one Time; but unluckily for Infidels, for they were every one Brethren, nor does it appear he either saw or was seen by any other all the while.

'Tis a jesuitical Way of Reasoning, that because one Evangelist does not absolutely deny in *totidem verbis* what another says, therefore 'tis allowed to be true, and so both are right. Is all then that may be said of Christ true, if not contradicted by the Evangelists? Is the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus true, because none of our Gospels flatly deny it? Does not the *Romish* Clergy make this
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the Plea for all their unscriptural Tradition, that they are not forbidden?

Tho' 'twas promised the Holy Ghost should bring all Things to their Remembrance, if this Promise was made good to them, it was to so little Purpose, that never were Men better qualified for their Business, and did it worse; their Memory was very little, or their Negligence very great, or their Capacities exceeding bad, not to give us a better Account of what Jesus did during the forty Days he abode with them, which ought to have been journalized; the appearing of Jesus after his Resurrection was the most essential Part of his Life. This was done, as the AUTHOR OF THE TRIAL allows, to convince the World of his Character; yet we don't find he appeared to convince any but his Disciples, or to make one Convert more than he had done before; so that either he rose from the Dead to a very little Purpose, or we have a very wretched Account of it.

One would imagine, if a Man is raised from the Dead, it is to some great End, not merely to catch Fish, eat and drink, and visit his Friends. If five hundred saw Jesus after he was risen, where and when was it? And why do none of the Evangelists mention it, but because they knew nothing of it; for had they known it, it had been an inexcusable Neglect to be silent about it; as also not to mention the other public Appearances of Jesus after his Resurrection, if they knew of any. Three Gospel-writers are very careful to acquaint us of what mighty Power the Devil had, how

he carried Jesus about from the Top of an exceeding high Mountain to the Top of the Temple, as one has it, or from the Temple to a Mountain, as another relates it, and persecuted him forty Days; so that he could not eat a bit of Bread all that while, because he would yield to no Temptation: How Devils possessed many Persons, and particularly the Man they kept Day and Night in the Tombs, and made him so strong, that no Fetters could bind him, that he had an Army of Devils within him. What should induce them to possess that poor Fellow in such Crouds, as if there were no more Men in the World to give them a Lodging, I cannot imagine. What Execution might these five thousand Devils have done, if they had separated themselves, and taken every Devil his Man. Then, that Jesus to gratify the Devils, should suffer them to ruin the *Gadarenes*, by destroying two thousand of their Swine, is surprizing: These, and such like Stories, which in any other Book it would be no Crime to call them Romantic, they tell us, as it were, after one another; but the personal Appearances of Jesus after his Resurrection are so miserably related, as if they thought those Relations of no Importance, or of not so much as those, concerning which I dare not be diverting, because you, Sir, are so very grave.

St. *John*, who is allowed to write after all the rest, and unluckily contradicts them all, tells us Stories of the Appearances of Jesus in *Jerusalem* and *Galilee*; but then he talks nothing of his Disciples going back again to *Jerusalem*,

Jerusalem, but that Jesus parted with him in *Galilee*, going indeed some where, and ordering *John* to stay till his Return; but when that Return was, we want another Gospel to inform us. The straining the Sense of *St. Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke*, to take in the Stories of *St. John*, the *Acts*, and *St. Paul*, is what would not be done to reconcile any other Historians in the World, especially in relating uncommon and unaccountable Things: We should say of them, that they were not fit to be credited.

'Tis quite absurd, that *Matthew* should mention only Jesus meeting his Disciples in *Galilee*, if he knew or thought of their Meeting any where else, and at that Time, that some who saw him should doubt, if they had seen him before at *Jerusalem*; therefore this Apparition of *St. Matthew's* relating at *Galilee*, appears, according to him, to be the first and last Time he appeared to the Eleven, as he had appointed, which Appointment cuts off all Expectation of their seeing him in *Jerusalem*, and all Reason for believing that Appearance.

'Tis quite absurd to suppose, that *St. Mark* and *Luke* should mention only the last Appearance, without giving the least Hint of any former, if they knew or thought of any other at the Time of Writing; and if this was not designed by them, as the only one. It is absurd, and looks like an Interpolation in *St. Mark*, that the Angels should order the Disciples to meet Jesus in *Galilee*, yet not mention one Word of his meeting them there. And *St. Luke's* Account cuts off all Reason for believing that Meeting.

And 'tis quite absurd, that Jesus should be forty Days present with his Disciples after his Resurrection, and be seen by above five hundred Brethren at once, and none of the Evangelists in the least mention either the one or the other.

Permit me, Sir, to remark the deep Distress the Defenders are reduced to, to answer my Objections, and make the different Accounts agree, (yet all in vain) though they translate and transpose Words and Sentences as they please, add Sense, and take away at Pleasure, (intolerable in any but orthodox Believers.) From forced Constructions and distorted Parts they repeatedly assert, that all is natural, plain and consistent; whereas nothing is more evident, than that a Sense so remote from the natural Meaning of the Words, and such Dislocation of Parts which they make, prove the History to be very contrary to these Assertions. This Distress makes them spit their Spleen freely, which would have choaked them else. *The Poison of Asps is under their Lips*; I pass over and despise the many Instances of it, which are no Proofs of the Goodness of their Nature, nor their Arguments. As I promised you, Sir, at first to regard the Subject alone; so I have kept my Promise. Truth is the plainest, and Virtue the best natured Thing in the World; but Error and Falsehood being Blots in Nature, (if I may so call them) and Mazes of Perplexity, plunge Men into those Torments, in which *they gnaw their Tongues for Pain*, and where *there is gnawing of Teeth*. I do not expect them

to quit the Darkness they are involved in; but having answered all their seeming Arguments, I now bid them good Night.

I proceed to make some Remarks on the historical Text.

§. 35. *Of the Miracles performed when Jesus was apprehended.*

When Jesus was seized by the Officers and Soldiers sent to take him, 'tis said, they were struck down backwards by his Word, and that he healed Malchus's Ear, which Peter had cut off; but he might as well have done nothing: For tho' they fell to the Ground by a miraculous Power, without any miraculous Power they seized him afterwards. And tho' Malchus's Ear was cut off, and immediately healed, we read not a Word of its being mentioned at his Trial: And though St. Mark and St. John say, that one of the Disciples cut off the High Priest's Servant's Ear, yet they don't say Jesus cured it, which is very surprizing. They must be blessed Historians, that omit giving an Account of the best and principal Part of a Story. Sir, they tell us there was bloody Work in the taking of Jesus, and not the wonderful Cure that was immediately wrought. A little more, and Peter had cleaved Malchus's Head, for I suppose he missed his Aim in cutting off his Ear; tho' that might have been as easily cured as this: For the Power of working Miracles being once granted, 'tis not to be limited; and exceeding all human Reason, can as easily cure a cleft Skull as a cut Finger, and raise a dead Man, as cure a Paralytic. That

the High Priest's Servant should lose his Ear in taking Jesus, if it was not cured, as two Evangelists seem to know nothing of, and one of these two was present at the Action, the other, some say, had it from Peter's own Mouth, it must have exceedingly irritated the High Priest. If it was cured, surely St. Mark and St. John are inexcusable to omit so remarkable an Action of him, whose Life they wrote; and 'tis as wonderful, that it was not mentioned at the Trial, nor mitigated the Resentment of the High Priest against Jesus: But of this there is not a Word, nor of any Persons appearing to Witness any of his other Cures.

§. 36. *Observations on the History of Judas.*

Another Observation, Sir, I have made out of these Historians, is concerning Judas, who St. Matthew xxvii. says, repented, brought again the thirty Pieces of Silver, and went and hanged himself; and that the Chief Priests bought a Field with the Money to bury Strangers in, which being the Price of Blood, that Field was called the Field of Blood. But in Acts i. 18. we are told, that Judas purchased a Field with the Reward of Iniquity, and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the Midst, and all his Bowels gushed out; therefore that Field was called the Field of Blood. Now here are two different Stories, not easy for me to reconcile, therefore I desire they would try their Parts, who have the Knack of it, and are Men of subtil Invention. How the falling down of Judas, and bursting his Guts, agrees with his hanging

hanging himself, I cannot tell: And I would be informed, how *Judas* bought a Field with his thirty Pieces of Silver, and afterwards died in that Field, agrees with his returning the Silver to the Chief Priests, and went and hanged himself, and they afterwards bought a Field with the Money to bury Strangers in; and whether it was called the Field of Blood for the one Reason or the other before-mentioned. I don't presume to call these Contradictions or Inconsistencies; no, in profane History it would be so, but being sanctified by the Word of God, the Contradiction vanishes.

§. 37. *Observations on some Circumstances at the Crucifixion.*

Permit me, Sir, to remark how little these Historians regarded Exactness in their Narrations: I observe, they don't agree exactly in the Words of the Title over the Cross, that all *Jerusalem* might read; for 'tis, according to

St. Matthew, This is Jesus the King of the Jews.

St. Mark, The King of the Jews.

St. Luke, This is the King of the Jews.

St. John, Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews.

St. Mark xv. 25. says, it was the third Hour, when they crucified Jesus; but *St. John* xix. 14. tells us, 'twas the sixth hour, when Jesus stood before *Pilate*, before he delivered him to be crucified.

I observe concerning the Thieves that were crucified with Jesus, that *St. Matthew* tells us, *they cast the same (reproaches) in his Teeth,*

as the People did. *St. Mark*, they that were crucified with him, reviled him. *St. Luke*, that one only railed on him, and that the other rebuked the Railer.

'Tis observable, Sir, that the Historians do not agree in their Reports of the miraculous Stories at the Crucifixion; but I do not say they disagree, only that some of them seem to write what the others knew nothing of, or had forgot, Miracles being at that Time so common, they were not regarded. *St. Matthew* relates that the Vail of the Temple was rent in twain, the Earth quaked, and the Rocks rent, the Graves were opened, and many Bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of their Graves after Christ's Resurrection, and went into the holy City, and appeared unto many. *St. Mark* only tells us of the rending of the Vail of the Temple in twain; *St. Luke*, that there was Darkness over all the Earth three Hours, and the Vail of the Temple was rent in the Midst. *St. John* relates no Wonders at the Death of Jesus, but that he seemed to take Notice of his Mother. Strange Historians these, to omit the principal Parts of the History they wrote, for such they were, if they were any Parts of it; but 'tis very excusable in the Writers, for in a Century or two Men are apt to forget. And 'tis to be feared some of the Gospels made a very late Appearance, even our *St. Matthew* the very first of them; the Story of the dead Saints arising at the Resurrection of Jesus, seems to shew it was wrote after the Doctrine of Purgatory took Place, or that Story looks as if it was then

then lugged in, which is said to be about the latter Part of the second Century. This Story is very remarkable, and the more so, because none of the others make any Remark of it. I know my Adversaries tell me, 'tis nevertheless true. It may be so in their Opinion; I am sure there is so much the less Proof of it, and the less Proof there is of a Thing, the less Reason there is to believe it, and the more to suspect it. Is the Proof of God's Truth less than that of Man's? Less reasonable? Less probable? And less possible? Is God's Truth darker than Man's Truth? Or of less Consequence, that it is so carelessly transmitted to us? This Story of the Saints Resurrection deserves a particular Consideration and Enquiry.

It seems, Sir, by the Account, that the Crucifixion of Jesus gave such Disturbance to many sleeping Saints, that their Bodies could not rest in their Graves, nor their Souls in Heaven, if they were there, or else there must have been a Jail-delivery from Purgatory, for the Souls of Saints do not go to Hell. These Graves, 'tis said, opened at the Crucifixion of Christ, and the Bodies came out after his Resurrection, whence I suppose they stood gaping open all that Time, which made it the more known, therefore the more remarkable, when *many*, that is, not a few *Bodies*, nor Souls only, of the Saints which slept arose. Whether this was written to support the Gospel of *Nicodemus*, or this Story gave Occasion to that, I know not. This Resurrection of the Saints was more miraculous

than the Resurrection of Jesus, for God knows how long some of them had slept; however they were *Bodies*, not *Skeletons*, and they might as well have new cloaths given them as new *Flesh*, and new *Bones* as either. Besides, in the Winter-time, to go bare would make all the City stare at them; but Saints would not go into the *holy City* in an unholy manner, as void of Shame; therefore 'tis fit to conclude they had Cloaths on, and new Cloaths too, for where should they find their old ones, which had new Possessors, or were new modelled, or worn out. They went into the holy City; where else should Saints walk? But, was that the *New Jerusalem* or the *Old*? The *Old* it could not be, for that was called *Sodom and Egypt*, 'where our Lord was crucified,' and which he himself said was worse than *Sodom and Gomorrah*. Is the *New Jerusalem* the holy City? No doubt of it; but no Body ever yet saw that, therefore no Body could see the Saints there; then the Saints appeared no where. 'Tis said they appeared unto many; but unless they visited their late Acquaintance, other People might not know they had been dead. But though they appeared, they only appeared. I do not read that they said a Word to any, nor any one to them, or gave them any Entertainment. Tho' these new raised Saints had got their Tongues with them as well as their Legs, and so might have used one as well as the other, yet they were mute as Ghosts; they might as well have slept still in their Graves, for when they came out, no Body knew nor regarded them

them but St. Matthew; but sure he did not raise them, for he was an Apostle, and we are well assured the Apostles were no Conjurers. Did no one ask any of these travelling Saints, what News from Hades? Did they only stare and look about them? Or, being sleepy, did they walk in their Sleep? Had they testified the Resurrection of their great Deliverer, this had been a proper Errand. Never was the like heard of. The *Divi minores*, or lesser Gods, sent from one World to make their public Entrance in another, to say and do nothing! Well, but how long did they stay? And what became of them? Where did they go, to Heaven, or to sleep again? As this Resurrection was in the Dark, we are left in the Dark about it.

§. 38. Reflections on the miraculous Gift of Tongues.

Indulge me, kind Sir, to tell you, that the pretended miraculous Proofs, said to be given by the Apostles to confirm the Resurrection, want Proofs of their own Veracity. 'Tis no Wonder one Miracle is said to be wrought to prove another; Miracles are defended by nothing but Miracles; for if they could be proved by any Thing else, that Proof would be a Miracle. *De quibus nutrimur, ex iis existimus*: Homogeneous Things nourish and support each other; Flesh is supported by Flesh, Life by Life, Truth by Truth, Lies by Lies, Fraud by Fraud, and Force by Force. It is altogether as improbable as it is unaccountable, that Peter, with the rest of the Apostles and a

strong Gale of Wind, should bring three thousand Converts into the Haven of Faith in one Day. Whether these came in spontaneously as free Agents, or drove in by a mighty Wind, and compelled by Strefs of Weather, is a Query? For I don't see any Thing so wonderfully convincing in Peter's Sermon to produce it, and less Reason to believe their receiving the Gift of Tongues; for after this they were still ignorant and unlearned, *Acts* iv. 13. and St. Paul, who we never read had that Gift by Inspiration, but knew no more than what he had been taught, says, *1 Cor.* xiv. 18. *I thank God I speak with Tongues more than they all.* If so, all of them did not speak many Tongues, though we are told that all the Hearers of every Nation under Heaven heard every Man speak in his own Language; and therefore wondering (as well they might) said, *how hear we every Man speak in our own Tongue*; insinuating, as I suppose, Sir, that every Apostle spoke every Language. But if this was the Case, how could some of them ascribe it to Drunkenness? Wine is so far from inspiring Men with the Gift of Tongues, that it oft-times deprives the Tongue of its Gift. Or did the Apostles only speak one Tongue, and the Holy Ghost, the Interpreter, made each Hearer believe that what each Speaker said was spoken in his own Tongue? If so, did the Holy Ghost speak in their Ears, and the Devil in their Hearts at the same Time, to say they were drunk? If the Gospel was then preached to every Nation under Heaven in this wonderful manner,

ner, 'tis wonderful that no Nation under Heaven should mention it but this nameless Author. 'Tis said, *cloven Tongues of Fire sat upon each of them.* Was the Holy Ghost divided then, or how many Holy Ghosts were there; and who saw, besides the Disciples, these cloven Tongues? If they alone saw for all the rest, their Eyes saw double.

§. 39. *Remarks on Jesus being the Son of God.*

Matthew and Luke represent Jesus to be the Son of God, by the Holy Ghost over shadowing the Body of the Virgin Mary, (which would be thought a blasphemous Notion, and heathen Invention, if not supported by Gospel Authority;) yet in the Acts (xiii. 32, 33.) Paul being distressed for a Prophecy of the Resurrection of Jesus, applies therto his being begotten of God, in these Words; And now we declare unto you glad Tidings, how that the Promise, which was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their Children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again, as it is written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. If by this Means Jesus was the begotten Son of God, he could not be his only begotten Son, if Lazarus was raised from the Dead before; for then Lazarus was the first begotten of the Dead, and so Christ's elder Brother. If Jesus was begotten of God, and brought forth by Mary, how was he the Seed of David according to the Flesh? Had Mary not been above three or seven Years old, the Miracle had certainly been the

greater; but thus it pleased the Lord to espouse himself to the Church, who, I fear, is no Virgin.

§. 40. *Observations on St. John's Gospel.*

Permit me, Sir, to add a few Observations on St. *John's Gospel*, because the *Clearer* tells us, that it was wrote, 'not with Design of repeating what the other Evangelists had fully delivered, but chiefly to preserve the Memory of what they had omitted.' Yet St. *John* tells the same Story as St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, of Christ's walking on the Water in bad Weather, and in the Night, when he might have gone by Shipping; a Journey that scarce any one would have chose, besides himself, had it been in his Power. St. *Matthew* indeed says, St. *Peter* had a Fancy to do the same, but had like to have been sapt for it, and glad he was to get aboard again with wet Feet, the Floor gave way; he seems to have been over Shoes and Boots, if he had any; *Peter* began to sink; it was his stony Heart that weighed him down: They had such natural hard Hearts, that a supernatural Power could not keep them soft. But St. *Mark* and St. *John* omit that Part of the Story; yet St. *John* is supposed to be present. But, *Cui bono?* where's the Goodness of this Action?

St. *John* also tells the same Story as St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* do, of Christ's feeding the Multitude with five Loaves and two Fishes; and to this St. *John* adds something so very remarkable, that 'tis worth Notice. The People

People whom Jesus had fed in the Wilderness with Bread and Fish, as much as they could eat, took Shipping, five thousand of them, besides Women and Children, which no doubt made as many more; (how they found transports ready for such a Number, we are not to enquire; and when they had found him on the other Side, and he admonished them to believe in him, those very people said to him, *What Sign shewest thou, that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work?* As if they believed nothing of Yesterday's Miracle, of which they had had a Belly-full, *Our Fathers*, say they, *did eat Manna in the Wilderness, as it is written, he gave them Bread from Heaven to eat.* A surprizing Objection, when Jesus had given them Bread and Fish too both from Heaven, (tho' he found the Seed of them on Earth.) Nay, the very Disciples themselves did not consider, or had already forgot the Miracle of the Loaves, as if the Miracle was easier of Digestion than their Food. Poor Creatures, their Hearts were hardened! Never did Master take so much Care, and exert so much Power, to teach his Scholars and the People in so extraordinary a manner, to so little Purpose! Jesus did not satisfy their carnal Minds, as he had done their carnal Maws, with a Sign from Heaven, he was above being tempted. They said, *Our Fathers did eat Manna in the Desert, he (Moses) gave them Bread from Heaven to eat,* Jesus told them, that he himself was Bread from Heaven, and they were to eat him; but such Sort of Bread they could not relish: Besides, that eating Flesh with the Blood in it was forbid-

den by the *Mosaic Law*. The eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood was so ill digested by them, that many even of his Disciples went back, and walked no more with him, thinking no doubt, as his Brethren did, that he was beside himself, and conceived a very mean Opinion of him from such unintelligible Discourse.

St. *John* writes, that Jesus came up to *Jerusalem* at a Feast of the Passover, soon after his Beginning to make himself public, *John* ii. 13, &c. and that then it was he drove the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, when the Jews required him, since he acted in that manner, to shew his Authority by some Sign or Miracle; he answered, *If they would destroy that Temple, he would build it up in three Days*; but he very well knew, according to their Understanding of his Words, they neither could nor would try him. And as St. *John* has it, he went into and returned from his own Country three Times afterwards. But the other Evangelists tell us of his coming to *Jerusalem* but a little before he suffered, and then it was according to them that he drove the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.

As it was the Business of this Evangelist to set forth Jesus as God, it behoved him more than the rest to give us a Narration of his divine Extraction; *HOW the Word was made Flesh*. He might suppose with Reason that all Christians did not see all Gospels, and that his might be seen by those who never saw any others; besides, so wonderful a Story, if true, could not be too well attested and confirmed; it is surely of more Importance than that which

the other Historians were ashamed of, viz. the drunken Marriage Feast.

St. *John* acquaints us, that *Jesus* went into *Samaria*, and made Disciples there. But St. *Matthew* (xv.) that when he sent his Missionaries to disciple the Jews, he expressly forbade them going into any City of the Samaritans, and declared, he was sent only to the lost Sheep of the House of *Israel*.

Permit me, Sir, to remark, there is no Rule in Reason to judge of miraculous Reports, but by the Ability and Honesty of the Reporters, nor of their sagacity and fidelity, but by the Ability and Honesty of all those that transmit their Accounts and Characters to us; and how certain this Rule is, I leave, Sir, to your Consideration, and whether the History of uncommon, supernatural, and unaccountable Things are as credible as common and natural History. If that of *Julius Caesar* was mixed with Fable and Romance, the romantic Parts, at least, would not find easy Credit with considerate Readers. Were Men easily to believe such Stories, they would be liable to be everlastingly deceived by Falsities, Frauds, and Fictions: 'Tis not reasonable, therefore, to credit unreasonable Accounts, that are no better attested than holy Writings, which were sown in Weakness, but are raised in Power. The strangest Stories in the World should carry with them the most convincing Proofs, to render them credible; and this is the more reasonable, as the Matters that demand our Belief are said to be of the greater Importance, or may be productive of the greater

Fraud and Imposition; yet scarce were ever any Histories received in the World as authentic on so dark Testimonies, and so uncertain Foundation, as those that are with us commonly esteemed the most bright and certain of all historical Facts in the World. I know 't is Credulity is a Folly that governs the weak Minds that cannot, and the Idle that will not examine for themselves, and ever will govern an ignorant World; but the Wise will endeavour to judge of sterling Truths by the Touchstone of pure Reason, which only can discover them; and all Faith which cannot bear this Test is Folly and Stupidity. In answer therefore to Mr. *Jackson's Address to the Deists*, 'tis not impossible to prove the Impossibility of supernatural Revelation.

§. 41. On the Authority of the Gospels.

I believe, Sir, upon the strictest Enquiry, it will be found impossible to us to know for certain who were the Writers of the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, or when, or where they were first written, or that they are the same as at first without Corruption or Innovation; and one would think a Deficiency in any of these Points, in their Defence as the uncorrupted Word of God, is sufficient to silence a modest Author, and put his Assurance out of Countenance: Though the *Clearer* delivers it as if it was a Thing not to be doubted, that St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel for the Use of the *Hebrews*, when thousands were living in *Judea* who knew the Circumstances he reported. And Mr. *Sylvester* says,

it was wrote eight Years after Christ's Ascension; but neither of them know any Thing of the Matter.

Mr. *Jeremiah Jones* has shewn much Care and learning in endeavouring to find out on what Authorities the Gospels stand, in two Volumes to that End, and was far enough from favouring Infidelity: But he is obliged to confess,

1. That 'tis impossible to assign any certain Time when the canonical Books were collected. That there is no Proof they were fixed in the first, nor Beginning of the second Century.

2. That they have been all or most of them rejected by some Christians in the first Ages, even by some that did not go under the Name of Heretics, as well as by those that did. And several of them have had their Authority disputed by learned Men in later Times.

3. *Fauftus Manichæus*, and his Followers, are said to have rejected all the New Testament, as not written by the Apostles,

4. The *Allogians* rejected the Gospel of St. *John*.

5. *Severus* and his Sect rejected the *Acts* of the Apostles, and all *Paul's* Epistles.

Certain it is, that Christianity was no sooner propagated than it was divided into Sects and Parties, and each pretended to be right, and have Christ and the Apostles on his Side; and therefore forged Books under the Name of some Apostle or Disciple; and each Sect have ever condemned the other of Forgery, Heresy, Ignorance, or Misconstruction.

The learned *Causaubon*, than whom no one was either more

acquainted with, or more judicious in Christian Antiquities, in his Dissertation against *Barronius* says, I cannot but much resent the Practice of many in the earliest Ages of the Church, who reckoned it an Action very meritorious to make Additions of their own to the Truths of the Gospel, with this View, that Christianity might meet with the better Reception among the Gentiles. They called these officious Lies, contrived for a pious End. This produced innumerable Books in those Ages, wrote by Men, not bad, under the Name of our Saviour, his Apostles and Followers.

If what *Pappus* in his *Synodicon* says be true, it shews what an inextricable Dilemma the Church was involved in, to distinguish what Scripture was proper for them to take and refuse, since they desired the Lord to chuse for them, and his miraculous Kindness in determining their Choice as directed by them. That the Bishops assembled at the Council of *Nice*, having put together all the Books that pretended to Inspiration in a Church under the Communion Table, they prayed to God that those which were of divine Inspiration might be found upon the Table, and those which were Apocryphal under it, and accordingly as they prayed it came to pass. This Action is not altogether incredible, for some Angel of the Church is always at the Church's Service.

St. *Paul*, or some one in his Name, was so sanguine, as to advise the *Galatians* to receive no Gospel but his, though it should come

from Heaven, and even to curse the Angel that brings it.

The Gospels were kept private more than a Century, at least to Infidels, if they were wrote before. And since 'tis owned, that the first Ages of Christianity which produced Gospels abounded with more forged than true, how can we be infallibly certain of the Truth of any.

No such Objections lie against profane or heathen as holy History. How can the incredible Accounts, delivered we know not by whom, when, where, or how, be set on a Level with probable Facts, whose Authors and Writings have been generally allowed: What advances the Credit of these, and lessens those is, the Liberty always allowed to be taken with the one, but the Danger there is in scrutinizing the other.

§. 42. Of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Sandius says, it is impossible to determine any Thing about its true Author. — And so many Names it has had, or is thought to have had, as shew the Doubtfulness of its Original. — It is also thought to be in many Places altered and interpolated. The *Nazarines* are accused of corrupting it almost as soon as they had it.

Irenæus of France, who lived about the Middle of the second Century, is the first Father of the Church that writes of the Time, tells us, that *Matthew* published his Gospel when *Peter* and *Paul* were at *Rome*. But some learned Men have much questioned whether those Apostles were ever there.

Ecclesiastic Writers place this in the Year sixty four, or later, about thirty Years after Christ's Death or Ascension. A fine Time, if it was so, to begin to write his Life and Resurrection, to be depended upon for authentic. 'Tis strange, that of him who was so famous, as the Evangelists report, no Body began it sooner, and that none wrote it but his negligent Servants, who omitted so long, so essential a Point, on the Faith of which the Salvation of the World depended.

Perhaps some such Objection made *Eusebius*, who lived in the Beginning of the fourth Century, say *Matthew's* Gospel was wrote eight Years after Christ's Ascension. And what carries it on his Side against *Irenæus* is, that to the End of the old *Arabic* Version there is affixed the following Testimony: 'The End of the holy Gospel of the preaching of St. *Matthew*, which he preached in *Hebrew*, in the Land of *Palestine*, by the Influence of the holy Spirit, eight Years after our Lord Christ ascended in his Flesh to Heaven, and the first Year of the *Roman* Emperor *Claudius*.' And to be sure the Testimony was not interpolated, though the Gospel was, nor would Believers father a Lie on the Holy Ghost. But this *Irenæus* never saw, or he would not have said it was written twenty Years later: But *Eusebius*, who came a hundred and fifty Years after, knew exactly the Time of the old Revelation by some new one made to him then, or to his Works since his Death by the infallible Church. As for *Euse-*
bius,

bis, 'tis owned he was a credulous Man, and none was guilty of more Mistakes: Besides, 'tis supposed Things have been foisted into his Works of which he was not the Author.

Notwithstanding the preceding Testimony, it is not agreed in what Language St. Matthew's Gospel was wrote, the original Text being lost, nor can the Copies of the Original be determined. Some Fathers of the Church would have it believed it was wrote in Hebrew; but many of our first Reformers by their learned Criticisms have endeavoured to prove, that the Gospel we now have according to St. Matthew is from some Greek Original.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, Anno 370, or thereabouts, says the Gospel of St. Matthew, used by the Ebionites, (who it's thought were the first Christians) and the Corinthians was altered and corrupted, having not the Genealogy, nor the two first Chapters. 'Tis much to be questioned, whether those Chapters have not been added since that Gospel was first written. The marvellous catches the Croud; and he that affirms with most Assurance is most firmly believed.

The German Anabaptists of the last preceding Century, and Dr. Servetus, who was burnt for a Heretic, by that heretical Pope Calvin at Geneva, denied the Credit and Authority of this Gospel.

§. 43. On St. Mark's Gospel.

Concerning St. Mark's Gospel there is scarce any Thing to be found in ecclesiastical History, which can be depended on: "One Mark is mentioned in the Acts of

the Apostles, in St. Paul's Epistles, and by St. Peter; and 'tis supposed, that Mark was the Author of this Gospel: But Grotius, Crotelarius, Dr. Cave, Dupin, Mr. Echard, and other Moderns, are of a contrary Opinion."

Eusebius tells us, that Clemens Alexandrinus in one Place, testifies St. Peter's Approbation of the Church of Rome's Request to Mark to write those Occurrences of the Life of Christ, which he had heard of St. Peter, which we now call the Gospel of St. Mark, and that St. Peter approved of it. In another Place the same Author says, that St. Peter neither encouraged nor obstructed Mark in his Undertaking.

This Clemens lived about the Middle of the second Century, and 'tis therefore very likely he knew very little of the Matter; nor might Eusebius be well informed of what he said; yet such is Church Authority. There is but little Credit to be given to ecclesiastical History; the Historians affirmed what they thought best tended to the Good of the Church, and the Church confirmed it; and have condemned and destroyed all other.

Irenæus, who lived in the second Century, says, that Mark, St. Peter's Interpreter, wrote his Gospel after the Death of Peter, what he had heard him preach; but Origen, who lived in the third Century, writes, that Mark wrote his Gospel according to the Directions of St. Peter; and Jerom, who lived in the fourth Century, tells us, that Peter published it in the Churches, and commanded the reading of it by his own Authority: Thus, the later the Historian,

torian, the greater the Confirmation. *Fama volans augetur.*

'Tis urged, that the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and *Persic* Versions affirm *St. Mark* to have wrote in *Latin*; to which *Mr. Jones* answers, That these Epitaphs or Postscripts at the End of these Versions are of very uncertain Authority; and that as to the Time when *St. Mark* wrote his Gospel, 'tis exceeding difficult to come to any clear Determination, tho' 'tis pretended to be wrote in *Nero's* Reign.

So that 'tis not knowable for certain, when, where, in what Language, or by whom this Gospel was wrote; for 'tis said, he wrote what he had heard from *St. Peter* at *Rome*, and 'tis much questioned, whether ever *St. Peter* was there. It is thought by some, to be only an Abridgment of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, with an additional Section concerning *Christ's* Resurrection after the End of the 8th Verse, which *St. Jerom* says most of the *Greek* Copies have not; so says *Gregory Nyssene*; but *Grotius* supposes it was left out with Design, because it seemed to contradict *St. Matthew*, that *Porphyry*, *Julian*, and such others, might not take Occasion from thence to ridicule the Gospel; as *Mr. Fabricius* also observes, and adds, that 'tis a Case like what happened to those Words, *Mark* xiii. 32. to avoid the Force of the *Arian* Objections. It is confessed by *Mr. Jones*, Vol. I. p. 564. that the last Chapter of *St. Mark's* Gospel has suffered many Alterations: This shews how our Gospels have been moulded; but it cannot be shewn, how they were first cast. *Aaron's* Calf was, no doubt, a Type of this Lamb.

§. 44. On *St. Luke's* Gospel.

St. Luke is supposed to be the Person mentioned in *St. Paul's* Epistles. The Accounts which we have from Antiquity concerning this Evangelist, are very short and imperfect: 'Tis supposed he was no Jew: The Place where, and Time when this Gospel was wrote, is very uncertain: 'Tis supposed to be originally written in *Greek*, because 'tis the purest *Greek* of all the Evangelists.

Marcion and his Followers had a different Gospel of *St. Luke*, than what we now receive: That Heretic (as the heretical Orthodox say) inserted and left out what he thought convenient, to serve his own Purposes. Alas! 'tis too common for People to accuse others of the Crime they are guilty of themselves; and Sects that differ in their Sentiments have equal Honesty.

What was called the Gospel of *Marcion*, was no other than that of *St. Luke's* altered and interpolated: He left out the two first Chapters, and many other Parts, and inserted many Things of his own, say *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*. Or perhaps others have added what they are accused of leaving out, and *Marcion* might never find in; and also interpolated what they thought a Gospel Benefit. Nothing is more certain, than that the Truth of these Things is most uncertain.

§. 45. Of *St. John's* Gospel.

'Tis said, *St. John* wrote his Gospel to supply the Defects of the other Gospels: 'Tis certain, the other Writers were very defective or negligent, and his supply weakens the Force of his Alleges.

lies. 'Tis also said, that it was written to confute the Ebionites, Nicolaitans, Marcionites, and others, who denied the Divinity of Christ; by which it appears, the primitive Christians were not Idolaters, nor Worshipers of a compound Deity.

This Gospel is confessed to have been written almost an hundred Years after the Birth of Christ, or between sixty and seventy Years after his Death. *Epiphanius* says, *St. John* wrote it in the ninthieth Year of his Age: And this Gospel is said to be written in *Greek* originally; tho' *St. John* was an unlearned *Hebrew*, into which Tongue it is said to be afterwards translated. With these incredible Circumstances it passes with the Church for *St. John's* Gospel: Whoever wrote it, 'tis certain it has suffered Alterations; for the Chapter of the adulterous Woman is not in the old *Syriac* Copy, nor ancient *Greek* Manuscript.

§. 46. Of the Acts of the Apostles.

The Authority we have, that *St. Luke* is the Author of the *Acts*, is from a Conjecture of *Irenæus*, though 'tis not known, who this *Luke* was, a Disciple of *Jesus* or not; for he calls him the Disciple and Follower of the Apostles: This Conjecture of *Irenæus* is founded on, *2 Tim.* iv. 11. applied to *Acts* xvi. 10, 11, 12, 16, 17. where the Writer speaks not in the Name of *Paul* in the first Person singular, but as a Companion of *Paul* in the first Person plural. But in my Opinion, this gives more Reason to believe it was *Silas* than *Luke*; for the plural Person we is used by the Writer after *Paul* had chose *Silas* for

his Companion, and not before. Besides the *Acts* of the Apostles could not be wrote by *St. Luke*, because of the Disagreement in the Time of Christ's abode on Earth after his Resurrection, which, according to *St. Luke* was but one Day, but according to the *Acts* is forty Days.

All the succeeding Fathers of the Church ascribe the *Acts* of the Apostles to *St. Luke*, being so directed by *Irenæus*; for they follow one another in a Track. What one says or conjectures, which makes for the Good of the Cause, the others take for granted, and affirm. *St. Chrysostom* confesses, that it was not known by whom this Book was written.

It is also confessed, that some of the first Christians, the Cerinthians, Manicheans and Marcionites rejected this Book as false and spurious.

That the Transcribers made Alterations in this Book is evident from the Confession of *Erasmus*, who said he found more curious Readings in the Manuscripts of this, than any other of the sacred Books.

There was another *Acts* of the Apostles received by the Manicheans: The different Sects of Christians could never agree in receiving the same Gospels, and therefore each forged or altered a Gospel to their own Minds, according to the Principles they had imbibed. Those whose Faith did not correspond with the Gospel, made Gospels to correspond with their Faith, as every Believer now does, in explaining those they have. The prevailing Sect were always Orthodox, and accused the others of being ignorant Heretics, of adding and

taking away from the Gospels according to their own Fancies ; and were the Accused to answer for themselves, they would say the same of their Accusers.

§. 47. *Of Christian Heresies.*

'Tis certain, that no sooner did Christianity appear, but Factions, Parties and Heresies immediately sprung up, and have ever remained, and are ever likely to do so, as long as it exists. What's the Meaning of this ? Truth is clear and plain, uniform and harmonious ; but Error is obscure and intricate, everlastingly dividing and subdividing itself, an inexhaustible Fund of Disagreement and Contention. When Truth is expressed to look like Error, that is not to be understood ; it may be productive of the same ill Consequences as Error is, but then Error is the Occasion of it, that is, the Error of Expression ; and if Truth puts on the Garb and Appearances of Error, no Wonder if it be mistaken for it, and have the same Influence. One would think, that the Truth of God would appear like him, good, bright and lovely ; for Truth delights not to put on the Garb of Error, nor does Wisdom love to wear the Mask of Folly, nor is it the Property of real Goodness to sculk in the Shades of Darkness, and hide itself in Obscurity. It is not the Nature of Love and Piety to produce Contentions, Envyings, Heresies and Persecutions ; its Nature is to send Peace on Earth, not Fire and Sword ; nor is it disposed to kindle the one, nor does it advise to sell one's Garment to buy the other.

A Religion founded on bare Authority, not conducted by the Choice of Reason, will admit of innumerable Pretensions and Impositions. Hence arises the exceeding Difficulties of distinguishing Right from Wrong, Truth from Falshood : But if we take Reason and Nature for our Guide the Distinction will be clear and easy.

Ever since the Revelation of Christianity, different Sects have risen up among them : The Weeds of Heresies have plentifully sprouted out of this Ground, but the true Plant among Christians is hard to be found ; they had ever more Credulity than Wisdom, and more Zeal than Virtue. Each Sect have always thought it right to do wrong, *i. e.* to advance the Gospel or their Party, by forging Falshoods or concealing Truth.

Nothing is plainer, than that the New Testament Books received their Sanction from the Authority of the Church only, for none but the Church ever received them at all. And what makes any Doctrines be called Orthodox, but the Success the Maintainers have had, who call themselves the catholic Church, by suppressing all other. And why are others deemed or damned for Heretics by the triumphant Party, but because the suffering Party cannot help themselves. The Armour of Faith, without the carnal Sword, does not compleat the Wedding Garment of the Church Militant. Nothing but Success can distinguish Orthodoxy from Heresy ; for where both Sides are positive they are right, and the Proof is on no Side, Power only can

can determine the Controversy. There can be no other Right to Orthodoxy where there is none in the Reason and Nature of Things, and neither Side can find a Proof there: They cannot submit to be tried by that Court, whose Authority is condemned by them all, because it favours none: For positive Precepts and Doctrines pretended to be given by that Court above, *i. e.* a supernatural Court, refuse all Trial by the Inferior Court of Nature. This is the presumptive Authority of all Heresy. That Party which rises as by the Fortune of War, and vanquishes the rest, calls itself Orthodox, which is but another Word for Conqueror, and the vanquished Party is consequently declared heretical. Orthodoxy therefore is only triumphant Heresy; and the Authority of the Fathers which are on their Side, are no more right, than the Usurpation of Mother Church is, so that nothing can be proved true from that Quarter. Had the vanquished Heretics prevailed, their ancient Teachers had been Fathers of the Church, their Doctrines had been Orthodox, and their Gospels, Epistles, Acts, and Revelations would have had the Sanction of the Inspiration of the Spirit; since the Defenders of every ancient Heresy espoused some Books peculiar to themselves, that were so called. Every Sect received such Books for canonical, as were for their Purpose, or made them so; and the victorious Party burnt and destroyed, as far as they were able, all that they disliked. *Cyril of Jerusalem* advises his Catechumen to reject all sacred Books not con-

tained in his Catalogue, and not to read them. The same the Council of *Laodicea*, in the Middle of the fourth Century. The earliest Christians, *viz.* the Nazarines, Ebionites, Cerinthians, Nicolaitans, Valentinians, Menandrians, Carpocratians, Montanists, Gnostics, Manicheans, Cerdonites, Marcionites, Tatianites, &c. are all condemned for Heretics by the other Sects, and those that lived after them, and so were almost all of the first Century, except Christ and the Apostles, by the rising Orthodox of succeeding Centuries. The Fathers of the Church, from whose Credit the canonical Books are received, lived about the Beginning of the third Century; a dark Time to depend upon for Light; and darker followed, which clouded that, and all that went before it.

If Books are to be received as God's Word by his positive Command, we ought to be positively sure of them, or no Imposition and Deceit is more easy. If the Canon of the Scripture depends upon tradition, then it depends upon human Authority; but that of its Divine, must rest upon its own intrinsic Worth: This is the only Rule of judging its Truth and Purity, for doing which the learned *Mr. Jeremiah Jones* gives us the following Rules.

§. 48. *Mr. Jones's Rules to judge of canonical Books.*

Mr. Jeremiah Jones lays down these Rules, among others, to judge of the canonical Authority of any Book, by which the Impartial may try if ours will bear the Test.

1. That

1. That Book is certainly Apocryphal in which are found any Contradictions; for as both Sides of a contrary Proposition cannot be true, such Book must necessarily contain somewhat that is false, and consequently cannot have God for its Author, nor be to us a Rule of Doctrine and Manners.

2. That Book is certainly Apocryphal which either contains any Histories, or proposes any Doctrines contrary to those which are certainly known to be true. "To impute such a Book to the Holy Ghost, is to make God the Author of a Lie; and 'tis not fit to take that for our Guide in Matters of the last Consequence, which we know to be not only fallible but false.

3. That Book is Apocryphal in which are contained Things ludicrous or trifling, fabulous or silly Relations. God, a Being of infinite Wisdom and Knowledge, cannot give us such Books as argue him guilty of Weakness and Folly, and imposing on his Creatures Things to be believed contrary to their most improved Reason; nor can Men of Honesty and Wisdom be the Authors of such Sort of Books: for if they wrote what they did not believe, they were notorious Impostors; if they did believe, they were Persons of shallow Capacities and foolish Credulity; the former deserve our Hatred, and the last our Pity. These are no fit Guides to Mankind. "This Observation, (says he) is not only evidently true, but of the greatest Necessity in the Business we are now about; for 'tis certain, that a very great Number of the apocryphal Books of the New Testament are filled

with the most idle and trifling Stories, the most ridiculous and extravagant Fooleries imaginable. The romantic Accounts of the Virgin Mary's Nativity, being bred by Angels, and fed by them in her Infancy, &c. the childish Relations of our Saviour's Infancy and Education, his learning the Alphabet, his Stature, appearing sometimes as a Child, sometimes as a Man, sometimes so tall that his Head would reach the Clouds, the Length of his Hair, Beard, &c. the Spirit's taking him up to Mount Thabor by one of his Hairs, &c. the silly Miracles attributed to the Apostles, with all the ridiculous Circumstances that attended their several Martyrdoms, &c. are each, with all the other Stories like them, unquestionable Arguments to prove the Books which contain them Apocryphal; and to be no other than either the Works of the weakest of Men, who were fondly credulous of every Report, and had not Discretion enough to distinguish between Sense and Nonsense, between that which was credible, and that which was not so; or else the artful Contrivance of some who were more zealous than honest, who thought by these strange Stories to gain Credit to their new Religion."

Mr. Jones very justly argues, Vol. 1. p. 11. that the receiving Books for inspired, which are not so, the Consequences are evidently very bad.

1. We thereby offer a notorious affront to our Maker, by imposing Forgeries, &c. to the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

2. We thereby assent to the most gross and notorious Errors as indubitable Truths, and so ve-

ry often shall be like to oblige ourselves to many burdensome imaginary Duties, not only not required of God, but contrary to his Will, p. 13.

How careful then, Sir, should Men be to enquire and assure themselves indubitably what the inspired Books are. And how can we give our assent, where we have not full and clear Evidence? And how can less Evidence be satisfactory? For our assent to any Proposition can only be in Proportion to its Evidences.

§. 49. *Conclusive Queries.*

I purpose to conclude with proposing a few Queries resulting from the preceding Enquiry.

Tho' each Interpreter of Scripture and Gospel-preacher conceits himself (if he is honest) to be right in his Judgment, and therefore requires the Assent of others to his own Notions as the Truth of the Gospel; yet as they cannot agree among themselves what the Truth of the Gospel is, to whom, or upon what Score should we give our Assent? If to him that has the greatest Reason and Probability on his Side, whether it be not just and necessary to enquire into, and judge of Things by their Reason and Probability?

How is the Gospel the Revelation of God, if Men cannot understand it who honestly endeavour to do it?

Why should Men be so bitter (as these Gentlemen are) in vindicating what is out of their Power to understand, explain, or defend?

Whether 'tis not an evident Mark of great Weakness and Folly in Men, (to say no worse) not

to agree in the Circumstances of an extraordinary Fact, or not to be able to tell an important Story (which 'tis said, was well known to the Relaters) in a consistent and intelligent manner?

Whether 'tis fit, that the ill-connected Tales of credulous and ignorant Men should be attributed to the Direction of a divine, unerring Spirit, or be called Gospel, or God's Word?

Whether credulous and ignorant Men are proper Judges of Truth; that we should receive it arbitrarily from them? How is it agreeable to the Wisdom of God, to chuse the most ignorant and unlearned (if not foolish and wicked Men) for the Messengers of his Will, and the Disclosers of his Council and Wisdom?

Whether the Holy Ghost is not given to Believers now, as well as in the Apostles Time? If not, what Reason have we, but that of the blind Authority of uncertain Tradition, that it was ever given?

If the Holy Ghost be given to Believers now, what are the evident Proofs of it, (besides believing) whereby it may be distinguished from Nature? And whether that can be known to be an infallible Spirit, which cannot be infallibly known?

Whether 'tis consistent with the Goodness and Infallibility of God, that the Salvation of Mens Souls should in any Measure depend upon their believing the precarious and uncertain Accounts of weak and fallible Men?

And whether any Authority, not founded in the Nature and Reason of Things, is to be received as the sacred Injunctions of Divine Truth?

Where

Where is the Goodness or Virtue of taking Things upon Trust, believing without Evidence, and the reasonable Means of Conviction, as the credulous, unthinking Herd do, whose Creed, like Clock-work, goes as it is directed by others, without being themselves sensible, whether they are right or wrong? Since Mankind have been grossly imposed on in such Cases, to their very great Injury and Destruction, and a right Judgment of Things has a manifest Advantage to their Benefit, where is the Crime of making an honest Enquiry? Or rather, is not a reasonable Inspection and Scrutiny convenient and necessary?

Be pleased, Sir, to bear in Mind, that the Design of this

Enquiry is to shew, that *the Evidence given is not sufficient to support the Credit of so extraordinary an Event*, and to demonstrate, that true Religion or Righteousness is not founded on an historical Faith, and the Credit of mighty Actions that have weak Proofs; but on plain Philosophy, on the constant and certain Difference, Nature and Reason of Things, in which consists the Knowledge of whatever is necessary to discover and promote human Happiness; and that *Christianity as old as the Creation* is the only true Religion in it.

Your real and faithful Friend,

And humble Servant,

MORAL PHILOSOPHER.

20 JY 64

F I N I S.

I want wisdom to inform my Faith —
Another Faith directs his wisdom — The
difference between us is only this — I can
believe all possible & probable things —
the other can believe all things, that he
hath been taught — tho' improbable &
impossible! P.A.

36. Father of the Church
46. St. Jerome (note)
52. St. Paul's Doctrine.
66. Miracles of Saul's Conversion.
76. Paul's Spirit - Vision - Devil.
74. - Phymes blinded by Paul.
109. Rabbi Nathan.
134. - Belief not a Duty.
146. - It is wrong to expect things in a wrong way.